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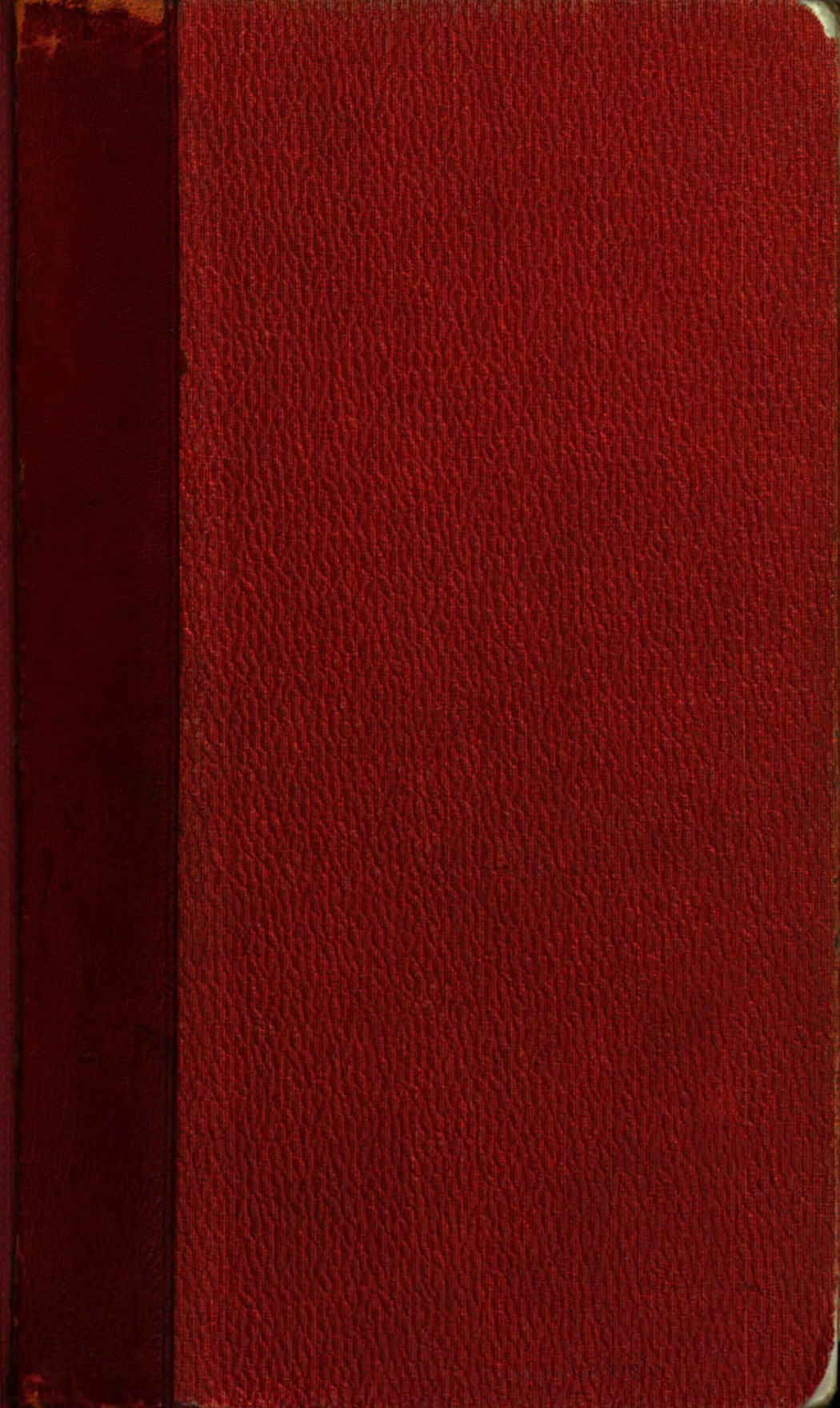


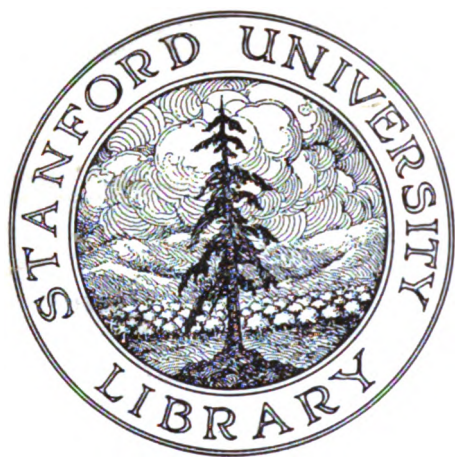
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Merlin
or
The Early History of King Arthur.
—
VOL. I.

HERTFORD:
Printed by STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.

Merlin

or

(Part 4)

The Early History of King Arthur:

A PROSE ROMANCE

(ABOUT 1450-1460 A.D.).

EDITED FROM THE UNIQUE MS. IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE,

BY

HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION CONTAINING

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE LEGEND OF MERLIN.

BY

WILLIAM EDWARD MEAD, PH.D. (LIPS.).

ALSO,

ESSAYS ON MERLIN THE ENCHANTER AND MERLIN THE BARD,

by D. W. NASH, F.S.A.; and ARTHURIAN LOCALITIES,

by J. S. STUART GLENNIE.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,

By KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.

MDCCCXCIX.

WASSEL
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VON 1870

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PREFACE.

THE completion of this edition of the Prose Romance of Merlin, after a delay of nearly thirty years, affords an opportunity for some words of excuse and explanation from the original editor.

The first part was issued in 1865, the second in 1866, and the third in 1869. I find that I made in the last-named part a rash promise that the fourth part, containing an Introduction, Index, Glossary, etc., would be issued in the course of that year. I therefore feel deeply that the members of the Early English Text Society have reason to complain that they have so long been allowed to have an imperfect book on their shelves, and I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere regret for this extreme case of delay. I fear that I cannot put forward any excuse that will be considered satisfactory, but I may perhaps be forgiven now that at last, thanks to the labours of Dr. Mead, members will be able to bind the complete work.

I will, however, ask permission to state the circumstances which explain the delay to a certain extent. The Index and Glossary made by the late Mr. Joseph Wimperis and Mr. George Joachim, sometime Honorary Secretary, and completed by Mr. W. A. Dalziel, the Honorary Secretary since 1875, were long ago ready for press, and only waited for the Introduction. I am particularly anxious that no share of the blame for the delay should appear in any way to attach to my esteemed friends Messrs. Joachim and Dalziel, or to the memory of one whose loss will long be deplored by those who knew him as an enthusiastic student.

When the text was finished in 1869 I was prepared to commence the compilation of the Introduction, but at this time information was received respecting the discovery of Mr. Huth's French MS. with a unique continuation of the *Merlin*. Dr. Furnivall naturally desired me to hold my hand until we had received the

necessary information respecting this from the late Mons. Paulin Paris. Mons. Paris died in the midst of his researches, and when the valuable work of his son Mons. Gaston Paris—"Merlin, Roman en Prose du xiii^e siècle, publié avec la mise en prose du poème de Merlin de Robert de Borron d'après le manuscrit appartenant à M. Alfred H. Huth, par Gaston Paris et Jacob Ulrich, Paris, 1886; 2 vols.; 8vo"—appeared I had resigned the secretaryship of the Early English Text Society, and my work from various causes had passed into other lines; and the break having been made I was unable to take the matter up.

Others were good enough to enter into the breach, but it was not until Dr. Mead took the matter in hand that success was secured.

Now that the Introduction (completed some time back, but delayed by various causes) is launched upon the world, the members will be in possession of a most valuable history of the Merlin legend and its literary development. I hope, therefore, that now the shortcomings of the original editor may be forgiven, although they are connected with such a record case that I fear they will not be forgotten.

HENRY B. WHEATLEY.

March 1, 1898.

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I.

INTRODUCTION.

OF THE great cycles of mediaeval romance none was more popular throughout Europe than the Arthurian cycle. From the first introduction of the Arthurian legends into French literature they caught the popular favour, and stimulated writers to an unwonted activity for a period embracing a well-rounded century, beginning toward the middle of the twelfth century and ending before the close of the thirteenth.¹

In the history of the cycle we may distinguish with more or less accuracy three periods²—a period of preparation, a period of production, a period of translation and imitation. To the first period belongs the work of the Welsh bards and the pseudo-historic Latin chroniclers, Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth. To the second period belongs the work of the French romancers. To the third period belongs the work of translators and imitators in England and in the north and south of Europe.

In each of the romances the interest centres in a very small group of characters; so that what the story lacks in breadth it makes up in minuteness of detail. The earlier forms of the romances contain two figures that stand out most clearly—Arthur the King and Merlin the Enchanter. So great an interest attaches to these two names that we learn

¹ G. Paris, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx. p. 1.

² We need scarcely remark that these periods overlap one another to some extent.

with some surprise that there is no adequate treatment in any language of the origin and development of the romances dealing with Arthur and Merlin. But there are two facts that have especially hindered the solution of the numerous problems involved in a history of the Arthurian romances: first, the vagueness and paucity of the earlier sources; and, secondly, the wide range of the later materials, which demand if they are to be satisfactorily treated an extensive and critical acquaintance with the French and Celtic literatures. Such an equipment is possessed by scarcely anyone who has thus far discussed the subject, and is expressly disclaimed by some of the most eminent investigators of portions of the Arthurian cycle.

Especial difficulties in the way of a demonstrable conclusion with regard both to the origin of the legend of Merlin and the development of the prose romance from earlier sources, meet the student at the beginning of his investigation and attend every step of his way. An initial difficulty appears in the chronology of the possible sources. We do not really know how much older any of the extant Welsh literature is than Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1135-47), to say nothing of the ninth-century Nennius.¹ As Mr. Nutt well observes: "The study of Celtic tradition is only beginning to be placed upon a firm basis, and the stores of Celtic myth and legend are only beginning to be thrown open to the non-Celtic scholar." A little further on he adds that "as a whole Welsh literature is late, meagre, and has kept little that is archaic."² If this be true of Welsh literature as a whole, still more is it true of the portions available for our purpose. Even after including all the poems, spurious and genuine alike, that assume the existence of Myrddin, we have only a few lines with which to construct a portrait. But when we are

¹ But see pp. lxxxiv-cxii.

² *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. xiii.

compelled to reject much of this material as late and untrustworthy, we can with difficulty resist the feeling that it is hardly worth while to thresh the old straw until we have some new data upon which to base an opinion, or until Celtic scholars agree somewhat more generally as to the meaning of the scattered fragments that we do possess.

There is now a very general agreement with regard to the chronological order and authorship of most of the Latin sources; but their origin is still obscure, and the interpretation of them by no means harmonious.

In the French romances we find more abundant material, but we are left in almost hopeless confusion as to the exact order in which the several French versions of the prose romance were produced. The partial copying of the romance by those who were at once copyists and authors, and the retention of allusions to passages of the original romance—passages afterwards dropped from most of the versions—would be quite enough to throw us off the track. Then, too, romances that in all probability were written later than the original prose *Merlin* are by the aid of interpolated passages made to seem earlier works than the *Merlin*. As to the authors of the various prose versions of the *Merlin*, nothing is known and probably nothing ever will be known. We are obliged, therefore, to content ourselves with a *perhaps* where certainty would be most desirable. If we possessed all the Celtic literature that ever existed, Welsh poems, Breton *lais*, all the Latin sources, and all the French romances in prose and verse, with authentic dates and the names of the authors, we should still have an almost interminable task in attempting to follow out the tangled threads of the romances. But, as already remarked, these favourable conditions are lacking. The Welsh literature—the only Celtic source that we can seriously consider—is scanty and of not too convincing antiquity. The origin of

the Latin sources is doubtful; and even the Latin sources at most provide an explanation for only a portion of the romance. The French versions (with two or three exceptions) bear no date, and afford scarcely any guide to the chronology. The manuscripts are numerous and still unclassified as to age and generic relations. Only two manuscripts of the *Merlin*¹ have been published, unless we include the early printed editions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These old printed versions, it is needless to say, are exceedingly rare as well as uncritical, presenting a later, modernized text, and taking numerous liberties with the earlier versions.

These difficulties might be dwelt upon at greater length, but enough has been advanced to show the necessity of extreme caution in our assertions. Nothing final can be established with regard to the development of the romance until we possess a critical text, not only of the *Merlin*, but of all the other prose romances of the Arthurian cycle with which it is interwoven, and until a number of special researches have been made concerning the age of the manuscripts, the extent of the interpolated passages, and the meaning of the allusions to other romances. And even then we may seriously question whether a thoroughly consistent history of this or of any of the other romances of the Arthurian cycle can ever be written.

In taking leave of the questions that have occupied me so long, I regret to be obliged to confess that I have been able to add so little to what was already known. The account of the French manuscripts is new, and I trust will prove not altogether valueless. New also is a considerable part of the history of the legend in English literature, as well as other portions that need not be specified. Throughout the whole work I have

¹ The Huth MS. (*Soc. des Anc. Textes*) has been edited by G. Paris and J. Ulrich. Only pp. 1-107 of the English romance are here represented. Brit. Mus. MS., Add. 10,292 (cf. pp. cxl, clxvii, ccl), has been printed by H. Oskar Sommer, but without any investigation of the questions discussed in the following pages.

tried to be useful rather than original, and to present no theories unsupported by a large basis of facts. If once we can get a firm foundation of fact for the history of the romances, there will be abundant time for constructing theoretical explanations of the missing links.

I had originally intended to discuss the dialect and the grammatical forms of the *Merlin*, and to point out in detail the extent to which the structure of the sentences has been modified by the French original. But the fact that the entire romance as printed by the Early English Text Society had to be collated once more with the English manuscript, compelled me to defer that portion of the work, and to confine my attention almost wholly to literary questions. After the collations arrived I found that an adequate treatment of the language of the romance would unduly delay the publication of the other portion of the work. I have, therefore, attempted nothing more than to cite a few of the countless instances where French words have been transferred almost without change to the English translation.

It is perhaps unnecessary to remark that without the aid of the researches of Francisque Michel, Paulin Paris, Gaston Paris, H. L. D. Ward, Alfred Nutt, and others, a considerable part of this outline could not have been written. So much, too, remains yet to be done in the way of special investigation of the Arthurian romances, that I can at most regard this account as a mere passing contribution to the history of the *Merlin* legend. If this sketch can in any way serve to incite other scholars to a more careful study of French romance in its relations to our older English literature, I shall welcome the day when my own work is superseded.

It remains for me sincerely to thank those who have in any way aided in these researches. I owe much to the Director of the Bibliothèque de Ste. Geneviève, and the keepers of the MSS.

in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; to M. Paul Meyer, Director of the École des Chartes, who made several suggestions about the French MSS.; to Mr. H. L. D. Ward, of the Department of MSS. in the British Museum, who discussed with me the earlier forms of the legend and read some of the proof; to my colleague Professor L. Oscar Kuhns, who read a portion of the proof, and translated Professor Novati's note on Arthur's fight with the great cat of Lausanne; to Mr. E. G. B. Phillimore, who read the proofs of the chapter on the early forms of the legend, and supplied several valuable notes; and most of all to Dr. F. J. Furnivall, who furnished me while in Paris with several much needed books, and has since attended to numerous details that could not easily be superintended at a distance of three thousand miles.

I may add that the proofs of all the extracts from the French manuscripts have been read in Paris while I have been in America, so that the accuracy of the specimens is to be credited to the MS. reader rather than to me.

The greater portion of the present investigation was completed in 1892, and placed in the hands of the printers. Numerous delays, which need not be explained here, have hindered the appearance of the book until now. The supplementary notes on pp. ccl-ccliv take account of later work on various matters connected with the Merlin legend. But the most important part of the following discussion—the account of the MSS.—is quite independent of any work that has recently appeared.—W. E. M.

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July 2, 1897.

II.

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- This list aims merely to indicate some of the more important books to be consulted by students wishing to test the conclusions reached in this investigation. The attempts to treat in detail the history of the Merlin legend are few, and, so far as English is concerned, are confined to a few essays and incidental discussions. Nor can all the books on the subject be used with entire confidence. Wright and Michel's introduction to the *Vita Merlini* contains much valuable matter, but some of the critical conclusions, notably those relating to the authorship of the *Vita Merlini*, are now almost universally abandoned. A similar criticism applies to much of San-Marte's work. Celtic scholarship has made great advances

since his day, and rendered obsolete much of the Celtic discussion in his books. His Welsh texts are hopelessly corrupt, and the translations inaccurate. Villemarqué's work is marred by fantastic speculation, and the endeavour to make facts square with a preconceived theory. His *Myrddhin* may be safely recommended to anyone who prefers not to see the facts as they are. Mr. Nash's essay leaves untouched a large number of important questions, and settles the rest dogmatically. In the work of M. Paulin Paris we must recognize what is on the whole the best general account that we possess. He devoted many years of a long life to the study of the Arthurian romances and the MSS. in which they are contained. In treating the *Merlin*, he could not within his limits answer all the questions suggested, but he showed in a multitude of instances in what relation the *Merlin* stands to the other romances of the Arthurian cycle, and put all future investigators under lasting obligations. M. de la Borderie's work shows care and scholarship, but several of his conclusions are not convincing. Mr. H. L. D. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances* is critical and cautious. He discusses the Merlin legend only incidentally in enumerating the MSS. in the British Museum, but his remarks on Geoffrey of Monmouth are perhaps the best that have yet appeared. The introduction to the Huth *Merlin* by M. Gaston Paris—the foremost authority in France on the Arthurian romances—is avowedly a mere sketch, but no student of the Merlin legends can afford to leave it unread. Kölbing's introduction to the *Arthour and Merlin* aims chiefly at showing the relation of the verse romance to the other Merlin romances. Dr. Sommer points out in detail the relation of Malory's *Morte Darthur* to the prose *Merlin*. The slight inaccuracies in his account are chiefly due to insufficient study of the French MSS. of *Merlin*, and are pardonable enough in view of the vast field to be covered. Prof. Rhys transfers to cloud-land and to myth most of the characters of the Arthurian romances. His *Studies* are learned and ingenious, if not always convincing, and of great value in throwing light upon the Celtic side of the Arthurian cycle, but they touch only a few of the questions that most concern us here.¹

¹ For additional bibliographical notes on the Arthurian romances, see the list of works prefixed to G. Paris's *Hist. Litt. de la France*, vol. xxx.; the articles on *Celtic Lit.* and *Romance* in the *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed.; Ward's *Catal. of Romances*, vol. i.; Sommer's *Morte Darthur*, vol. iii. pp. 2-7; Gödeke's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, 4 Bde., Dresden, 1859-81; and the works by Dunlop, Grässe, etc.

III.

THE STORY OF MERLIN.

CHAPTER I.

COUNCIL OF DEVILS AND BIRTH OF MERLIN.¹

AFTER our Lord saved the world from hell (1) the fiends in wrath hold a great council to get back what they have lost (2), and resolve to cause the birth of a man who shall do their will. The fiend who suggests the plan hastens at once to the evil wife of a rich man with three daughters and a son (3), kills by her advice the cattle and horses, strangles the son, makes the woman hang herself, and so causes the rich man to die of grief (4). Of the three daughters, one is seduced and condemned to be buried alive (5), another becomes a common woman (7), while the eldest, after resisting various temptations for two years, is finally deceived one night by the devil in her sleep (10).

In her distress she goes to her spiritual adviser (10), who at first gives no great credence to her story (11), but afterwards saves her from being burned alive (13). The maiden is then shut up in a strong tower till her child is born (14), whom she calls Merlin (15). The boy frightens the women by his ugliness, and astonishes them with his knowledge (16). When the mother with her child is brought to trial (17), Merlin confounds the judge and delivers his mother (21). Then, as the story says, they go where they please; but Merlin and the hermit Blase discourse together, till finally Merlin asks Blase to make a book of what shall be told him (22). Blase consents, and when he is ready, Merlin begins to tell of the love of Jesus Christ, and of Joseph of Arimathia, and of Pieron, and the end of Joseph and his companions (23).

¹ As the only purpose of this analysis is to aid in following the text, I have borrowed the headings of the chapters given in the text, and in some cases the running analysis of the margin. Details that do not aid in the development of the story have been omitted. The numerals inclosed in parentheses refer to the page. The variety of forms of the names causes some embarrassment. I am not sure that all the forms I have adopted are best. Consistency is difficult where the original is variable.

CHAPTER II.

KING VORTIGER AND HIS TOWER.

MERLIN further tells Blase of the men who are coming to put him (Merlin) to death, and says that he will go with them, but when they have heard him speak they will not want to slay him (23). Now in the land of Britain was a Christian king named Constance, who had three sons, Moyne, Pendragon, and Uter. At the death of Constance Moyne becomes king, and Vortiger, a worldly-wise man, is made his steward (24). Vortiger wins the hearts of the people, and when Moyne is defeated in battle by the heathen, and afterwards slain by his angry barons, the steward receives the crown (25). At this Moyne's two brothers, Pendragon and Uter, are prudently taken to Gaul. Vortiger hypocritically assumes his own innocence, puts to death the murderers of Moyne (26), and when warred upon by their friends gains the victory over them. Then for fear of the sons of Constance he orders his workmen to build a mighty tower as a refuge (27). The work is begun, but as soon as the walls are a few fathoms high they fall in ruins. Vortiger therefore commands his wise men to tell why the tower does not stand (28). After much delay they agree to tell Vortiger that the blood of a child, seven years old, born without a father, must be put in the foundation of the tower. Of twelve messengers sent out (29), four chance to meet, and while passing through a field near a town where children are playing, they see Merlin, who strikes another boy with his staff (30). The child cries and weeps, and calls Merlin a "misbegotten wretch, and fatherless."

At the questions of the messengers Merlin laughs and says: "I am he that ye seek, and he that ye be sworn ye should slay, and bring my blood to King Vortiger." Then the boy takes the messengers to Blase and corrects the account that they render of their errand (31). After this Merlin sends Blase to Northumberland, and promises to visit him there, bringing materials for the Book of the Saint-Graal (32). Merlin then departs with the messengers. On the way

he sees a churl with a pair of strong shoes and leather to mend them (33). Merlin laughs, for the fellow will die before reaching home. A little farther on he laughs again at a man weeping over his dead son, though the child is really the son of the priest (34). On coming to Vortiger, Merlin tells why the messengers have sought him, and says that the clerks have not told the truth (36). Then he confronts the clerks, who are dreading to lose their lives, and explains why the tower cannot stand (37). Under the tower is a great water, and under the water two dragons, one red and the other white, and above them two great flat stones. The labourers uncover the dragons, who at once begin to fight (38), and continue till the white dragon burns up the red. Merlin explains that King Vortiger is the red dragon, and that his end is nigh (40).

CHAPTER III.

THE DEFEAT OF VORTIGER BY PENDRAGON AND UTER; THEIR SEARCH AFTER MERLIN; THE BATTLE OF SALISBURY AND THE DEATH OF PENDRAGON; AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE ROUND TABLE AT CARDOELL, IN WALES.

MEANWHILE Pendragon and Uter are coming in fulfilment of the prophecy. Merlin slips away to visit Blase (41), while Vortiger is burnt in his castle by Pendragon (42), who becomes king. While besieging Aungier, Pendragon hears of Merlin and sends in search of him. Merlin, as usual, knows all that is going on, and appears at first to the messengers as a beggar. They take him for the Devil, because he knows all their plans (43). A little later Merlin appears under several disguises to Pendragon himself, and announces the death of Aungier at the hands of Uter (44). At length he assumes his real form (45), and shortly after leaves the King in order to return to Blase (46). Eleven days later Merlin comes to court in the form of a boy messenger from Uter's mistress (47), and afterwards appears in his real form. The two brothers ask Merlin to abide with them, and to assist them at all times (48). He agrees to help them when they have need, and so takes his leave (49). Shortly afterwards Merlin tells the King how to take

a castle he is besieging, and how to rid his land of the Sarazins (50). The plan is successful, and the land is freed.

Notwithstanding Merlin's services there is a baron at court who envies him and resolves to prove the falsity of his divinations (51). The baron feigns illness, disguises himself in three different ways, and with each disguise asks Merlin what death he is to die. Merlin replies that he will break his neck, that he will be hanged, and that he will be drowned (52). The baron calls Merlin a fool, but the prophecy is fulfilled to the letter. Then Merlin goes to Blase. But the King and all who hear thereof say there is nowhere so wise a man as Merlin, and they resolve to write down all that he says. In this way is begun the Book of the Prophecies of Merlin (53).¹

When Merlin returns to court, he advises the King to make a great feast, and to prepare for the arrival of the Sarazins (54). He does so, and goes out to meet the enemy at Salisbury (56). All the Sarazins are killed, but Pendragon falls as Merlin has prophesied. Uter buries the dead Christians, and is then crowned at Logres (57). Merlin, who has meanwhile revisited Blase, returns to the King, constructs a golden dragon as a rallying point in battle, and brings over from Ireland the great stones of Stonehenge (58). Then Merlin tells the King the story of the Grail and of the tables of our Lord and of Joseph of Arimathia, and advises him to construct at Cardoell in Wales a third table in the name of the Trinity (59).

CHAPTER IV.

THE FEASTS AT CARDOELL; UTER-PENDRAGON'S LOVE FOR YGERNE, AND HIS WAR WITH HER HUSBAND THE DUKE OF TINTAGEL.

THE King follows the advice of Merlin, who selects fifty knights to sit at the table, and leaves one place void (60). Then Merlin departs and goes to Blase (61). Three years pass before he returns to court; and the rumour spreads that Merlin is dead (62). At Pentecost great feasts are held at Cardoell. A doubting knight sits

¹ This forms the third volume of the folio edition of the *Merlin*. Paris, 1498. It has properly nothing to do with the romance, though it may be regarded as a sort of continuation of the *Merlin*.

in the void place and sinks down like lead (63). Then Merlin comes to court, and advises the King to hold all high feasts at Cardoell. Among the guests are the Duke of Tintagel and his wife Ygerne (64). The King is struck with her beauty, and sends jewels to all the ladies at the feast. At Easter is another feast, and the King repeats his gifts. When all the guests have departed, the King's anguish increases because of his hopeless love for Ygerne. Soon he ordains another feast (65), and sends by the hand of Bretel a golden cup to Ygerne (67). The lady reddens with shame, but the Duke, thinking no evil, orders her to receive it, and she obeys. After the feast the Duke finds her weeping, and learns of the designs of the King (68). Full of wrath he summons his men, and leaves the court without ceremony. The King is angry in his turn, and demands the return of the Duke (69), who refuses to come. Then the King invades the Duke's country (70). While the King is carrying on the war, Merlin appears as an old man (72), then as a blind cripple (73), and finally assumes his real form (74). Merlin promises to help the King to enjoy Ygerne on condition that the King will give him anything he may ask for (75). Then Merlin transforms the King, Ulfen, and himself into the semblance of the Duke, Jordan, and Bretel (76). They come to the castle of Tintagel, where the King spends the night with Ygerne, and in the morning they depart in haste (77). Merlin demands the child which shall be born of Ygerne, and the King consents. Then they ride on till they come to a river, where they wash and resume their own forms. When the King meets his men he learns of the death of the Duke, and says he is "right sorry" (78).

CHAPTER V.

MARRIAGE OF THE KING WITH YGERNE; BIRTH OF ARTHUR AND DEATH OF THE KING.

At a council it is decided that the King shall marry Ygerne (85). Her friends consent with tears of joy; and the King weds the lady twenty days after he had lain by her in her chamber (86). Months pass by, until one night the King asks Ygerne who is the father of the child she is bearing. She tells him that a man had lain with

her in the semblance of the Duke. The King assures her that he is the father, and gets her to promise to dispose of the child as he shall ordain (87). In due time the child is born (90) and delivered to Antor, a worthy knight whom Merlin designates (91). The child is the famous Arthur.

For a long time Uter-Pendragon rules the land, till at length he falls in a "great sickness of the gout in hands and feet." Then the Danes rise against him. But by Merlin's advice the King is borne into the battle in a litter, and wins the victory (94). After this he divides his treasure, and after long illness dies and is buried with much pomp (95). As the land is left without heir, the barons and prelates of the church come together to take counsel who shall be their king.

CHAPTER VI.

ARTHUR MADE KING.

In their doubt all turn to Merlin, and ask him to seek out a man that may govern the realm (96). Says Merlin: "Let us wait till Yule, and pray to our Lord to send a rightful governor." They agree, and assemble in the church at Yule (97). After "making meekly their orisons to our Lord," they come out of the church, and see a great stone in which is fixed an anvil, and through the anvil a sword (98). The Archbishop explains that he who draws out the sword shall be king, and lets all the lords try in their turn for eight days (100). Last of all the boy Arthur comes to the stone and takes out the sword as lightly as though nothing had held it (104). The barons are not quite satisfied, and ask that the sword be left in the stone till Easter. When they are all assembled at Easter, they ask for a further delay till Pentecost (105), and so they wait till the Whitsuntide (106). Then on Whitsun even the Archbishop makes Arthur knight. On the morrow Arthur is arrayed in the royal vestments, and all go in procession to the stone, from which the young king draws out the sword. After he is consecrated and anointed, and the service is ended, they all look for the stone, but it has vanished. Thus is Arthur chosen king, and he holds the realm of Logres long in peace (107).

CHAPTER VII.

REVOLT OF THE BARONS; AND DEFEAT OF THE SEVEN KINGS BY ARTHUR.

AFTER the middle of August Arthur holds a great court, to which come the kings of the neighbouring realms with their knights—King Loth of Orcanye, and King Urien of Gorre, a young king much praised in arms; King Ventres of Garlot, the husband of one of Arthur's sisters; King Carados Brenbras, lord of the land of Strangore and one of the knights of the Round Table; King Aguyzas of Scotland, a fresh young knight; and after him King Ydiers with four hundred knights. Arthur receives them with great honour, and loads them with rich gifts, but they disdain his presents, and refuse to have him as their lord (108). Arthur escapes from their hands; and fifteen days pass without event. Then Merlin enters the town, and is at once appealed to by the barons. Merlin tells them that the new king is more highly born than they, and advises them to send for Arthur, Ulfín, the counsellor of Uter-Pendragon, and Antor, the supposed father of Arthur (109). The barons consent. When the three arrive, the Archbishop begins to speak (110), but gives place to Merlin, who tells the whole story of the birth of Arthur (111), and of his being reared by Antor (112). The people are satisfied, but the barons declare that they will never have a bastard for king, and depart in great wrath to arm themselves (113). Merlin reasons with them, but to no purpose. Then he comforts Arthur (114), and advises him to help King Leodegan, who is at war with King Rion, the king of the Land of Giants and of the Land of Pastures (115). Arthur shall marry the daughter of King Leodegan. Before his departure, Arthur fills the fortresses with men and provisions, and makes ready against the barons. Merlin constructs a flaming dragon, sets it on a spear, and gives it to Kay to bear as a standard (116). When the battle begins Merlin casts his enchantments, and sets fire to the pavilions of the enemy. Then Arthur attacks them, and, though set upon by the seven kings all at once (118), he wins the victory, for neither horse nor man can endure against Arthur's sword Calibourne (120).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MISSION OF ULFIN AND BRETTEL TO KING BAN AND KING BORS.

AFTER Arthur's victory over the seven kings he returns to Cardoell. Then he provisions his castles, towns, and cities, and afterwards holds court at Logres, his chief city, 'that is now called London' (120). After dubbing three hundred knights he listens to the counsels of Merlin, who tells of his own wonderful birth and then of Arthur's. Queen Ygerne, says Merlin, had five daughters by the Duke of Tintagel, and two more by a previous husband. Of these maidens King Loth has married one; King Ventres of Garlot, another; King Urien, the third; Briadas, the fourth—now dead. The fifth is yet at school (121). King Loth has five sons, the eldest of whom is Gawein. King Ventres has a son named Galeshyn; and King Urien, a son named Ewein the Gaunt.

In Little Britain, continues Merlin, are two kings, who are brothers—Ban of Benoyk, and Bors of Gannes (122). They are warred upon by Claudas, an evil king, and ought to be allies of Arthur. After giving this advice Merlin says he will repair to forests and wildernesses, but will be at hand in case of need (123).

Arthur therefore sends Ulfín and Bretel to ask King Ban and King Bors to come to Logres at Hallowmass (124). The messengers find the two kings in the midst of war with Claudas, but in a great battle the brothers win the victory. Ulfín and Bretel ride direct to the castle of Trebes and ask for King Ban, but he is with his brother at Benoyk (125). As the messengers ride forth they are set upon by seven knights (126), but Ulfín and Bretel overcome them, and go their way (127). On their arrival at Benoyk (128), they announce their message (129) and receive the promise of the assistance of Ban and Bors (130).

CHAPTER IX.

THE VISIT OF KING BAN AND KING BORS TO ARTHUR; THE TOURNAMENT AT LOGRES.

WHILE the messengers are still absent Merlin tells Arthur that they are returning with the two kings, and advises him to receive

them with honour (131). By Arthur's command the city of Logres is hung with cloths of silk, and the streets strewed with fine grass. Incense and myrrh are burned; and in the windows are many lights (132). Then the guests enter the minster in solemn procession, and return to the palace for the banquet (133). A grand tournament follows, in which Gifflet the son of Do, Lucas the butler, and Kay the steward, perform great deeds (135). When all is over the conversation turns upon the alliance; and Merlin tells the two kings that Arthur ought to be their lord (139).

CHAPTER X.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN ARTHUR AND THE REBEL KINGS AT BREDIGAN.

KING Ban and King Bors follow Merlin's advice and do homage to Arthur (140). Merlin gives them wise counsel, and tells of Gonnore, daughter of King Leodegan of Carmelide, and of King Rion who is warring against him, and urges them to spend a year or two with Leodegan (141). They agree, and begin to make great preparations.

Meanwhile, the seven kings who had been defeated at Clarion prepare to take vengeance on Arthur and his enchanter Merlin. In great force they advance, accompanied by four other kings and a duke, and engage in battle with Arthur and his allies in the forest of Bredigan. Thousands are left dead on the field, but the rebels are beaten, and forced to flee for their lives (165). Merlin then departs from Arthur and goes to Blase (166).

CHAPTER XI.

THE DOINGS OF KING ARTHUR AFTER THE BATTLE, AND HIS DEPARTURE FOR TAMELIDE (CARMELIDE).

AFTER the battle Arthur causes all the plunder to be put together in a heap, and then the three kings divide it among their followers (167). On the morrow, after they have feasted, they see a great churl coming through the meadows by the river with a bow in his hand. The fowls which he shoots he gives to King Arthur. No one knows the churl but Ulfín and Bretel (169), and they tell the King that it is Merlin.

Then there is joy in the King's heart, for he is sure that Merlin loves him (170).

CHAPTER XII.

THE RETURN OF THE REBEL KINGS TO THEIR CITIES, AND THEIR ENCOUNTER WITH THE SAXONS.¹

WHILE Arthur and his followers abide at Bredigan in "joy and solace" till the Lenten season, the rebel kings return full of "sorrow and heaviness" to their own cities. While on their way they enter the city of Sorhant, a town of King Urien (171). Here they learn of the ravages of the Saxons (172). In consternation they hold a council and agree to help one another. They learn that Arthur and Ban and Bors have gone to the help of Leodegan, but that the fortresses are prepared for war (175). While the kings are making ready, and the Saxons have already arrived, we may turn for a moment to Galeshyn, son of King Ventres, and nephew to King Arthur (177). One day Galeshyn questions his mother about her parents and her brother Arthur. She tells him the whole story, and then he goes to his chamber resolved to be one of Arthur's knights, and sends a messenger to Gawein, asking to meet him at Newerk, the third day after Easter (178).

The rest of the chapter relates the story of Arthur's amour with his sister, Loth's wife, the fruit of which is Mordred (180); tells of Gawein the son of Loth, and how he questions his mother about Arthur and says that he will be made a knight only by Arthur (181-184); and gives a further account of the movements of the Saxons.

CHAPTER XIII.

GAWEIN and his brothers Agravayn, Gaharet, and Gaheries, meet Galeshyn at Newerk in Brochelonde (189). They engage in repeated battles with the Saxons, but finally arrive at Logres (201).

¹ I shall make no excuse for abridging as much as possible the intolerably prolix account of the wars with the Saxons. The story is in each case essentially the same. Each king when attacked assembles his men and delivers battle. Hosts are killed, and there is "battle grete and stour mortell," while Saxons are "slitte to the teth," but there is exceedingly little in the long-winded recital that can interest a modern reader.

CHAPTER XIV.

EXPEDITION OF ARTHUR, BAN, AND BORS TO AID LEODEGAN AT TAMELIDE
(CARMELIDE).

WHEN the three kings arrive at Tamelide Leodegan receives them well, though he does not know who they are (203). He accepts their proffered aid (204), and prepares his hosts to go out against the invaders of his land (205). As may be expected, Leodegan and his allies gain the victory (223). After the battles, the kings divide the spoil (224), and Leodegan gives a great feast. Gonnore, the daughter of the King, serves at table and wins the heart of Arthur (227), for of all the ladies in the Bloy Breteyne she is the wisest and the fairest and the best beloved except Helayn, the daughter of Pelles, who had the keeping of the Saint-Graal (229).

CHAPTER XV.

EXPLOITS OF THE REBEL KINGS AGAINST THE SAXONS.

THE SAXONS sweep over the country with fire and sword and slay the inhabitants without pity, but the Britons resist like brave men and inflict terrible punishment upon the invaders. The battle still rages as the tale turns to speak of Merlin and Arthur (231-257).

CHAPTER XVI.

MERLIN'S JOURNEY TO LOGRES AND VISIT TO GAWAIN. ENCOUNTER BETWEEN
THE CHILDREN AND ORIENX.

GREAT is the joy in the town of Toraise, in Tamelide, where Arthur is highly honoured by Leodegan and his daughter Gonnore (257). One day Merlin tells the three kings that he must return to Logres, but that he will be with them again before they have another battle (258). After visiting Blase (259), Merlin takes the form of an old man (261), and goes to Camelot, where Gawain and his brothers are awaiting the Saxons. The old man calls him a coward for not going to the help of Seigramore, the nephew of the Emperor of Constantinople, who has come to take arms of Arthur (263). Gawain leaps at once to horse and rides forth with four thousand men. When

they draw near, they find Seigramore and the children giving fierce battle to the Saxons. The fresh warriors smite the Saxons (264), and Gawein unhorses Oriens their leader (265). Then they return with joy to Camelot (268), but the old man has departed, and they believe he has been slain (270).

CHAPTER XVII.

RAVAGES OF THE SAXONS IN THE LANDS OF KING CLARION AND DUKE ESCAM.

THE Saxons make another descent, but are driven back with great loss, and Duke Escam sends half of the plunder to King Clarion (271-277).

CHAPTER XVIII.

ADVENTURES OF GAWEIN AND HIS FELLOWS AT ARONDELL IN CORNWALL.

GAWEIN, with an army of thirty thousand men, sets out for Bredigan (278). When he arrives, a churl, who of course is Merlin, gives him letters purporting to be from the sons of Urien (279), asking his aid ; and Gawein at once leads out his men in six divisions (280). Meanwhile Ydiers and the two sons of Urien are routed by the Saxons. Then Gawein's company arrives, and after repeated fierce combats drives the Saxons from the field (294). Then comes an old man on horseback and says, "Gawein, return again and bring with thee all thy fellows into Arondell, for, lo! here come Saxons in great number, and we may not endure them" (294). Gawein follows his advice, and from the city walls looks down upon the Saxons (295). While Gawein and his followers are feasting that night, a knight in torn hauberk gallops up to the castle and cries out, "Who is the squire that dares follow me on an adventure?" Gawein answers, and asks which way he will go, but the knight replies vaguely, taunting him with cowardice.

Gawein says that though he die he will hold him company (297). With seven thousand men he sallies forth, and rides all day and night till he meets a squire on horseback with a child in a cradle. The squire says that he is fleeing with the child of King Loth, and that the mother is in the hands of the Saxons (298). Gawein

gallops off, rescues his mother (299) and conducts her to Arondell and then to Logres (301). Do of Cardoell receives them with great honour, and tells Gawein that all the warnings have been given by Merlin, the best diviner that ever was or will be, and that Merlin had assumed the three forms under which Gawein had seen him (302).

CHAPTER XIX.

MERLIN'S MEETING WITH LEONCES. HIS ADVENTURES WITH NIMIANE.

AFTER Gawein has rescued his mother, the knight who brings him the news, and who is none other than Merlin, goes to Blase (303), relates all these things, prophesies darkly, and says that God has given him wit to accomplish the adventures of the Saint-Graal (304). After this, Merlin departs into the realm of Benoyk, and comes to Leonces, the Lord of Paerne (305). He warns the King of the coming war, and advises him to make ready against Claudas and Frolles. Merlin then leaves Leonces, and goes to see Nimiane, a maiden of great beauty, the daughter of Dionas (307). In the form of a fair young squire he meets her at a fountain in the forest (308), asks her who she is, and tells her that for her love he will show her wonderful things (309). Then he conjures up a company of knights and ladies, singing and dancing, and a fair orchard wherein is all manner of fruit and flowers (310). Nimiane asks him to teach her some of his skill, and promises him her love (311). At this Merlin tells her much, which she writes upon parchment; and then he joins the kings at Tamelide (312).

CHAPTER XX.

MEETING OF THE PRINCES AT LEICESTER; RETURN OF MERLIN TO THE COURT OF LEODEGAN; BETROTHAL OF ARTHUR AND GONNORE; AND GREAT BATTLE WITH KING RION AND THE GIANTS.

WHEN the rebel princes meet at Leicester, they agree to go out against the Saxons, and choose for their camp the banks of the Severn (313).

Meanwhile Merlin has returned to Toraise, in Tamelide, and advises the three kings—Ban, Bors, and Arthur—to go to Leodegan

and bid him prepare for battle with King Rion (314). They do not fathom his dark prophecies (315), but they follow his counsel. Leodegan is greatly troubled at the invasion of his land (318); but Merlin comforts him, and tells him that his guest is King Arthur, and that the young King desires Gonnore for his queen (319). With joy Leodegan leads in his daughter, richly clad, and presents her to Arthur. After a night of feasting the King arrays his army for the battle (321). Gonnore herself helps Arthur to put on his armour, and receives a kiss for her reward (323). Then the host rides forth, surprises the army of Rion, and so begins the battle (324). Everywhere are fierce single combats, but the result of the battle is doubtful till Arthur encounters Rion, and finally puts him to flight (342-345). Then the Christians chase the giants, and so win the victory (357). With great spoil they return to Toraise, and then, after two days, Arthur takes leave of Gonnore, and, accompanied by Merlin and twenty thousand soldiers, passes into Benoyk. Ban sends a message to his brother King Bors, asking him to come to Bredigan (360).

CHAPTER XXI.

ADVENTURES OF BAN AND GUYNEBANS; BORS' FIGHT WITH AMAUNT;
MEETING OF THE CHILDREN WITH KING ARTHUR.

KING Ban and his brother Guynebans enter the Forest Perilous, and there see knights and ladies in a meadow closed about with woods (361). For the love of a maiden Guynebans "makes dances to enter," and teaches her the secret of his enchantments. When Ban departs, Guynebans accompanies him, but afterwards returns to his lady, and abides with her all his life (363).

In obedience to the message of King Ban, King Bors sets out for Bredigan (364), and on the way engages in battle with King Amaunt, whom he kills in single combat (368). Accompanied by the knights of the dead king, he rides on to Bredigan, and there presents them to Arthur, to whom they do homage (369). After three days they go into the forest in search of a great treasure of which Merlin has told them. When it is found they all set out for Logres. As they are riding forth, Gawain and his company learn that Arthur and his

host are near, and go to meet him. Merlin knows of their coming, and makes Arthur and the two kings "alight under a fair tree" to await them (370).

Gawein and his followers kneel before King Arthur, who commands them to rise and promises to knight them. Again they kneel and thank him (372), while Gawein tells his name, and presents his companions. Arthur makes Gawein constable of his household (373), and then all ride forth to Logres. That night the children hold vigil in the minster, and on the morrow they are dubbed by Arthur with his good sword Calibourne (374). After the great court which Arthur holds for three days, Merlin tells the King to make ready his host to move at midnight against the invaders of Benoyk. Gawein follows the King's commands, and when he enters again, he learns all that he has owed to Merlin (376). As the host makes ready the ships at Dover, Merlin departs for Northumberland, and recounts to Blase all that has happened (378).

CHAPTER XXII.

BATTLE BEFORE THE CASTLE OF TREBES.

IN the month of June Arthur and the two kings take ship and come to Rochelle. On the morrow at midday, Merlin joins them (379). Meanwhile the invaders gather about the castle of Trebes and besiege it on four sides (380). When Arthur and his host arrive there is a great battle, Merlin casts his enchantments and discomfits the enemy with flames of fire in the air, while Kay bears the dragon which vomits fire. Arthur and the two kings, and Gawein and the knights of the Round Table perform marvels, and finally chase the besiegers from the field (411).

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DREAM OF THE WIFE OF KING BAN; THE DREAM OF JULIUS CÆSAR, EMPEROR OF ROME.

ALL the night there is feasting in the castle of Trebes (412). When the two kings Ban and Bors have gone to rest with their wives, Queen Helayne, the wife of King Ban, has a wonderful dream, which

she relates to him (413). After the first mass, to which they both go, King Ban falls asleep and hears a voice speaking to him (415). He and the Queen fear greatly, but do not at once ask Merlin the meaning of the dreams. Arthur meanwhile ravages the lands of Claudas, who afterwards, however, conquers the two kings, but is finally driven out of the land by Arthur (416). One day Ban asks Merlin the meaning of the dreams. Merlin explains a part, and then goes to Nimiane his love (417). Meanwhile Gawein ravages the lands of Claudas, returns to Benoyk; and then with Arthur and the two kings takes ship at Rochelle to return to Carmelide (419).

Merlin leaves them and goes through the forests to Rome, where Julius Cæsar is Emperor (420). The Emperor has a strange dream which he keeps to himself, but he sits at meat pensive among his barons. Suddenly Merlin in the form of a great hart dashes into the palace, and falling on his knees before the Emperor says that a savage man will explain the dream (423). In a moment he has vanished. The Emperor in wrath promises his daughter to anyone who will bring the hart or the savage man. Now, the Emperor has a steward named Grisandol, who, though a maiden, has come to the court in the disguise of a squire. To her the hart appears in the forest, and shortly afterwards the savage man (424). He allows himself to be taken in his sleep (425) and brought before the Emperor (427), to whom he explains the dream (430), showing that the vision means that the Empress has twelve youths disguised as maidens, with whom she disports at pleasure, and advising the Emperor to marry Grisandol (433), who is a maiden in disguise. The Emperor follows the advice of the savage man, who, of course, is Merlin, and lives happily with his new wife, after burning the old one (437).

CHAPTER XXIV.

BATTLE BETWEEN THE TWELVE KINGS AND THE SAXONS BEFORE THE CITY OF CLARENCE.

MERLIN now goes to Blase and relates all that has happened. By this time the twelve princes and the duke are assembled to go out against the Saxons (438). A great battle is fought before the city,

but the Saxons are too strong for the Christians, and chase them from the field (446). Then the Saxons burn and destroy whatever they find, and so terrify the kings that they dare not venture again to fight the invaders (447).

CHAPTER XXV.

ARTHUR'S MEETING WITH LEODEGAN; MARRIAGE OF ARTHUR AND GONNORE.

ARTHUR and his company arrive in Great Britain (447), and ride to Carmelide, where Leodegan and Gonnore are awaiting them. The marriage is arranged to take place at the end of a week (449). Meanwhile the rebel kings learn of the knighting of the sons of Loth, Urien, and the others, of the arrival of Loth's wife at Logres, and of Arthur's victories. Then they are sorry for their rebellion, but King Loth plots to steal away Arthur's wife, and to put in her place Gonnore, the step-daughter of Cleodalis,¹ with whose wife Leodegan had long lived in adultery (451). Merlin learns of the plot and prepares to frustrate it (452). When the day of the wedding arrives, all march in solemn procession to the minster and witness the ceremony (453). After meat the knights ride forth to a tournament before the city. None can stand against Gawein, who ceases only when Merlin tells him he has done enough (461). When the tournament is over Arthur creates Gawein a knight of the Round Table (462). After the feast that night the conspirators who come with the false Gonnore, seize Queen Gonnore as she goes out into the garden (463). But Bretel and Ulfen, who are there by Merlin's advice, rescue her from their hands (464) and deliver her to Leodegan (465). Then Arthur goes to his wife, "and there they lead merry life together as they that well love" (466). On the following day Leodegan banishes the false Gonnore. Her stepfather Cleodalis takes her away, and leaves her in an abbey that stands in a wild place, where she remains till Bertelak finds her (468).

¹ Cf. *Merlin*, chap. xiv. p. 213.

CHAPTER XXVI.

BANISHMENT OF BERTELAK ; FIGHT AND RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ARTHUR AND LOTH ; ARTHUR'S COURT AT LOGRES ; VOWS OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE ROUND TABLE AND THE QUEEN'S KNIGHTS ; THE TOURNAMENT.

ON account of a knight that Bertelak has killed he is banished (470). He rides forth until he comes to the abbey in which Gonnore is staying, and there abides a long time, plotting revenge on Leodegan and Arthur. Eight days after his marriage, Arthur, with his Queen and five hundred men at arms, sets out for Bredigan, having sent Gawein to Logres to make ready the city for the court of August (471). King Loth is lying in wait for Arthur, and attacks him with seven hundred men (473). There is a fierce fight, but in the midst of it Gawein comes up with four-score fellows, and Kay bearing the banner (475). Gawein unhorses his father Loth, makes known who he is, and compels Loth to do homage to Arthur (477). So all ride together to Logres, where Arthur gives rich gifts to his followers (479).

In the middle of August begins Arthur's court, where all the knights and ladies appear in their most splendid robes (480). The knights of the Round Table take a vow to aid any maiden in distress (481). Then Gawein and his fellows, who pray to be the knights of the Queen, vow that one of them shall go to the help of any man or woman who appeals for assistance, and on returning shall relate whatever adventures may befall him (483). When the vows are made, the knights prepare for a grand tournament with five hundred knights on each side (484). As may be expected, they finish with a quarrel. Gawein lays about him with an apple-tree club (493), then draws his sword and kills more than forty. Fighting follows, and the tournament comes to an end. Finally, King Arthur reproves Gawein (500), and brings about a reconciliation. The knights of the Round Table, kneeling, beg forgiveness of Gawein, and agree not to tourney again with the Queen's knights (502).

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE MISSION OF KING LOTH AND HIS FOUR SONS TO MAKE TRUCE WITH
THE REBEL KINGS; BATTLES WITH THE SAXONS.

AFTER the tournament is a great feast, where King Arthur and King Ban, and King Bors, and King Loth, sit in state at the high dais (504). When the tables are removed the four kings withdraw to a chamber by themselves. Then Loth begins to speak of the Saxons, and says that with the help of the other princes, Arthur could chase the heathen out of the land (505). All agree that Loth is the best messenger to treat with the rebel kings, and he consents to go to them with his four sons (506). At midnight they set out, choosing the unfrequented paths, and so ride for eight days, having a fight on the way with seven thousand Saxons. They kill a goodly number of the heathen, and at nightfall arrive at a forester's house, which is strongly fortified and encircled by deep ditches full of water, and by great oaks and thick bushes (517). They are most hospitably received, and pass the evening in talk till bedtime (519).

While they are asleep, we may speak a moment of King Pelles of Lytenoys (520). This king has a fair son who wishes to be squire to Gawain at the court of King Arthur. The King consents and sends forth his son fully armed and accompanied by a single squire (521). The two meet with the Saxons and defend themselves as best they can, but they are in great straits, and there we will leave them for a time (524).

In the morning King Loth and his sons ride forth, and as they pass by a woodside they see the squire coming down the hill (528). He tells them that his lord is in the hands of the Saxons, and begs their help. They at once attack the Saxons (530) and rescue the King's son (534); but Gaheries and Agravain quarrel, and Gawain has to interfere (537). Then the company ride on towards Roestok, not finding shelter till after midnight, when they arrive at a hermitage (539). Suddenly Gawain and the King's son, whose name is Elizer, hear the cries of a lady in distress. They sally forth and rescue her and a knight (541). The lady is sister to the lady of Roestok, and

the knight is her cousin (543). They now join King Loth, and all go together to the Castle of Roestok, where the lord receives them with joy (545) and agrees to deliver Loth's message to the King de Cent Chevaliers, bidding him come in September to Arestuell, in Scotland (546). As they ride forth in the morning they find Duke Escam beset by ten thousand Saxons near Cambenyk (547), and at once put themselves at his service (548). In the great battle which follows the Saxons are routed (553). Then Duke Escam and his guests ride to Cambenyk (555). When he learns of Loth's mission to the princes he agrees to accompany Loth to Arestuell. Loth asks the Duke to send messengers to the other princes that they also may come to Arestuell (557). Loth and his company await for several days the other princes at Arestuell (558). They arrive one after another, and hold a great council. Gawein asks them to consent to a truce, so as to fight the Saxons together. The princes turn to Loth and learn with surprise that he has already done homage to Arthur (559). They, however, agree finally to the truce, which they say they will keep only till they have driven out the Saxons. Then they depart, gather their people, and go to the plain of Salisbury (560).

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ADVENTURES OF SEIGRAMORE, GALASHYN, AND DODINELL; MERLIN'S VISITS
TO BLASE AND TO THE PRINCES; ARTHUR'S PREPARATIONS FOR THE
WAR.

ARTHUR and his knights are glad when they learn the result of Loth's mission. On the morning of the day after the news comes, three knights of Arthur's court, Seigramore, Galashyn, and Dodinell, rise early and go into the forest in search of adventures (561). Three knights of the Round Table, Agravandain, Mynoras, and Monevall, disguise themselves and leave the court in the hope of meeting the first three knights and trying their mettle. When they arrive at a point where three roads separate, each chooses his way and rides off alone.

Meanwhile Merlin, who left Arthur in Carmelide,¹ goes to Blase and recounts all that has happened since Arthur's marriage—the

¹ Cf. p. 472.

story of the false Gonnore, of Gawein's exploits and the submission of King Loth to Arthur, of the great tournament, and of the truce to which the princes have agreed at Arestuell (562). Blase writes all this in his book; and then Merlin begins to prophesy darkly (563). After taking leave of Blase he goes into Little Britain, tells Leonces and Pharien to go with much people to the plain of Salisbury (564), then visits Nimiane (565) and various princes whom he bids also go to Salisbury, and finally arrives at Logres (566). All are rejoiced to see him, and listen eagerly to his account of the allies who are gathering at Salisbury. Then Merlin asks: "When I came thus suddenly upon you right now what did ye behold so intently down the meadows?" Says the King: "We looked on three knights that we saw enter into the forest." Merlin replies: "Wit it verily, that it be three knights of the Round Table in great need of succour" (567). At this the King sends without delay Sir Ewein, Gifflet, and Kay to their rescue (568). The knights have meanwhile met and fought with one another (569). Sir Ewein, Gifflet, and Kay arrive just as the knights are in the thick of the fight, and put an end to it (571). Then all ride together to court. In the talk which follows, Ban says that Sir Gawein is the best knight, and all agree that it is true (573).

After meat the King sends forth the messengers, summoning his people to Salisbury (574), and on the morrow the King and his men ride forth, with Kay bearing the great banner. Spies of the Saxons watch the host as it assembles at Salisbury, and guard against a surprise (575).

CHAPTER XXIX.

PARLIAMENT OF THE PRINCES AT SALISBURY; THEIR HOMAGE TO ARTHUR;
AND DEFEAT OF THE SAXONS.

WHEN the princes have all arrived at Salisbury, Merlin tells Arthur that so many good knights shall not be assembled again till the father slay the son and the son the father. After another dark prophecy which Arthur does not understand Merlin sends the King to the barons (579). They tell him as he thanks them for their assistance

that they are not his men, but that they are come to defend holy church. "God requite you," says Arthur, "in whose honour and reverence ye do it." "Amen," say the lords, "and be it so as ye will" (580).

When the twelve princes come to Loth's tent, they hold a stormy council, and all declare that they will not make peace with Arthur; but when the King enters with Ban and Bors and the strange princes, the twelve do him reverence, for he is a king anointed (581). After Arthur has addressed them, Loth says that they must follow the counsel of Merlin, and to this they agree (582). When the assembly is dismissed Elizer comes to Gawain, and kneeling before him prays to be made a knight. Gawain grants his request (583), and Arthur bestows upon him the richest arms in his coffers. On the morrow Elizer sits at the King's table between Ban and Bors, and in the jousting which follows wins much praise (584).

Next day the host rides forth from the plain of Salisbury, Merlin leading the way to the city of Clarence (585). Before the city of Garlot they meet with the Saxons, defeat them here (597) and at Clarence, and drive them into the sea (602).

CHAPTER XXX.

DEPARTURE OF BAN AND BORS, AND THEIR VISIT TO AGRAVADAIN.

JOYFUL over the victory, Arthur and his host with Ban and Bors and Loth and Gawain return to Camelot (603). Then by Merlin's advice Ban and Bors, accompanied by the magician, set out for their own country. As they ride toward the sea, they arrive before a great castle closed round with seven walls and defended by five high towers (604). They cross the surrounding marsh by the causeway, and sound an ivory horn which is hung by a silver chain to the branch of a pine-tree (605). Three times Ban blows the horn without result. Again he blows three times. Then in wrath Agravadain, the lord of the castle, demands what they want and who they are. On learning that their lord is King Arthur, he makes them welcome (606). In the castle are three maidens of great beauty, the

fairest of whom is the daughter of Agravadain. Merlin by enchantment causes her and Ban to fall in love (607), and transforms himself into a young knight, who comes kneeling before King Ban (608). After supper they go to bed, and by the enchantment of Merlin, all sleep soundly except Ban and the maiden. Then Merlin comes and conducts her to King Ban (609), with whom she stays till day dawns. Merlin leads the maiden again to her bed, and breaks the enchantment (610). All arise, and the two kings prepare to depart, King Ban taking a tender leave of the maiden, and telling her that the son she has conceived will bring her joy and honour (611). With that they continue their journey till they come to Benoyk. Then Merlin leaves them and visits Nimiane his love and Blase his master, to whom he recounts all that has happened (612).

CHAPTER XXXI.

ARTHUR'S GREAT FEAST AT CAMELOT; THE BATTLE BEFORE TORAISE;
AND THE DEFEAT OF KING RION.

AFTER the departure of the two kings, Arthur remains at Camelot, and there gives a magnificent feast (613). On the second day, when Arthur and Gonnore and the twelve kings with their queens are seated at the high dais, there enters a blind harper, clad in samite and girt with a baldric of silk, garnished with gold and precious stones. On a silver harp, with golden strings, he harps a lay of Britain so sweetly that Kay, the steward, pauses to listen (615).

Suddenly a strange knight enters, and asks Kay which is the King Arthur. Then he delivers to the King a letter with which he has been entrusted by Rion (619). Arthur gives it to the Archbishop, who breaks the ten seals and reads. Rion, the lord of all the west, announces that he has conquered nine kings, and furred with their beards a mantle of red samite. Nothing is lacking but the tassels, and to furnish these Arthur is commanded to send his beard with all the skin (620). King Arthur is wroth, and dismisses the messenger with the declaration that King Rion shall never have his beard. The knight departs; and then the harper harps merrily, and finally asks to bear the chief banner in the first battle (621). Arthur refuses

because the minstrel is blind. Ban alone suspects that the harper is Merlin, and asks the King to grant the request. As they talk together, the harper disappears, but a moment later re-enters the hall in the form of a little naked child, and again asks the King to deliver to him the banner (622). Arthur laughs, and consents. The child goes out of the palace, and reappears in the form of Merlin. Then the enchanter passes over the sea to Pharien and Leonce, and returning, visits Urien and Loth, summoning them all to the help of King Arthur (623). In a few days the two hosts stand facing each other (624), Merlin bearing the banner that cast out fire and flame (625). All perform prodigies of valour. Finally, Arthur and Rion meet in single combat (628). Arthur cuts off the giant's head (630), and so wins the victory. King Rion's barons submit to Arthur, and return with the body of the dead king into their own land. King Arthur and his host go to Toraise till he is healed of his wounds. Then they ride to Camelot, where the queens are awaiting them, and after four days separate, each man going to his own country, and King Arthur to Logres. Merlin also takes leave of the King, uttering as he goes a mysterious prophecy (631).

CHAPTER XXXII.

MERLIN'S INTERPRETATION OF THE DREAM OF FLUALIS, AND HIS VISIT TO NIMIANE; THE KNIGHTING OF THE DWARF; THE EMBASSY FROM THE EMPEROR OF ROME; ARTHUR'S FIGHT WITH THE GIANT; THE BATTLE WITH THE ROMANS.

MERLIN passes with marvellous speed over land and sea, and comes to Flualis, King of Jerusalem, who has had a wonderful dream (632). Merlin, as usual, has no difficulty in explaining (633) what has puzzled all the wise men, and, without taking the King's daughter as his reward, he goes to Nimiane, who enchants him at her will (634). Merlin teaches her still more, and then departs and goes to Arthur at Logres, visiting Blase on the way in order to make his customary report (635). To this practice of his we owe this veracious chronicle. While King Arthur is sitting at the high dais in the hall, there alights from a mule a lovely maiden with an ugly dwarf, whom

she helps down from her saddle and brings before the King. With a courteous salute she asks him to grant her a request (635). As he promises, she asks Arthur to knight her companion. Everyone laughs (636), but Arthur keeps his word, attires the dwarf in splendid armour, and makes him knight (637). As the damsel and the dwarf leave the palace, Merlin tells the King that the dwarf is a prince, and it shall soon be known who the maiden is (638).

While they are yet speaking, twelve princes arrive, with a letter from Luce, the Emperor of Rome (639), summoning Arthur before him for having withheld the service and tribute which he should pay, and for having dared to rise against Rome; threatening him in case of refusal with the loss of all Britain and the lands that do him homage, and with imprisonment. There is uproar in the palace when the letter is read; and Arthur withdraws with his princes and barons to prepare a reply (640). In his address Arthur says: "They claim Britain for theirs, and I claim Rome for mine" (642). His princes and barons agree that they must declare war upon Rome. Arthur gives his reply to the twelve messengers, and dismisses them with rich gifts (643).

When they have gone, Merlin tells Arthur to gather his people quickly, and then departs to warn the other princes. They come at once with thousands of knights (643), take ship and join Ban and Bors at Gannes (644).

In the night Arthur dreams of a bear and a dragon who fight together on a mountain, and the dragon slays the bear. Merlin explains to the King when he awakes that the bear is a giant, whom the King shall slay. As they begin their march they hear of the giant who has seized a maiden, and taken her to Mount St. Michel. Arthur at once bids Kay and Bediver make ready to set out about midnight (645). As they come to the mountain they see two great fires shining brightly. On approaching one of the fires, Bediver sees an old woman weeping beside a tomb (646). To his questions she replies: "The niece of Hoell of Nautes lies in this tomb, a victim to the lust of the giant, who now defiles me her nurse." As Bediver tells this to Arthur, the King goes softly against the giant with sword drawn, but the monster sees him coming, and meets him with a great club (648). They have

a stubborn fight, but Arthur finally kills him, and Bediver cuts off his head (649). They then return to the host, Bediver bearing the head at his saddle. The barons bless themselves when they see the head, and praise God for the King's victory. After crossing the river Aube their forces are increased by six thousand knights led by Ban and Bors. Then the King fortifies a castle to which he may retreat if need be (650), and sends Gawein, Seigramore, and Ewein with a message to the Emperor bidding him return home. Gawein delivers it defiantly (651), and smites off the head of a knight who says, "Britons can well menace, but at their deeds they are but easy." Then they leap to horse, striking down all who oppose them (652), and finally join a party of six thousand men whom Arthur has sent to their rescue (653). A battle follows in which the Romans are routed, and many of them taken prisoners (654). The Emperor is wroth at his defeat (656), and makes his people leap to horse, and comes to Logres with all his host. Arthur sends his army to the valley of Toraise, between Oston and Logres (658). In the battle which follows the Romans are chased from the field, and the Emperor Luce is slain. Arthur sends the body to Rome with the message that this is the tribute which Britain pays and is ready to pay again if more is required (664). Merlin then tells the King of a great cat full of the devil, which lives by the Lake of Losane (665).

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ARTHUR'S FIGHT WITH THE GREAT CAT; THE SEARCH FOR MERLIN,
AND HIS IMPRISONMENT; THE TRANSFORMATION OF GAWAIN INTO
A DWARF, AND RETURN TO HIS PROPER FORM; THE BIRTH OF
LANCELOT.

SAYS Merlin: "It befell four years ago that a fisher came to the Lake of Losane with his nets, and promised to give our Lord the first fish he should take. Twice he broke his vow, and the third time he drew out a little kitten as black as a coal. This he took home with him to kill the rats and mice, and kept it till it strangled him and his wife and his children, and after that fled to the mountains beyond the lake. And now it slays whomsoever it meets" (665).

Arthur at once makes ready to kill the beast, and rides off with five companions. They go up the mountain, and the King approaches the cave where the cat is. Merlin whistles; the cat rushes out and attacks the King (666). The fight is terrible (667), but the King gains the victory, and carries off the cat's feet in triumph.

The story now turns to speak of Arthur's knights who are taking to France the Roman prisoners with whom they are charged. Claudas, the old enemy of Ban and Bors, attacks the knights as they pass a castle of his (669), but Leonces and Pharien come to the rescue with seven hundred knights. The Britons win the day, and conduct their prisoners to Benoyk as Arthur has commanded (670).

The story returns to the castle of Agravadain where Ban and Bors and Merlin were so hospitably entertained.¹ Fifteen days after their visit, a rich knight named Leriador comes to the lord of the castle and asks for his daughter in marriage. She tells her father that she is too young (671), and finally confesses that she is with child by King Ban. Returning to the knight, her father asks him to wait two years, and then he shall have his will. At this the knight departs in wrath, without replying a word. Shortly after he returns with eight hundred knights and squires and yeomen, and lays siege to the castle (672). Agravadain vanquishes one after another the knights who come to joust with him (673), and finally Leriador himself, who acknowledges himself conquered and goes home into his own country again (674). In due time the maiden is delivered of a son, who afterwards wins great renown (675).

Meanwhile the direful dream which Merlin has expounded to Flualis² goes into effect. The King is terrified, renounces his paganism, and turns Christian, with his family (675). His four daughters marry four princes, and are blessed with fifty-four children, some of whom become knights of Arthur (676).

The story now returns to Arthur, who has routed the Romans and killed the great cat. After eight days of delay by the River Aube the King return with his army to Benoyk, and sends Gawein to destroy the castle of the March. This done, Gawein returns to

¹ Cf. chap. xxx.

² Chapter xxxii.

Benoyk (677). King Arthur then receives a message that Leodegan is dead, and on the morrow takes leave of Ban and Bors, never to see them again. On coming to Logres he comforts Queen Gonnore, and abides there long time with his knights and with Merlin (678). One day Merlin takes leave of the King and the Queen, sore weeping that he shall never see them again, and goes to Blase, to whom he recounts all that has happened. Of the dwarf that Arthur has knighted, Merlin says that he is a great gentleman and no dwarf by nature. After eight days Merlin takes leave of Blase and says: "This is the last time that I shall speak with you, for from henceforth I shall sojourn with my love, and never shall I have power to leave her, neither to come nor to go" (679).

Then he goes to Nimiane his love in the forest of Broceliande, and teaches her all his craft (680). She makes an enchantment of nine circles repeated nine times while Merlin is sleeping in her lap. And it seems to Merlin that he is in a strong fortress from which he can never come out. But Nimiane goes and comes as she likes, and has Merlin ever with her (681). After Merlin has been gone seven weeks, Arthur sends Gawein in search of him. The knight sets out with thirty others in a company. At a cross beside a forest they divide into three parties, and continue the search (682). Meanwhile the maiden and her dwarf, whom Arthur has dubbed, come to a forest. This they pass through, and, as they emerge, the damsel sees a knight coming armed upon a steed. The knight claims her for his love, but the dwarf defends her, unhorses the knight (683), and makes him promise to go to Arthur and recount his defeat (684).

And now the tale turns to Seigramoe and his nine knights who are searching for Merlin, but without success (687); then to Ewein and his knights, who also vainly seek Merlin (688) but meet the maiden and go to the assistance of the dwarf, who has overcome four knights and sent them to Arthur; last of all the story speaks of Gawein, who has separated from his knights and is continuing the search alone (689). As he is riding silently along, he meets a damsel splendidly mounted, and passes her without a salute. She stops her palfrey and tells him that he is a vile knight so to pass her without uttering a word. He begs her forgiveness, but she tells him to

remember another time to salute a lady or a damsel. For his punishment he shall be like the first man he meets (690). A little later, Gawein meets the damsel and the dwarf, and salutes her courteously. After going a short distance the dwarf changes to his original form, and becomes a young knight of great beauty, while Gawein becomes a dwarf (691). In this guise, however, he continues the quest for Merlin, going all through the realm of Logres and at length to Little Britain. As he is riding through the forest at Broceliande, he hears Merlin speaking, but cannot see him (692). Merlin says that he can never come forth from the place where he is, but that she who has enchanted him can come and go as she likes (693). Merlin comforts Gawein by telling him that he shall soon regain his form, and so he departs glad and sorrowful. As he rides on his way he again meets the damsel whom he had passed without saluting (694). She pretends to be struggling with two knights and cries to Gawein for help. He smites the knights (695) till the damsel cries, "Enough, Sir Gawein, do no more." Then on his promise never to fail to salute a lady she restores him to his original form. He kneels and says that he is her knight for evermore. After taking leave of her he rides to Cardoell, arriving at the time appointed, on the same day as Ewein and Seigramore. Then he tells all his adventures and the fate of Merlin (697).

Whilst they are rejoicing over Gawein, the damsel enters leading the knight who was a dwarf. She presents him to King Arthur, who makes him a companion of the Round Table. Then the story says no more of Arthur and his company, and turns to Ban and Bors. After Arthur takes leave of the two brothers they dwell with joy in Benoyk. To Ban is born a son who is surnamed Lancelot, and to Bors a son named Lyonel, and another called Bohort. All three win great renown by their prowess (698). After the birth of Bohort, Bors falls sick at Gannes, deprived of the help of Ban, who is kept at home by his enemies and finally conquered by the Romans, till he has only the Castle of Trebes left, and this he loses afterwards by the falsity of his seneschal whom he brought up from childhood (699).

IV.

VARIOUS FORMS OF THE MERLIN LEGEND.

THE prose romance of *Merlin*, as we have it in our fifteenth-century English version, is a translation of a French prose romance which had assumed substantially its final shape early in the thirteenth century. The prose romance is but one of a variety of forms in which much of the material of the romance has been preserved. An enumeration of these forms will show to what extent this branch of the Arthurian legend entered into the literature of the Middle Ages and of later times. The arrangement according to language is not the best in all respects, for it groups together pieces produced under widely different conditions, but the practical convenience is considerable. In this account it will be desirable to give a list not only of the pieces that acquaint us with the history of Merlin, but also of such pieces as the prophecies and other works attributed to him. We can thus get at the outset a general view of the wide range of the legend, though we must reserve a number of questions relating to the Celtic, Latin, French, and English forms for more extended discussion in later sections. In such a sketch as this, exhaustive treatment is not attempted.

A.—Celtic.

1.—A few Welsh poems purporting to belong to the sixth century contain an obscure account of a bard of the name of Myrddin. This name is the exact phonetic equivalent of the Merlin of the romances. Upon the direct development of the romance these poems, as we shall see, had no influence; but possibly some traits of character in the Merlin of the romances

are due to legends relating to Myrddin. The Breton ballads relating to Marzin have a very doubtful claim to antiquity. Some critics do not hesitate to pronounce them modern forgeries.¹

2.—Of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* there exist Welsh translations, once supposed to be originals.

3.—The Irish translation of Nennius' *Historia Britonum*, though made in the eleventh century, was entirely without influence on the development of the legend.

B.—Latin.

The Latin forms are for our purpose more important than the Celtic, even though the legend is essentially Celtic in many of its elements.

1.—Nennius, *Historia Britonum* (ninth century).

2.—Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1135–1147). This repeats with considerable additions the story told by Nennius, and adds a large number of prophecies.

3.—*Gesta Regum Britanniae*.² This anonymous chronicle,³ in more than 4500 Latin hexameters, follows closely Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, and only now and then reveals any individuality. The portion devoted to Merlin is included in verses 2052–3005.

4.—*Vita Merlini* (about 1148),⁴ usually attributed to Geoffrey of Monmouth.

5.—*Prophecy of Merlin Silvester* (in ten lines), known as the *Prophecy of the Eagle to Edward the Confessor*. This and other⁵ short prophecies attributed to Merlin Silvester, as well as the prophecy of Merlin Ambrose (Book VII. of Geoffrey's *Historia*), were often copied separately, and are preserved in

¹ Cf. i. 86.

² Cf. Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. pp. 274–277; Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibl.* iv. p. cvii. This poem was published by Francisque Michel, Cambridge, 1862.

³ It is hardly necessary to cite the various Latin chronicles in prose, as they are discussed later.

⁴ Cf. Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. pp. 278–288.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.* i. pp. 320–324.

numerous manuscripts.¹ (Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. pp. 292–338.)

6.—Prophecy about Scotland, in thirty leonines.² (Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. p. 299.)

7.—San-Marte (*Sagen von Merlin*, pp. 265–267) printed a Latin prophecy in sixty lines of halting dactylic hexameters (published also by Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, t. viii. pp. 1177–1178) attributed to Merlin, and belonging to the time of the Emperor Frederick II. This was one of a number of political prophecies directed against the Popes.³

8.—San-Marte also printed⁴ twelve four-line stanzas of a Latin imitation of a Welsh war song, based largely on Geoffrey's *Historia*.

9.—A Latin version of the larger prose romance of *Merlin* was printed⁵ in Venice in 1554.

10.—Besides the pieces above mentioned, the following are attributed by Bale and somewhat later by Fabricius to Merlin Ambrose⁶: 1. *Super arce Vortigerni*; 2. *Epitaphium sexti Regis*; 3. *Contra Vortigerni Magos*; 4. *Super quodam Cometa*.

As for the Latin commentary on the prophecies of Merlin

¹ The Prophecies possess interest for our immediate purpose only in so far as they show how powerfully the name of Merlin continued to influence the writers of successive generations, but I cannot discuss the questions which these singular productions suggest. In the works on Merlin by Francisque Michel and Villemarqué will be found enough to satisfy a reasonable curiosity in the matter. The Prophecies are referred to with more or less respect by a score of chroniclers, among whom we meet such names as Giraldus Cambrensis, Orderic Vital, Matthew Paris, Roger of Hoveden, William of Newburgh, Froissart, John Fordun, and others. The French *Prophéties de Merlin* are said to have been translated from the Latin. Cf. Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. pp. 371–373; P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, i. p. 58.

² Printed in the Rolls ed. of Pierre de Langtoft's *Chronicle*, ii. pp. 450, 451. The MS. of the prophecy belongs to the 13th or the 14th century.

³ For a further account of the influence of Merlin in Italy see Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. p. 372, where additional bibliographical references are given.

⁴ *Sagen von Merlin*, pp. 207–209.

⁵ Geoffrey's Latin Prophecies were first printed in Paris in 1508, and reprinted in 1517.

⁶ Cf. F. Michel, *Vita Merlini*, p. lv.; Michel also calls attention to a fragment of four lines preserved by John Price in *Hist. Brit. Defensio*, p. 121.

by Alanus de Insulis,¹ and other Latin illustrative writings, they lie outside of our limits.

C.—French.

1.—The first appearance in French literature of the Merlin legend is in translations of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*.² Of these the earliest version was that of Geoffrey Gaimar, which has entirely disappeared. Most popular was the version by Wace, whose *Brut* appeared in 1155. Several other versions, some of which are preserved in fragmentary form, attest the popularity of the lively *Historia* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The so-called *Münchener Brut* is an anonymous fragment of which only the beginning is preserved.³ Another anonymous version is the *Chanson de Brut*, preserved in a thirteenth-century manuscript. This is in five fragments, and is "written as a chanson de geste, in monorhymed tirades of alexandrines. There are 3360 lines remaining."⁴ In a fourteenth-century manuscript is a poem of 258 lines translated from Geoffrey. It begins with the story of Vortiger, and breaks off at the point where Merlin is preparing to explain the meaning of the fight of the dragons.⁵ Still another version is found in the first part of the Anglo-French Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, which, however, had little or no influence on the development of the legend. Pierre slightly condenses Geoffrey's *Historia* and adds some minor particulars.⁶

¹ PROPHECIA anglicana, sive vaticinia et prædicationes Merlini Ambrosii, ex incubo (ut hominum fama est) ante annos 1200 circiter in Anglia nati, a Galfredo Monumetensi latine conversa, una cum vii. libris explanationum in eandem prophetiam Alani de Insulis. Francofurti-ad-Mœnum, 1603. Small 8vo.

² To avoid repetition I reserve further discussion for a later section.

³ Edited by C. Hoffmann and K. Völmöller, Halle, 1877. Still another fragmentary version in rhyming octosyllabic verse exists in the form of *tirades* with announcements. Cf. Kreyssig, *Gesch. der franz. Lit.* i. 155.

⁴ Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. 272.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 384. See also Villemarqué, *Myrdhinn*, pp. 422-431; Kölbing, *Alt-englische Bibl.* iv. pp. cviii., cix.

⁶ Langtoft lived during the reign of Edward I., and probably died in the reign of Edward II. Cf. T. Wright's ed. of L.'s Chronicle (Rolls Series), vol. i. p. xii. Lond. 1866.

2.—Robert de Borron's poem of *Merlin* belongs to the end of the twelfth century. Of this has been preserved only a fragment of 504 lines. The *Merlin* was intended as a continuation of the poem of *Joseph d'Arimathie*.

3.—At the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, Robert de Borron's poem of *Merlin* was reduced to prose. This is the first branch of the romance of *Merlin*, and is the source of chapters i.-vi. in the English version.

4.—Several thirteenth and fourteenth century continuations of the short prose *Merlin* exist, but they have never been fully described.¹ Paulin Paris called the ordinary continuation the *Book of Arthur*.

5.—*Prophéties de Merlin*.² Translated from the Latin by "Mestre Richart d'Yrlande," at the command of the Emperor Frederick II. "These prophecies are quite unconnected with those in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*; and such as are not purely romantic relate more to the affairs of Italy and of the Holy Land than to those of France or Germany, and hardly at all to those of England."³

6.—We have in a manuscript of the thirteenth or fourteenth century an Anglo-French "prophecy of Merlin about the six kings that are to follow King John, who are here called the Lamb of Winchester, the Dragon of Mercy, the Goat of Carnarvon, the Boar of Windsor, the Ass with Leaden Feet, and the Accursed Mole."⁴

7.—In 1455 Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* was translated into French prose by Jehan Wauquelin of Mons.⁵

¹ These versions I have discussed in treating of the manuscripts.

² In Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 25,434; end of thirteenth century. Imperfect at beginning and end.

³ Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. 371-373.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 299.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 251-253.

8.—The first printed edition of the large prose *Merlin* appeared in 1498, and was followed by numerous others.¹

¹ I give the editions in the order of their appearance:—

1498. The Romance and the Prophecies, printed for Anthoine Verart, Paris, The copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale is a small folio in black letter, containing three volumes bound in one, the first two containing the Romance, and the third the Prophecies. These last are, however, as Ward remarks, printed “in a strange state of disorder.” This is the rarest and choicest of the printed editions, and it has on the title-page a large illustration of the General Resurrection, and at irregular intervals woodcuts of a battle (seventeen times repeated), and of Christ asleep in the ship (on last page). The colophon at the end of vol. iii. gives the date: “Cy finissent les prophécies Merlin nouvellement imprime a paris lan mil. iiii. cccc. iiii. xx. xviii. pour Anthoine Verart demourant devât nostre Dame De Paris a lymage saint Jehan leuangeliste/ ou au palays au premier pillier deuant la chappelle ou lenchâte la messe de messeigneurs de parlement.” The same publisher brought out another edition the same year. The forms of the letters prove that the second edition was reprinted from the type used in the first edition, but reset.

1505 (2nd September). The Romance and the Prophecies were printed for Michel le Noir at Paris, in three small quarto volumes, black letter.

1507. The same publisher brought out the same work in two quarto volumes, black letter.^a

1526 (June). The Prophecies were printed at Paris for Philippe le Noir in a small quarto of two columns, black letter.

1526. In this same year the Romance and the Prophecies appeared in three octavo volumes, black letter.

A quarto edition in black letter of the Prophecies, without date, but assigned to the year 1526, was printed at Rouen for Jehan Mace of Rouen, Michel Angier of Caen, and Richard Mace of Rouen. Brunet mentions a quarto edition in black letter of the second volume of *Merlin* by the same publishers, who doubtless also printed the first volume, and assigns the two to 1526. Another quarto edition in black letter, also without date, appeared in three volumes, “Nouvellement imprimes a Paris, pour le veuve feu Jehan Trepperel et Jehan Jeannot.”

1528 (24th December). The Romance and the Prophecies were again printed for Philippe le Noir in three small quartos, black letter, two columns.^b

1535. Another edition of *Merlin* was printed by Jehan Mace from a fifteenth-century manuscript. This was the last of the old editions.

1597. In this year appeared in Paris, in three volumes, 16mo., *Le Roman de Merlin l'enchanteur, remis en bon françois, et dans un meilleur ordre*, par S. Boulard. Villemarqué gave a short analysis of the romance in his *Myrddinn ou l'enchanteur Merlin*,^c and Paulin Paris a much longer and better one in the second volume of the *Romans de la Table Ronde*.^d

^a Sommer (*Morte Darthur*, iii. 7, note) remarks that an edition appeared at Paris in 1510 (?) and another at Rouen in 1520 (?). As his dates are conjectural, I do not know whether he has in mind the editions I have cited under the year 1526.

^b But cf. F. Michel, *Vita Merlini*, p. lxviii., and Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, art. *Merlin*.

^c Printed in Paris in 1861, and dated ahead so as to appear new in 1862.

^d Paris, 1868.

Allusions to Merlin are not infrequent in French literature.¹ Thus Chrestien de Troyes in the *Roman d'Erec et Enide*² has :

“ En mi la cort sor .i. tapit
Ot .xxx. muis d'esterlins blans,
Car lors avoient à cel tens
Corréu dès le tens Merlin
Par toute Bretagne esterlin.”

Merlin is also mentioned in Gautier's continuation of Chrestien's *Conte du Graal*,³ as well as in the prose *Queste du Saint-Graal*.

Guillaume le Clerc, a thirteenth-century *trouvère*, in *Li Romans des Aventures Fergus* refers to

“ Noquestan
U Merlin's sejourna maint an.”⁴

In *Clariss et Laris* Merlin is mentioned by name (l. 22,931), and elsewhere referred to as he, “ Qui tout set, tout fet, et tout oit ”; and he is called the “sages Mellins” in the *Roman de l'Esconfie*.⁵ Merlin's exploit of bringing over the great stones to Salisbury Plain is touched upon in the *Roman du Hen*. The author of the *Conte du Perroquet* makes some use of the story of Merlin and alludes to the Prophecies, though he makes but slight reference to other Arthurian literature.⁶ The enchanter plays a large part in *Les grandes et inestimables Croniques du*

Strangely enough there does not exist a single modern edition of this famous work. The first part, which extends to the coronation of Arthur, is included in the edition of the Huth MS. published (1886) for the *Société des Anciens Textes Français*; but the manuscript is a poor one, and the first part contains only about one-seventh of the entire romance. A proposal to print in *fac-simile* a 14th century vellum MS. (Brit. Mus. Add. 10,292) of the ordinary *Merlin* was made by Dr. H. Oskar Sommer in the *Academy* (1891), and in vol. iii. of his *Studies on the Sources of Malory's Morte Darthur* (London, 1891), but nothing has appeared as yet.

¹ For several of these allusions I am indebted to Michel's *Vita Merlini*, pp. lxxxiii.-lxxxv.

² B. N. MS. fr. 7498⁴, last leaf but one, col. 2, last verse.

³ Cf. Nutt's *Studies*, p. 18, p. 43.

⁴ B. N. MS. fr. 7595, fol. 442b, col. 1.

⁵ Cf. G. Paris, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx. p. 132; F. Michel, *Vita Merl.*, p. lxxxv.

⁶ *Hist. Litt.* xxx. p. 104.

grant et enorme geant Gargantua (1532), in which both Merlin and Arthur are introduced, but no longer in a serious mood. The spirit of burlesque which gives such a flavour to *Don Quixote* had long before begun to find ridiculous the old romances with their interminable wonders.¹

Since the close of the mediæval period Merlin has suffered neglect in France. Except for Jacques Vergier's (1657-1720) versified tale of *l'Anneau de Merlin*² and Edgar Quinet's strange prose poem of *Merlin l'Enchanteur*³ (1860), there is little or nothing in modern French literature to remind us of the place that the great enchanter held in the literature and the thought of the Middle Ages. The group of Merlin legends recently put together by Méras is a mere collection of exercises for teaching boys French syntax!⁴

D.—Provençal.

From allusions to Merlin in the *Cabra juglar* of Giraud de Cabrareira, as well as in the *Guordo* of Bertrand de Pâris de Roerge, Francisque Michel inferred the existence of the romance of *Merlin* in Provençal.⁵ This opinion was justified by the publication in 1883 of the fragments of a Provençal translation of the romance of *Merlin*.⁶ But, as Chabaneau remarks (p. 4): "Allusions to Merlin are very rare in Provençal poetry.

¹ Cf. e.g. Chaucer's *Rime of Sire Thopas*.

² See his poems, Paris, 1750, 2 vols., 12mo.

³ Paris, 1860, 2 vols., 8vo.

⁴ *Merlin l'Enchanteur, Légende. Exercices sur la Syntaxe pratique de la Langue française* par B. Méras. New York and Boston, 1888, 94 pp., 12mo.

⁵ Cf. *Vita Merlini*, Introd. pp. lxxix.-lxxi.

⁶ *Fragments d'une traduction provençale du roman de Merlin*, publiés par Camille Chabaneau, Paris, 1883. 8vo. Pièce. The MS. was found in the archives of the Commune of Epine—a "double leaf of parchment detached toward the end of the sixteenth century or later from a handsome thirteenth-century MS., which contained a translation of the French romance of *Merlin*." F. 1 contains the amour of Uter with Ygerne, from near the beginning of the incident to the point where Uter prepares to besiege the Duke of Tintagel; f. 2 tells the story from the death of Uter to the episode of the sword enclosed in the anvil. Cf. Chabaneau, pp. 3, 4. The fragments differ slightly from the version of B. N., MS. fr. 747.

Birch-Hirschfeld (*Ueber die den provenzalischen Troubadours bekannten epischen Stoffe*, p. 55) can find but three. I do not remember to have seen others."

E.—Italian.

The earliest Italian translation of the French romance of *Merlin* is the *Historia di Merlino*, made in 1379, and printed in a folio edition at Venice in 1480.¹ The Life and Prophecies were printed in a quarto volume at Florence in 1495. Two other quarto editions appeared at Venice, one in 1507 and the other in 1529; and two octavo editions, one in 1539 and one in 1554.² The popularity of Merlin is further shown by allusions in Dante's *Divina Commedia*, in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (c. 3 and c. 26),³ in Bojardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (l. 3), and in the works of writers of lesser fame.

F.—Spanish.

The romance of Merlin was early translated into Spanish, and printed at Burgos in 1498, under the title: *El baladro del sabio Merlin cō sus profecias*. Only the first nineteen chapters, which tell the story up to the coronation of Arthur, have the same subject-matter as the *Merlin* of Robert de Borron. After that point this version agrees in many particulars with the continuation found in the Huth MS.,⁴ but affords among other rarities a translation of at least a part of the lost *Conte du brait*. In 1500 appeared a folio edition of *Merlin y demanda del Santo Grial*, printed at Seville. Merlin's celebrity in the Iberian peninsula is attested by allusions scattered

¹ Reprinted at Bologna, 1884, 8vo. Cf. criticism by Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibliothek*, iv. p. cxi. Cf. also, *ibid.* p. cxxix.

² Cf. Michel, *Vita Merlini*, Introd. p. lxxviii.; Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, art. *Merlin*.

³ In the third canto of O. F. the poet tells of the grotto that Badamante visits, where Merlin is buried, and where he predicts to his visitor the coming glories of the house of Este.

⁴ Published by G. Paris and J. Ulrich for the *Soc. des. Anc. Textes Français*. See Introd. pp. lxxii.-xci.

through the older Spanish literature, some of which are found in the *Historia de la Reyna Sevilla*,¹ in *Don Quixote*, and the famous romance of *Don Belianus*.

G.—Portuguese.

The Portuguese *Merlin* contains, according to M. Gaston Paris, "the third part of the compilation of which the Huth MS. has preserved to us the first two."²

H.—Netherland.

In the year 1261, the poet Jacob van Maerlant translated the *Graal* and the prose *Merlin* under the title: *Historie van den Grale* and *Merlijns Boeck* (circa 10,400 ll.). He added among other things a trial of Satan. His work was continued by Lodewijc van Velthem (1326) in his *Boec van Coninc Artur*, which is a close translation of the *Livre du roi Artus* (25,800 ll.).³

I.—German.

Some of the romances of the Round Table, as, for instance, the Holy Grail, found an early welcome in Germany, but it was not till 1478 that Ulrich Fürterer, a poet of the court of Albrecht IV., duke of Bavaria, wrote a long verse romance "on the knights of the Round Table and the Holy Grail, in which he recounted also the history of Merlin."⁴ Nothing else worthy of mention⁵ appeared till 1804, when Friedrich von Schlegel translated from an early edition (1528) a considerable part of the French prose romance. Scarcely anything is omitted up to the point (p. 256) where Arthur goes to the assistance of Leodegan.

¹ Michel notes an allusion in this romance to an adventure of Merlin not found in the French prose *Merlin*. *Vita Merl.*, Introd. pp. lxxxviii.—xc.

² *Romania*, xvi. p. 585.

³ Paul, *Grundriss d. germ. Philologie*, B. II. pp. 458, 459. Cf. also *Germania*, xix. p. 300; Kölbing, *Allenglische Bibl.* iv. p. cxi., p. cxxviii. The work of the two poets has been published by J. van Vloten under the title: *Jacob van Maerlant's Merlijn*, Leiden, 1880-1882.

⁴ Michel, *Vita Merl.*, Introd. p. lxxii. For the poem itself see *Altdeutsche Gedichte*, ii. p. 263; *Der Theure Moerlin* (F. F. Hofstätter).

⁵ The play entitled *Die Geburt des Merlin* is a translation of William Rowley's *Birth of Merlin*, London, 1662, 4to. See *Nachträge to Shakespeares Werken*, Bd. I. 1840, 8vo.

After this point Schlegel devotes his few remaining pages (which are very small) to the most important incidents in Merlin's later career, his relations with Nynianne (*sic*), and his tragic end. In 1829 Uhland wrote his short ballad of *Merlin der Wilde*.¹ Three years later Karl Immermann attempted to unite in his drama of *Merlin: a Myth*,² the leading motives of the Faust legend with those of the Holy Grail, but he failed to awaken popular interest in the great enchanter. This piece closes the Merlin literature in German.³

J.—Icelandic.

1.—*Merlinus-Spá*: or the prophecy of Merlin. This is "an early versified paraphrase [in two parts, of 290 and 459 verses respectively] of Geoffrey of Monmouth's well-known prophecy, the text of which is freely treated and amplified by one who knew some, at least, of the old Heroic Lays."⁴ The author was a monk, *Gunnlaug Leifsson*.

2.—The *Breta-Sögur* is a translation of Geoffrey's *Historia* condensed and altered.⁵

K.—English.

I will here outline the history of the legend from its first introduction into English down to the present. The relations of the prose romance to the French original will best be treated in another section; but I shall here venture a somewhat more extended discussion of the English forms of the legend than I have given to those of the other literatures.

1.—The earliest mention of Merlin in an English book is in Layamon's *Brut*⁶ (ll. 12,884–19,961), written about the

¹ Cf. Holland, *Ueber Uhland's Ballade "Merlin der Wilde."* Stuttgart, 1876.

² Düsseldorf, 1832, 8vo.

³ Yet the appearance in Vienna (about 1888) of a new opera on Merlin by Karl Goldmark shows that the legend has not lost its vigour. Cf. *The Opera Glass*.

⁴ Vigfusson and Powell, *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ii. pp. 372–379.

⁵ Cf. Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. pp. 304–305; Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibliothek*, iv. p. cviii.

⁶ Ed. by Sir F. Madden. London, 1847. 3 vols. 8vo.

year 1205. The *Brut* is in large measure a translation of Wace's *Roman de Brut*; but although Laȝamon expanded his work to more than double the size of the original, he added scarcely anything¹ to the story of Merlin.

2.—Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* appeared at the end of the thirteenth century, about a century after Laȝamon's *Brut*, but Robert's book, in so far as it touches the history of Merlin (ll. 2271–3480), is a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*.²

3.—Robert of Brunne's *Chronicle* (1338) follows Wace in the legendary portion³ of the story; but Robert's variations from his French original are trifling.

4.—The chronicles above mentioned are dull enough, and can lay but slight claim to be called literature. The earliest really literary use of Merlin in English is in the long verse romance entitled *Arthour and Merlin*, which was translated from a French original as early as the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and possibly even earlier.⁴ This is among the most important of the romances of Merlin, as well for its intrinsic merit as for its relations to the great prose romance. Judged by a reasonably severe standard, many passages are tiresome enough. The author is still too dependent upon his source;

¹ Cf., however, Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibl.* iv. p. cxii, note. In l. 23,845 is an allusion to Merlin not found in Wace. The passage from l. 23,305 to l. 23,354 occupies in Wace only six lines.

² Cf. K. Brossmann, *Ueber die Quellen der me. Chronik des Robert von Gloucester*, Breslau, 1887; Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibliothek*, iv. p. cviii. The *Chronicle* was edited for the Rolls Series by W. A. Wright, London, 1887, 2 vols., 8vo.

³ ll. 6989–9768 relate to Merlin. The portion of the *Chronicle* based on Wace was edited by Dr. F. J. Furnivall, for the Rolls Series, under the title, *Robert of Brunne's Story of England*, Lond., 1887, 2 vols., 8vo. Cf. A. W. Zatsche, *Ueber den ersten Theil der Bearbeitung des Roman de Brut des Wace durch Robert Mannyng of Brunne*, Reudnitz-Leipzig, 1887.

⁴ Cf. Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibliothek*, iv. p. lx. The author is not certainly known; but Kölbing thinks him identical with the author of *Kyng Alisaunder* and *Richard Coer de Lion* (p. lx. sqq.), though he is not quite certain about the second piece (p. ciii.).

but in more than one feature the *Arthur and Merlin* marks a distinct advance over the narrative literature that preceded it. The poem is about as long as the first nine books of *Paradise Lost*, but is nevertheless a fragment, which breaks off after the victory gained by Leodegan, Cleodalis, Arthur, Ban, and Bohort, over King Rion and the giants.¹ The last lines are:—

“pai maden gret blis and fest,
And after ȝeden hem to rest.”²

The story so closely resembles the prose romance that Ellis's analysis of the poem might almost be taken for an analysis of the prose romance. There are, however, striking differences, some of which I will note. The poem begins by telling of Constans and Vortigern,³ and the tower which the latter constructed.⁴ The poem describes in 628 lines what is related in the prose romance in about six pages. The story of the rich man's daughter who is deceived by the devil⁵ is brought in later (l. 799 *sqq.*). In dramatic effect the poem is in this instance much inferior to the prose romance. As some of the minor differences, we note that in the poem⁶ Merlin is five years old when brought before Vortigern; in our romance, seven years old. In the poem the boy Merlin, while being conducted to the king, laughs⁷ three times, apparently without cause.

¹ As printed for the Abbotsford Club in 1838 from the Auchinleck MS. in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, the poem consists of 9772 lines in short rhyming couplets. Of this poem Ellis gives a long analysis (pp. 77-142, Bohn's ed., of *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*). He follows the Lincoln's Inn MS. No. 150. The poem has been re-edited by Kölbing in vol. iv. of the *Altenglische Bibliothek*, Leipzig, 1890. Kölbing's edition contains 9938 lines, and differs in the numbering of the lines from the earlier edition. My references are to Kölbing's edition. Kölbing discusses in detail (pp. cvii.-cl.) the relations of the poem to the English prose version and others. Most of my comparison was made before Kölbing's edition appeared.

² The poem parallels more or less exactly the prose romance as far as p. 358, l. 28. This would indicate a possible loss of eight or nine thousand lines.

³ The poem calls him *Fortiger*.

⁴ The poem thus begins with what is related in Chapter II. of the prose romance, p. 23.

⁵ The devils' council begins at l. 640.

⁶ ll. 1375-1381.

⁷ l. 1342.

The occasion of the third outburst is, however, that the king's chamberlain is a woman in the disguise of a man, with whom the queen has fallen in love.¹ In the prose version Merlin laughs but twice. According to the poem,² the Magi when brought before the king and confronted by Merlin plead that they have been deceived by the signs in the sky. Merlin says that his father the devil had evidently planned thus to destroy his son. Of this turn of the incident the prose romance (p. 39) knows nothing. Among the important omissions of the poem is that of the bringing over of the great stones from Ireland,³ as well as all account of Merlin's visits to Nimiane.⁴ The Holy Grail is scarcely referred to, though not altogether forgotten.⁵

Among the additions to the poem we should not overlook the charming verses on the seasons, and the pretty little by-play between Arthur and his young bride as he goes forth to battle :

þat ich day paramour,
 Guenore armed king Arthour ;
 At ich armour, þe gest seit pisse,
 Arthour þe maiden gan kisse,
 Merlin bad Arthour, þe kyng,
 þenche on þat ich kisseing,
 When he com in to bataile ;
 " þis," he seyð, " Merlin, saunfaile." ⁶—ll. 8677-8684.

¹ Cf. the story of Grisandol in the prose romance, pp. 422-437.

² l. 1573 *agg.*

³ Cf. ll. 2150-2180.

⁴ She is named once (l. 4446) along with Morgein, who

"Woned wiþ outen Niniane,
 þat wiþ hir queint gin
 Bigiled þe gode clerk Merlin."

With this compare the prose version p. 185.

⁵ Cf. ll. 8902-8918.

⁶ Cf. prose version, p. 323, where Merlin laughs because they have not kissed each other. Then Arthur takes the maiden in his arms and kisses her sweetly, as he should.

What has been adduced is sufficient to prove either that the English prose romance is based upon an original differing considerably from the original of the verse romance, or that the English translator of the prose romance purposely varied and expanded his original. The English prose romance is, however, elsewhere shown to be an almost slavish translation of the French prose version. There is enough general agreement to show that the basis of the poem and of the prose romance is in essential features the same, and enough difference to prove that the two versions cannot be based on exactly the same original. I imagine the poem to be based upon one of the numerous French prose continuations of the original prose romance of Merlin. The author refers to his source as the "boke,"¹ and once to the *Brout*,² which must be the *Brut*, but of course only a small portion of this poem can be referred to Wace. It is barely possible that the original was in French verse, but of this I feel by no means certain.³

¹ l. 2581; l. 4434; l. 4719; l. 5785, etc.

² line 2730.

³ The essential likeness of the two English versions, along with striking differences, appears plainly in a comparison of the list of knights:—

THE POEM, ll. 3067-3106.		THE PROSE MERLIN, p. 108.	
	Number of knights.		Number of knights.
1. Lot	500	1. Loth	500
2. Nanters of Garlot	700	2. Vrien of Gorre	400
3. Vrien of Gorre	25,000	3. Ventres of Garlot	700
4. Carodas of Strangore	600	4. Carodas Brenbras of Strangore	600
5. Yder	30 × 20 = 600	5. Aguysas	500
6. Angvisant	500	6. Ydiers	400

In the first great tournament the best knights, according to the poem (ll. 3591-3601), are: Lucan the boteler, Kay, Grimfles, Maruc, Gumas, Placides, Driens, Holias, Graciens, Marlians, Flaundrius, Sir Meliard, Drukius, Breoberuis. The prose version (p. 135) mentions the following: Gifflet, Lucas the boteller, Marke de la roche, Guynas le Bleys, Drias de la foreste sauge, Belyas, Blyos de la casse, Madyens le crespes, Flaundryns le blanke, Grassien, Placidas le gays.

5.—A later version of a portion of this romance is contained in four manuscripts, which differ considerably.¹ The romance begins with the story of King Constance and "Fortager," tells of the birth of Merlin and his wonderful deeds till the death and burial of Uter Pendragon. According to Ward:²

The rebel kings who fight against Arthur, with the number of the accompanying knights, are:—

POEM, ll. 3726-3773.

PROSE, pp. 145-146.

	Number of knights.		Number of knights.
1. Clarion of Norþ-Humberland	7000	1. Duke Escam of Cambenyk	5000
2. Brangores of Strangore .	5000	2. Tramelens of North Wales	6000
3. Cradelman of Norþ-Wales	6000	3. Clarion	3000
4. King of the Hundred Knights	4000	4. King with the hundred knights	3000
5. Lot of Leonis and Dorkaine	7000	5. Loth of Orcanye and Leonoys	7000
6. Carodas of the Round Table	7000	6. Carados of Strangore .	7000
7. Nanters of Garlot . .	6000	7. Ventres of Garlot . .	7000
8. Vrien	6000	8. Vrien of Gorre . .	7000
9. Yder	5000	9. Ydiers of Cornewaile .	6000
10. Angvisaunt of Scotland	6000	10.	
11. Sestas, Erl of Cambernic .	5000	11.	

Still more remarkable is the agreement in the lists of the princes and knights who came to the help of Leodegan. Poem, ll. 5410-5498: 1. Ban; 2. Bohort; 3. Arthour; 4. Antour; 5. Vlfin; 6. Bretel; 7. Kay; 8. Lucan þe boteler; 9. Griffes; 10. Marec; 12. Drians of þe Forest sauage; 13. Belias þe lord of Maiden castel; 14. Flaundrin; 15. Lamuas; 16. Amores þe broun; 17. Ancales, 18. Blibel; 19. Bleoberiis; 20. Canode; 21. Aladanc þe criske; 22. Islacides; 23. Lampades; 24. Ierias; 25. Cristofer of þe roche norþ; 26. Aigilin; 27. Calogreusd; 28. Angusale; 29. Agrauel; 30. Cleades þe fondling; 31. Gimires of Lambale; 32. Kehedin; 33. Merangis; 34. Goruain; 35. Craddoc; 36. Claries; 37. Blehartis; 38. Amandanorgulous; 39. Osoman; 40. Galescounde; 41. Bleherriis; 42. Merlin; 43. Leodegan. Cf. the list in the prose romance, p. 212.

¹ The MSS. are:—Lincoln's Inn Library, MS. 150, containing 1980 lines. ² Bishop Percy's Folio MS., Brit. Mus. Add. 27879, containing nine parts and 2378 lines. ³ Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. No. 6223, containing 62 lines. ⁴ Oxford, Douce MS. No. 236, containing 1278 lines. Kölbing remarks (*Altengl. Bibl.* iv. p. xvii.) that Douce MS., No. 124, is a very careless copy of the version of the Auchinleck MS. Kölbing prints L and D with the variants of P and H (*Altengl. Bibl.* iv. 275-370). P is printed in *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, edited by Hales and Furnivall, Lond. 1867, vol. i. pp. 422-496. For the relation of the later version to the other versions see Kölbing, iv. pp. cliii.-clxxii.; Hales and Furnivall, i. pp. 419-421. Other details are given by Kölbing, iv. pp. xvii.-xviii.; Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. 385, 386; and in *Arthour and Merlin* (edited by Turnbull for the Abbotsford Club, Edin. 1838), pp. x.-xiii.

⁵ *Catal. of Romances*, i. 386.

"The events relating to Merlin are fuller than those given by Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace, and they agree with those given by Robert de Borron, in the prose romance of Merlin. The present version is probably translated from a French poem."

It is hardly necessary to remark that the birth of Merlin with which Robert de Borron's romance begins, is in this verse romance brought in after a long account of "Fortager" and the sons of Constance, and that minor differences are numerous.

6.—From the middle of the fourteenth century Merlin seems to have been in favour in England. Laurence Minot (1352) begins one of his political songs entitled,

"How Edward at Hogges vnto land wan,
And rade thurgh France or euer he blan."

with the words—

"Men may rede in Romance right
Of a grete clerk þat Merlin hight;
Ful many bokes er of him wreten,
Als þir clerkes wele may witten;
And ȝit in many priué nokes
May men find of Merlin bokes.
Merlin said þus with his mowth,
Out of þe north into þe sowth
Suld cum a bare ouer þe se,
þat suld mak many man to fle," etc.

A few years later (1355–1362) Thomas Grey in his old French *Scalachronica* mentions Thomas of Erceldoune, and ranks him along with William Banastre and Merlyne.¹ In *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* (about 1360) there is a mere allusion to Merlin (l. 2448).

¹ The various points of contact of the legend and the prophecies of Merlin with Thomas of Erceldoune, are pointed out by Alois Brandl in vol. ii. of the *Sammlung engl. Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben*, Berlin, 1880, 8vo. For example, Merlin's love for Nimiane is paralleled by Thomas's love for a nymph.

In the famous *Process of the Sevyng Sages* the eleventh tale bears the title *Herowdes and Merlin*.¹ Then in the metrical romance of Sir Gowghter² we read near the beginning—

“Sum tyme the fende hadde postee
For to dele with ladies free
In liknesse of here fere,
So that he bigat Merlyng and mo,
And wrought ladies so mikel wo,
That ferly it is to here.”—ll. 7–10.

A little farther on are these very singular lines—

“þis chyld wîthin hur was no nodur,
But eyvon Marlyon halfe brodur,³
For won fynd gatte hom bothe.”—ll. 97–99.

On this romance A. Brandl remarks—

“Gegenüber der französischen Quelle, deren Kern durch einen reich verzweigten Stammbaum auf das indische Märchenbuch Sendabad zurückgeht, hat der englische Bearbeiter manches vereinfacht und seinen Landsleuten näher gebracht, namentlich aber den Zauberer Vergil in den nationalen Merlin verwandelt.”⁴

Towards the end of the fourteenth century (1387) the Latin *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden, written early in the reign of Edward III., was translated into English by John of Trevisa. The *Polychronicon*, as its name implies, is a compilation bringing

¹ See the second M.E. version, ed. T. Wright, Lond., 1845, l. 2323. Cf. Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibl.* iv. p. civ.

² It would be interesting to compare the legend of *Merlin* with that of *Robert the Devil*. Cf. K. Breul's *Sir Gowther*, Oppeln, 1886, which contains an investigation of the legend of *Robert the Devil*.

³ Brit. Mus. MS. Reg. 17, B. xliii, f. 118, reads:

“The childe with-yn hire was non other,
But Marlynges half brother:
On fende gat hem bothe.”

⁴ Paul's *Grundriss der germ. Philologie*, ii. 635.

together in mediæval fashion a vast amount of historical material, but it contains nothing new about Merlin.¹

7.—No important literary use was made of Merlin during the remainder of the fourteenth and till about the middle of the fifteenth century, when some unknown scholar translated (c. 1450–1460) the great prose romance of *Merlin* from the French prose redaction of Robert de Borron's poem and the ordinary continuation known as the *Book of Arthur*. This is the romance which is the central point of our investigation.

8.—About the same time (1450 ?) Henry Lonelich, skinner, made a rhyming version of the French prose *Merlin* from a manuscript closely allied to that from which the prose version is translated. The metrical romance contains, according to Kölbing,² about 28,000 lines, and forms a part of MS. 80 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The beginning is at f. 88b, col. 1, and is as follows :—

“Now gyneth the Devel to wraththen him sore,
As Aftir scholen þe herkene & here wel More,
whanne that Ours Lord to helle wente
and took Owt Adam with good Entente
and Also Eve and Ek Others Mo,
þat with him he likede for to han tho.
and whanne þe develis behelden this,
Moche drede and Merveille they hadden, I-wis.
So as Aftyward longe beffelle,
to-gederis they Conseilled, the develis, ful snelle
and token hem to-Gederis In parlement,
the Maister Develis be On Assent,
and seiden : “what Mester Man Is he, this,
that doth vs here Al this distres ?

¹ The doggrel rhyming Latin verses, which carefully distinguish Merlin Ambrose from Merlin Silvester, are based on Giraldus Cambrensis.

² *Altenglische Bibliothek*, iv. p. xix. Kölbing prints (pp. 373–478) the first 1638 lines, which parallel the prose *Merlin* pp. 1–23, and gives in his introduction a minute account of the poem.

we Mown not Aȝens him Maken defenses,
whanne he is Owht In Owre p̄sens
and bynemeth vs that we scholde haue,
and for hym non thing mowen we kepen save."

I have examined the first 6200 lines of the poem,¹ and find a remarkably close general agreement between it and the prose romance. All the incidents are the same, and the difference in details is very slight. This agreement suggests three questions: First, is Lonelich's *Merlin* a mere versification of the English prose version? or, secondly, is the prose version based on Lonelich's romance? or, thirdly, are both versions based on exactly the same French original?

We have first to note that the verse romance is considerably more prolix² than the prose; but the prolixity is largely due to unskilful padding of the verse. Of course, we do not expect exact verbal agreement between a verse and a prose romance, even though translated from the same French original, and we cannot draw satisfactory conclusions from minor variations in phrases, or even from the omission of sentences. The exigencies of metre lead a halting versifier into many strange paths. But if the two translators had been really one, or if one had borrowed from the other, or if the French manuscript had been the same in both cases, we should have considerable verbal agreement in phrases and sentences, as well as in numerals and proper names.

A considerable number of passages show almost exact verbal agreement, but this seems to be due to the similarity of the source rather than to actual borrowing by one English version from the other, for the diction as a whole is so distinct in the

¹ These were furnished me by Dr. Furnivall in a MS. copy. This copy ends at l. 43 of f. 111.

² By a rough calculation I estimate the first 6200 lines to contain not far from 43,000 words: the prose version does not much exceed 35,000 words.

TABLE I.

ENGLISH PROSE.	LOWELICH.	HUTH MERLIN.
x monthes; ij yere age or more;	ten monthes; two ȝeres old; xviii	nuef mois; un an; en l'eage de dis et
xij monthes (p. 15).	monthes (ll. 999-1101, f. 92 ^b).	uit mois (p. 20).
xl dayes (p. 16).	xl dawes (l. 1105, f. 92 ^b).	quarante jours (p. 22).
viij dayes (p. 16).	viij dayes (l. 1116, f. 93).	set jours (p. 22).
to the v ^e day (p. 18).	xv dayes (f. 93 ^b).	a le quinsainne (p. 25).
iiij men (p. 21).	tweyne men (f. 94 ^b).	deus hommes (p. 29).
xij (p. 25).	xij (f. 95 ^b).	douze (p. 35).
two noble men; tow gode	two good men; tweyne goode Men	deus preudommes (p. 35).
men (p. 25).	(f. 95 ^b).	li preudomme (p. 36).
xij (p. 26).	xij (f. 96).	douze (p. 37).
iiij fadome of height (p. 27).	the heythe of fowre Roddis (f. 96).	trois toises u quatre (p. 38).
vij in nombre (p. 28).	sevene there were (f. 96 ^b).	set (p. 39).
viij dayes of respyte (p. 28).	viij dayes of Respyt (f. 96 ^b).	encore jour dusqu'a onze jors (p. 40).
xij (p. 29).	xij (f. 96 ^b).	douze (p. 43).
xij; xij; xij (p. 31).	xij; xij; xij (f. 97).	douze (p. 45; here written but once, but pronouns supply the lack).
xj (p. 47).	xj (f. 102).	onsime (p. 72).

a C stodes, a C palfrayes, and a hundred faucons (p. 50).	An hundred destreres & as Many of palfray and An hundred fawknowns (f. 103).	Et nous le terrons do lui et treu l'en donrons chacun an dis chevaliers, et dis damoiseles et dis faucons et dis levriers et cent palefrois (p. 79).
withinne these vj dayes (p. 53).	with Inne sixe dayes (f. 103 ^b).	en sis jours (p. 84).
on the vj ^e day (p. 53).	to the xvj day (f. 103 ^b).	an sisime jour (p. 85).
The xj day of Iuyne (p. 54).	Atte the Elleveneth day (f. 104).	L'onsime jour de jung[net] (p. 87).
two dayes (p. 54).	tweyne dayes (f. 104).	deus jours (p. 87).
the thirde day (p. 54).	On the thrydde (f. 104).	au tierch jour (p. 87).
xl winter (p. 59).	two and fowrty ȝer (f. 105).	(No equivalent for "xl winter").
fifty knyghtes (p. 60).	fyfty knyghtes (f. 105 ^b).	cinquante des plus preudomes (p. 96).
viiij days (p. 61).	viiij dayes (f. 105 ^b).	uit jours (p. 97).
thre yere (p. 61).	two yere (f. 105 ^b).	plus de deus ans (p. 98). ¹
the xj ^e iour of Pentecoste (p. 67).	xi day after pentecost (f. 107 ^a).	un jour après (p. 102).
xl dayes (p. 70).	fowrty dayes (f. 107 ^b).	quarante jours (p. 105).
vj monethes (p. 80).	Sixe Mownthes (f. 110).	sis mois (p. 115).

¹ The Huth *Merlin*, p. 98, l. 26 *sqq.* has no equivalent for the passage in the English prose version, from p. 61, l. 31 to p. 63, l. 29; and the subsequent lines in the French do not exactly agree with the English.

two versions that this in itself is a strong argument against a common authorship.

ENGLISH PROSE.

- 'That shaH I telle the,' quod merlin" (p. 32).
 "He ycleped hym maister, for that he was maister to his moder" (p. 33).
 "to god I comaunde yow" (p. 33).
 "and axed a-noon how they hadde spedde" (p. 35).
 "And, sir, the peple that were ther-at cleped this vesseH that thei hadden in so grete grace, the Graal" (p. 59).

LONELICH.

- "That schal I the telle,' quod Merlyne" (f. 97b).
 "and Maister he clepid him for this manere, For Maister to his Modir he was Every where" (f. 97b).
 "I comande 3ow to God" (f. 97b).
 "And Axede of hem how they hadden sped" (f. 98b).
 "Sire, this peple Clepede this vessel
 The Sank Ryal oþer ellys Seint Graal" (f. 105).

The agreement in the numerals is very close, but there are some trifling variations which indicate that the two translators based their work upon slightly different manuscripts. I give a list of some of the numerals, and add for comparison the same as found in the Huth *Merlin*. In contrast with the French, the two English versions show striking agreement. See Table I. p. 54.

More striking differences are found in the names; and these seem unmistakably to indicate that the two versions are independent, and based upon slightly different French manuscripts. I pass over most of the differences in spelling; for while the forms in the two versions follow pretty regularly unlike types, there are too many variations in the English prose text itself to make an argument satisfactory that is based on mere orthography.

ENGLISH PROSE.

- Loth (p. 23).
 Constance (p. 24).

LONELICH.

- Omitted (f. 95).
 Costantyn (f. 95).

ENGLISH PROSE.

The three sons of Constance are :

- (1) Moynes, (2) Pendragon, (3)
Vter (p. 24).

Vortiger (p. 24), *et passim*.

Gawle (p. 25).

Benoye, that now is cleped Bourges
(p. 25).

Constance (p. 41).

Aungys (p. 50).

Ventres (p. 179).

Gawein ,,

Gaheret ,,

Gaheries ,,

Cardoell in Walys (p. 180).

LONELICH.

The three sons of Costantyn are :

- (1) Costantyn, (2) Awrely Am-
bros or Pendragon, (3) Vter
(f. 95).

Fortager (f. 95), *et passim*.

Wales (f. 95b).

Boorges (f. 95b).

Constantyn (f. 100b).

Hangwis (f. 103).

Newtris (f. 135).

Gawenet ,,

Garrers ,,

Gaheryes ,,

Kerdyf In Wales (f. 135).

More important still are such differences as appear in the following passages :—

(1) At l. 49 of Lonelich's version we read : "And hem also anoynteth with oynement." The English prose has no reference to ointment.

(2) At l. 241, l. 256, and l. 1064 of the poem we read that the erring maiden was to be stoned. The prose version (p. 5, p. 16) knows nothing of the stoning.

(3) In the poem (ll. 1286-1292), the judge says—

"ȝif thou konne proven that thou seist pleyn,
Thy modyr from brenneng schalt thou save,
And al thyn owne axeng thou schalt have ;
But, natheles, and it be, as thou dost telle,
Thanne schal I don brene bothe ful snelle,
Bothe myn owne modyr and ek thyn,
And bryngen hem bothe to a schort fyn."

The prose version (p. 18, ll. 24-27) has—

"Tho gan the Iuge to be right wrath, and seyde : ' Yef thou canste do so, then haste reserwed thy moder fro brennyng; but wyt thou well, yef thou canste not prewe this vpon hir, I shaft brenne bothe the and thy moder to-gedere.' "

(4) In Lonelich's version (ll. 1465-1467) we read—

“For sweche spirites as they be
Ben icleped Equibedes, I telle the,
And from the eyr into the erthe they gon.”

The Huth *Merlin* (i. p. 28) has—

“Je sui fieus d'un anemi qui engingna ma mere. Et saces que ceste maniere d'anemis ont a non Ekupedes, et repairent en l'air.”

Yet in the English prose *Merlin* (p. 20) the proper name is omitted—

“I am the sone of the enmy that begiled my moder with engyn, and their repair is in the air.”

(5) Lonelich writes (ll. 1667-1676)—

“and hos that wil knowen In Certaygne
what kynges that weren In grete Bretaygne
Sethen that Cristendom thedyr was Browht,
They scholen hem fynde hos so that it sowht,
In the Story of Brwttes book;
therē scholen ȝe it fynde and ȝe welen look.
which that Martyn de Bewre traunslated here
From latyn Into Romaunce In his Manere.
but leve we now of Brwtes book,
and after this storye nov lete vs look.
In Bretaygne somtyme A kyng therē was
That Costantyn was clepid, In that plas.”

The English prose (pp. 23, 24) has—

“And he that wiȝ knowe the lyf of kynges whiche were in the grete Bretayne be-fore that cristendom come, be-holde the story of Bretons. That is a boke that maister Martyn traunslated oute of latyn, but heire rested this matere. And turneth to the story of Loth, a crysten kyng in Bretayne, whos name was Constance.”

This passage is exceedingly important in that Lonelich's version mentions Martyn de Bewre.¹ This translator is

¹ B. N. MSS. fr. 105; 9123 “Martins de bieuire.” The others, in so far as they name *Martins* at all, are: B. N. MS. fr. 749, “martins de roescestre”; Bib. del'Arsenal, MS. 3482, “martins de rocestre”; B. N. MS. fr. 344, “Maistre martins de rouain.”

mentioned in but two of the French MSS., and these two, while representing very closely the version followed by the translator of the English prose, are not in every detail coincident with it.

The differences between the English prose version and the metrical version by Lonelich compel us to answer in the negative the three questions with which we started, and admit no other conclusion than that the two translators worked independently upon different French manuscripts having almost, but not perfectly, identical readings.¹

9.—Of all the older Arthurian literature none exceeds in interest to the English reader the *Morte Darthur* of Sir Thomas Malory (1469). This was first printed by Caxton in 1485, and speedily became one of the most popular books in England. When we compare the *Romance of Merlin* with the *Morte Darthur*, we find that for a little distance the two stories run in almost parallel channels, though there is less agreement than one might expect, and this, though scattered throughout the *Merlin*, is confined almost wholly to the first five books of the *Morte Darthur*.² The points of contact may be briefly pointed out in detail. The story opens in the *Morte Darthur* with the amour of Uter Pendragon and Igrayne. In nine pages and a half Malory arrives at Arthur's coronation and the feast which he held at Pentecost.³ Many of the

¹ Kölbing's view (*Altenglische Bibl.* iv. p. clxxxix.) is slightly different. He concludes that Lonelich's poem and the English prose version, "von einander, ganz unabhängig, auf denselben frz. text, die prosa-auflösung von Robert de Boron's epos, als quelle zurückgehen." Kölbing would perhaps hardly care to have the words "Robert de Boron's epos" understood to mean that Robert's poem is the source of the romance after the coronation of Arthur.

² There are twenty-one books in all. My references are to H. Oskar Sommer's edition, Lond. 1889, Vol. I. *Text*. For a minute account of the relations of the *Morte Darthur* to the *Merlin* see Sommer's third volume, *Studies on the Sources*, pp. 14-58.

³ In the *Merlin* (p. 108) the feast was held after the middle of August. Cf. *Morte Darthur*, i. pp. 35-44.

incidents are substantially the same as in the *Merlin*, but much abridged. Merlin's origin is passed over without remark, and he is introduced in the first chapter as a personage well known: "Wel my lord said Syre Vlfius/ I shall seke Merlyn/ and he shalle do yow remedy that youre herte shalbe pleasyd." Up to the end of B. I. chap. xvi. there is considerable general agreement in the incidents of the two versions, though the *Morte Darthur* gives a very brief account of what is told in the *Merlin* with many words and manifold variations. Chapter xvii. has some incidents found in the *Merlin*, but much altered. From this point up to chap. xxvii. is only here and there an incident that reminds one of the *Merlin*. In chap. xxvii. (p. 74) is the message of King Ryons, who sends for Arthur's beard. In *Merlin* this occurs not far from the end (p. 619) of the story. The war with the Romans as related by Malory in the fifth book of the *Morte Darthur* agrees only in confused outlines with the version in *Merlin*. According to Malory the war occurs after Merlin is enclosed in the rock. In our version Merlin is at Arthur's side assisting him with wise counsels. In the *Morte Darthur*, in the same chapter and on the same page (B. IV. ch. i. p. 119) in which the tragic end of Merlin is described,¹ Lancelot is spoken of as a child at the court of King Ban his father. But at the beginning of the war with the Romans the child has become a famous knight, and plays a part like that of Gawain in the *Merlin*.² In the prose *Merlin*, however, Lancelot is not yet born.³ In the fight with the giant on Mount St. Michel, Malory (B. V. ch. v.) adds the picturesque detail that there "were thre fayr

¹ The account in the *Merlin* (p. 681) differs considerably from that in the *Morte Darthur*.

² As Sommer points out in the *Academy* of Jan. 4, 1890, Malory does not follow the ordinary *Merlin* in his account of the war with the Romans, but rather the same source as *La Morte Arthure*, edited by Brock for the E.E. Text Soc.

³ P. 698. Cf. *Morte Darthur*, B. II. ch. xix. p. 99; B. IV. ch. i. p. 119, l. 19; B. IV. ch. xix. p. 143, l. 26.

damoyseles tornynge thre broches whereon were broched twelue yonge children late borne like yonge byrdes." Of this our version knows nothing. In minor details and in phraseology the two versions differ continually, even when the agreement is closest, and after a certain point the two narratives are entirely different. The *Morte Darthur* hurries at once to the later career of Arthur and his knights. The *Merlin* relates with endless detail the incidents of Arthur's early life, and introduces us to a large number of the characters who figure in the *Morte Darthur*. This masterpiece of poetic prose, which Sir Walter Scott pronounced the best romance in our language, far exceeds in literary merit the confused and prolix *Merlin*; but this, as affording in effect an introduction to the *Morte Darthur*, must always retain a real interest. Even considered by itself, the *Merlin* has in more than one passage a nameless charm and beauty in comparison with which the *Morte Darthur* is distinctly inferior, though the heights occasionally reached in the *Merlin* make us see only more plainly the barren wastes through which much of the narrative creeps.

10.—In addition to the long prose and verse romances we have a considerable number of prophecies attributed to Merlin in English verse of the fifteenth century. One of these contains 278 lines, and is a translation from French prose of Merlin's *Prophecy of the Six Kings that are to follow King John*.¹ Another prophecy² of three hundred lines relates to the year "M.CCCC.L. and moo." Three Scottish prophecies in alliterative verse, attributed to Merlin, are found "in a collection of prophecies partly composed, partly adapted from earlier compositions, at various periods between 1513 (the date of Flodden Field) and 1550, together with some later additions."³ Some

¹ Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. p. 309.

² *Ibid.* i. p. 325.

³ *Ibid.* i. pp. 334-336.

of the prophecies in the collection are assigned to Thomas of Erceldoune¹ and others.

11.—At the end of Caxton's *Chronicle* is a little poem on Merlin printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1498, of which I cite the more interesting portions. This poem is a translation of a Latin poem in Higden's *Polychronicon*.

At Neuyn in Northwales
A lytell ylonde there is
That is called Bardysay.
Monkes dwelle there alway,
Men lyue so long in that hurst
That the oldest deyeth fyrst.
Men say that Merlyn there buryed is,²
That hyght also Syluestris
There were Merlyns tweyne,
And prophecied beyne,
One hyte Ambrose and Merlyn
And was ygoten by gobelyn
In Demecia at Carmerthyn,
Vnder kyng Vortygeryn ;
He tolde his prophecie
Euen in Snowdonye
Atte heede of the water of Coneway
In the syde of mount Eryry,
Dynas Embreys in Walsse
Ambrose hylle in Englysshe.
Kyng Vortygere sate on
The watersyde and was full of wone,
Then Ambrose Merlyn prophecied
Tofore hym ryght tho.

¹ On the relation between Merlin's prophecies and those of Thomas of Erceldoune see J. A. H. Murray's ed. of *Thomas of Erceldoune* for the E.E. Text Soc. 1875 ; Ward's remarks in the *Catal. of Romances*, i. pp. 328-338 ; Brandl in Zupitza's *Sammlung engl. Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben*, ii. pp. 12-41.

² According to another tradition Merlin is buried at Drummelzier in Scotland. See J. S. Stuart Glennie's *Arthurian Localities*, p. lxxii.

What wytte wolde wene
 That a fende myght get a childe?
 Some men wolde mene
 That he may no such werke welde.
 That fende that goth a nyght
 Wymmen full ofte to gyle,
 Incubus is named by ryght;
 And gyleth men other whyle,
 Succubus is that wyght.
 God graunt vs non such vyle.
 Who that cometh in hyr gyle
 Wonder happe shall he smyle,
 With wonder dede
 Bothe men and wymen sede,
 Fendes woll kepe,
 With craft and brynge an hepe;
 So fendes wylde
 May make wymmen bere childe.
 Yet neuer in mynde
 Was childe of fendes kynde,
 For withouten eye
 Ther myght no suche childe deye,
 Clergie maketh mynde,
 Deth sleeth no fendes kynde;
 But deth slewe Merlyn,
 Merlyn was ergo no goblyn.

12.—In the sixteenth century interest in Merlin is evidenced by the publication in 1510 by Wynkyn de Worde of *A Lytel Tretys of the Byrth and Prophecyes of Merlin*. The celebrated printer issued another edition in 1529, and John Hawkyns a third in 1533.

13.—The numerous chronicles written in the sixteenth century detail with more or less fulness the exploits of the enchanter, but they tell nothing new. We find, however, in the sixteenth-century literature, in so far as it turned for

inspiration to the romances or to the legendary history of Britain, that Merlin was one of the convenient "properties" of the poets.¹ We meet him in Warner's *Albion's England* (1586), which is full of early British legends. In a splendid passage of the *Faery Queene*² Spenser tells of the wall of brass³ with which Merlin began to surround the city of Caermarthen just before he was lured to his grave in the rock by the wiles of the fair temptress.

14.—In 1603 appeared for the first time in print⁴ some old alliterative Scottish prophecies attributed to Merlin, along with prophecies by Thomas the Rhymer and others. In these prophecies we read (i. ll. 114-120)—

"When the Cragges of Tarbat is tumbled in the sey,
At the next sommer after sorrow for euer:
Beides bookes haue I seene, and Banisters also,
Meruelous Merling and all accordes in one:
Meruelous Merling is wasted away,
With a wicked woman, woe might shee be;
For shee hath closed him in a Craige on Cornwel cost."

¹ In Robert Chester's *Love's Martyr* (Lond. 1601; reprinted by the Rev. A. B. Grosart for the New Shakspere Soc. Lond. 1878), the "true legend of famous King Arthur" is introduced. Merlin naturally appears, but he is made responsible for nothing except the birth of Arthur.

² B. III. canto 3, stanza 6 *sqq.* The argument of the third canto is:

"Merlin bewrays to Britomart
The state of Arthegall,
And shows the famous progeny
Which from them springen shall."

Other references to Merlin occur, F. Q. I. canto 9, st. 4, 5, where Merlin is represented as visiting "Old Timon" who had taken Arthur at his birth to bring up. Other references occur B. II. c. 8, st. 20; B. III. c. 2, st. 18, 21.

³ Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Cambr.* i. 6; Holinshed's *Chron.* i. 129; Camden's *Brit.* p. 734.

⁴ This collection has been several times reprinted, 1615, 1680, 1833. The last edition bears the title—"Collection of Ancient Scottish Prophecies, in alliterative verse, reprinted from Waldegrave's edition, M.DC.III. Edinburgh; printed by Ballantyne and Co., M.DCCC.XXXIII. 4to." Sir Walter Scott made considerable use of these prophecies. Cf. also section 10, *ante*, and Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. pp. 334-336.

A little later (ll. 170–172) we find—

“As Bertlingtones bookes, and Banister us telles,
Merling and many more, that with maruels melles,
And also Thomas Rymour in his tales telles.”

In the second of these prophecies (ll. 63–65) we read—

“Oft this booke haue I scene, and better thereafter,
Of Meruelous Merling, but it is wasted away,
With a wicked woman, woe might it be.”

In 1612, Michael Drayton brought out the first eighteen books of his *Polyolbion*—a poetical description of England—and related the various legends connected with the places described. Thus he sings of “Stonenge,” of the wall of brass that the magician would fain have built about Caermarthen, of his imprisonment in a cavern, and of the spirits that “a fearful horrid din still in the earth do keep.”¹

In Song the Fifth (vol. ii. pp. 757, 758), he tells of Merlin’s birth, but speaks sceptically of the incubuses.² In Song the Tenth (vol. iii. pp. 842, 843) he devotes twenty-four lines to Merlin and his prophecies.³

Ben Jonson, though he had scornfully referred in *The New Inn* (act i. sc. 1) to the Arthurian stories, raises Merlin from his tomb, and lets him take part in the *Speeches at Prince Henry’s Barriers*.⁴

¹ Song the Fourth, vol. ii. p. 735, Lond. 1753. This is a passage of twenty lines.

² Selden gives in a learned note (p. 763) the grounds of objection to their existence. We may remark that Selden (vol. ii. p. 746) follows Giraldus Cambrensis in distinguishing Merlin Ambrose from Merlin Silvester.

³ In Drayton’s *Remarks to the Reader*, May 9, 1612, he says: “In all, I believe him most, which, freest from affection and hate (causes of corruption), might best know, and hath with most likely assertion delivered his report. Yet so, that, to explain the author, carrying himself in this part an historical, as in the other a chorographical Poet. I infer oft, out of the British story, what I importune you not to credit. Of that kind are those prophecies out of Merlin sometimes interwoven; I discharge myself; nor impute you to me any serious respect of them.”—*Works*, ii. p. 649.

⁴ *Works*, pp. 577–580, Dyce’s ed. *The Old Dramatists*.

All through the seventeenth century Merlin enjoyed a certain popularity, which showed itself in a variety of ways. In 1641 appeared in London his *Life*, written by Thomas Heywood, the most prolific dramatist of the time, under the following title: "*The Life of Merlin, sirnamed Ambrosius, his Prophisies and Predictions interpreted; and their Truth made good by our English Annals.*"¹

Twenty-one years later William Rowley wrote a tragedy-comedy entitled *The Birth of Merlin; or, The Child hath found his Father*,² in the composition of which the publishers declared that Shakspeare had assisted; but of this there is no proof.³

It is well known that Dryden, as well as Milton, intended to write an Arthurian epic, but never carried out the plan. Yet Dryden went so far as to write a dramatic opera⁴ entitled *King Arthur, or The British Worthy*, in which Merlin figures as one of the characters. The author drew freely on his invention, and reproduced very little of the Arthur or Merlin of the romances. As Sir Walter Scott well observes: "He [Arthur] is not in this drama the formidable possessor of Excalibur, and the superior of the chivalry of the Round Table; nor is Merlin the fiend-born necromancer of whom antiquity related and believed so many wonders. They are the prince and magician of a beautiful fairy tale, the story of which, abstracted from the poetry, might have been written by Madame D'Aunois."⁵

The epic was reserved for Sir Richard Blackmore, who

¹ Reprinted, Caermarthen, 1812. 8vo. London, 1813.

² London, 1662. 4to. Reprinted in *The Doubtful Plays*, Tauchnitz, Leipzig, 1869. The second half of the title of Rowley's play has sometimes as a variant, *The Child has lost his Father*.

³ Ward, *Eng. Dram. Lit.* i. pp. 468, 469, gives an analysis of the play, and rejects Shakspeare's participation; cf. also, Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines of the Life of Shak.*, p. 193.

⁴ Acted and published in 1691.

⁵ Dryden's *Works*, Scott's ed. viii. p. 110; cf. also Ward, *Eng. Dram. Lit.* ii. p. 523.

touched the last refinement of dulness in his *Prince Arthur*, published in ten books in 1695. Merlin figures scarcely at all in the poem (B. vii. p. 202 *sqq.*), and then in a character absurdly out of keeping with all traditions. The worthy doctor depicts a British sorcerer who had been driven out of the British State and had sided with the Saxons. The magician essayed to help the Saxon Octa, but suddenly,

“A Warmth Divine his Spirits did invade,
And once a Sorcerer a Prophet made.
The Heav’nly Fury *Merlin* did constrain
To Bless, whom he to Curse design’d in vain.”—p. 205.

Twice he thus plays the part of Balaam, then flees before the angry Octa (p. 207), and is seen no more.

In 1736 appeared two attempts to dramatize a portion of the story of Merlin. The first was a mere alteration by Giffard¹ of Dryden’s *King Arthur*, and bore the title *Merlin or the British Inchanter, and King Arthur the British Worthy; A Dramatic Opera*. The second piece is a versified drama preserved in a fragment without a title-page (pp. 33–40) and entitled *The Royal Chace, or Merlin’s Hermitage and Cave*.² In the same group of revivals of Merlin, is to be counted the pantomime opera, *Merlin in Love*, which the poet and dramatist Aaron Hill (1685–1749–50) ventured to write.³ This production, of very slender merit, practically closes the list of the older literary works in which Merlin figures. Yet one might

¹ Of Giffard we know little. William Cushing remarks (*Anonyms*, p. 423, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1890) that he was “an actor, and long the manager of the old theatre in Goodman’s Fields; under his management Mr. Garrick made his first appearance in London.” Here the piece was first acted; and it was published in 8vo., London, 1736.

² The copy I refer to is in the British Museum. The date and place of publication are to some extent conjectural, but it is reasonably certain that the play appeared in London in 1736.

³ See vol. i. of his *Dramatic Works*. London, 2 vols., 8vo.

probably glean from the poets and prose-writers a considerable number of allusions not here noted.¹

Besides these serious attempts to make literary use of the great enchanter, there appeared in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a considerable number of general prophecies and almanac predictions which were fathered upon the national prophet. Merlin's name had long ceased to be a name to conjure with, but nothing was more natural than to take advantage of his celebrity in order to help the sale of catchpenny pamphlets of a prophetic character. A good type of the prophet of that day was William Lilly (1602-1682), the most celebrated of the English astrologers of the seventeenth century.² He won notoriety at the time of the Puritan uprising against Charles I., and under the name of *Merlinus Anglicus* published among many other predictions *England's Propheticall Merline foretelling to all nations of Europe*.

Lilly's prophecies were forerunners of a long series of predictions, the titles of which I will enumerate without discussion. It will be noted toward the close of the list that the prophetic character is well-nigh lost :—

- 1.—A Prophecie [of Merlin] concerning Hull in Yorkshire, 1642. 4to.
- 2.—The Lord Merlin's Prophecy³ concerning the King of Scots; foretelling the strange and wonderfull Things that shall befall him in England. As also The time and manner of a dismal and fatall Battel. Lond., Aug. 22, 1651. 4to.
- 3.—Merlin Reviv'd, or an old Prophecy found in a Manuscript in Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire. (In verse.) Lond. 1681. Another ed. 1682. Fol.

¹ For example, Pope has four allusions to Merlin :—

“ Did ever Proteus, Merlin, any witch.”—Sat. III. 152.

“ Extols old Bards, or Merlin's Prophecy.”—Sat. V. 132.

“ When Merlin's Cave is half unfurnish'd yet.”—Sat. V. 355.

“ Lord, how we strut thro' Merlin's Cave, to see.”—Sat. VI. 139.

² His *Introduction to Astrology* even appeared in a new edition: Lond. 1832, 8vo.

³ This was an old prophecy presented to Queen Elizabeth in 1582.

- 4.—The mystery of Ambros Merlins, Standard-bearer, Wolf, and last Boar of Cornwall, with sundry other misterious prophecys unfolded in the following treatise on the significat[i]on of that prodigious comet seen anno 1680, with the blazing star, 1682 Written by a lover of his countrys peace. Lond. (1683), fol.
- 5.—Catastrophe Mundi; or Merlin reviv'd, in a Discourse of Prophecies and Predictions, and their remarkable accomplishment; with Mr. Lilly's Hieroglyphics exactly cut. By a Learned Pers[on]. Lond. 1683, 12mo.
- 6.—Merlin reviv'd, in a Discourse of Prophecies and Predictions, and their Remarkable accomplishment, with Mr. Lilly's Hieroglyphics; also a collection of all the Ancient Prophecies, touching the Grand Revolution like to happen in these Latter Ages. Lond. 1683, 12mo.
- 7.—Merlini Anglici Ephemeris; or, Astrological Judgments for the Year 1685 London, Printed by J. Macock for the Company of Stationers, 1685, 8vo.
- 8.—In the year 1709 Swift threw out "A Famous Prediction of Merlin, the British Wizard. Written above a thousand years ago, and relating to the year 1709. With explanatory notes by T. Philomath." With regard to this prophecy Swift observes, after a passing jibe at the almanac-maker, Partridge: "I found it in an old edition of Merlin's prophecies, imprinted at London by Johan Haukyns, in the year 1530, p. 39. I set it down word for word in the old orthography, and shall take leave to subjoin a few explanatory notes."¹
- 9.—Merlinus liberatus. An Almanack for the Year of our blessed Saviour's Incarnation 1723 by John Partridge.² London, Printed by J. Roberts for the Company of Stationers, 12mo.
- 10.—Merlinus liberatus London: Printed by R. Reily, for the Company of Stationers, 1753: 1761. 12mo.

¹ Swift's *Works*, vol. viii. pp. 480-484, Scott's ed.

² This is the Partridge just referred to, who was the laughing-stock of the wits associated with Swift. Cf. Scott's *Prose Works*, vol. v. p. 199.

- 11.—Merlin's Life and Prophecies His predictions relating to the late contest about . . . Richmond Park. With some other events relating thereto, not yet come to pass, etc. London, 1755, 8vo.
- 12.—A Prophecy of Ill. ["A political satire."] London, 1762, 8vo.
- 13.—A prophecy of Merlin. An heroic poem concerning the wonderful success of a project, now on foot, to make the River from the Severn to Strond navigable. Translated from the original Latin, annexed with notes explanatory. London, 1776, 4to.
- 14.—Merlinus Liberatus. An Almanack. By John Partridge [pseud.], London, 1819–1864, 16mo.
- 15.—The Philosophical Merlin: being the translation of a valuable manuscript, formerly in the possession of Napoleon Buonaparte enabling the reader to cast the Nativity of himself without the aid of Tables or Calculations. Part I. [The second part never appeared.] London, 1822, 8vo.
- 16.—Urania; or the Astrologer's Chronicle and Mystical Magazine. Edited by Merlinus Anglicus, jun. [R. C. Smith.] London, 1825.¹

In the miscellaneous pamphlets just cited the fame of the great prophet had sunk to its nadir; but with the rise of Romanticism Merlin again found a place of honour. Early in the present century Sir Walter Scott introduced him as a leading character into one of the most graceful of his romantic poems, *The Bridal of Triermain* (1813).

The great enchanter Merlin had long been resting in his grave

¹ In addition to these pamphlets, all of which bear a more or less prophetic stamp, there are several other fugitive productions, which I cannot describe more precisely, but which may be classed with the English Ephemerides. Such are: *Merlin's Almanack and Prognostications*, *Merlin's Prognostications*, *The Mad-merry Merlin*, *The Royal Merlin*, etc.

Even in our own day Merlin's name has not infrequently served as a pseudonym.* Under this name Alfred Tennyson contributed two poems to the *Examiner* (Lond. 1852) with the titles: *The Third of February*, 1852, and *Hands All Round*. Of less note are Merlin=Milner; Merlin the Second=David Henry. Merlin was the pseudonym of Dr. Alex. Wilder, from 1864 to 1870 the New York correspondent of the Boston *Daily Advertiser*.

* Cf. Cushing's *Initials and Pseudonyms*, Art. *Merlin*.

in the rock, when Gyneth, the fair daughter of Gwendolen and Arthur, was offered in marriage to the knight who should prove himself bravest in the tournament. From all sides the knights of the Round Table gathered for the contest. As the combat thickened, the proud maiden saw without pity one knight fall after another, till at length young Vanoc, of the race of Merlin, died at her very feet. Then suddenly arose out of the earth, in the midst of the lists, the form of Merlin, who with stern gesture pronounced sentence upon her—

“Thou shalt bear thy penance lone
In the valley of Saint John,
And this weird shall overtake thee;
Sleep, until a knight shall wake thee,
For feats of arms as far renown'd
As warrior of the Table Round.”

—CANTO II. STANZA xxvi.

For five hundred years the maiden slept her enchanted sleep within a mighty castle, till at length she was awakened by the Baron of Triermain, Sir Roland de Vaux, who braved the dangers of the Hall of Fear, and defied the snares

“Spread by Pleasure, Wealth, and Pride.”

—CANTO III. STANZA xxxvi.

When he entered the magic bower where the maiden slept in her ivory chair, she awoke suddenly from her slumber, while the magic halls melted away amid the flash of lightning and the roll of thunder. But safe in the arms of the bold knight lay the princess, and with him she went to be his bride.

The two leading motives of the piece—the summoning of an enchanter, and the magic sleep of a princess who is to be awakened by a brave knight—are familiar and threadbare enough; but Scott, while missing some of the naïve simplicity of the verse romance of the Middle Ages, has invested the

narrative with a grace and beauty not often found in his models.¹

Very different from Scott's somewhat conventional enchanter is the Merlin of Tennyson's tale of *Vivien* (1859), in which the poet tells how Merlin was beguiled by the wily temptress who had vainly endeavoured to seduce "the blameless king." The story is too familiar to need recalling; but we may note that in this poem Tennyson differs widely from the sources that he usually follows so closely. Nowhere in the old romances does the character of Vivien appear in such a malignant light. In the prose romance of *Merlin* (p. 681) she desired to have him ever with her, and for this she wrought upon him the enchantment that he had himself taught her; and while it seemed to him that he was in the fairest and strongest tower in the world there were few hours of the day or of the night when she was not with him. But though the maiden went in and out when she would, Merlin never came forth from the fortress in which he was imprisoned.

According to Malory's *Morte Darthur* (B. IV. ch. 1), Nyneue, the lady of the lake, imprisoned Merlin in a rock wrought by enchantment. He had been tempting her to give him her love, but "she was euer passynge wery of hym, and fayne wold haue ben delyuerd of hym."

¹ Scott alludes to Merlin and the Lady of the Lake in *Kenilworth*, chap. xxx., and makes use of Merlin in his ballad on *Thomas the Rhymer*, Part III.

The novelist Thomas Love Peacock introduces Myrddin Gwyllt (*sic*: the name should, of course, be Myrddin Wyllt, or Merlin the Wild) into his romance of *The Misfortunes of Elphin* (1829). Merlin here takes part in a song-contest with the other Welsh bards, and sings the *Avallenau* or *Song of the Apple-trees*. (Reprinted, Lond. 1891.)

In a ballad of unknown age, a "Fragment of Child Rowland and Bard Ellen," the eldest brother of the lost maid Ellen goes to the Warluck Merlyn (*Myrddin Wyldt, sic*) and asks his advice. Merlin gives the desired instructions. Child Rowland proceeds to the Castle of Elfland, rescues his sister from the king, and brings back her and the two brothers in search of whom she had gone. The portion of the ballad relating to Merlin is lost, but has been supplied from an oral narration. Cf. *Eng. and Scottish Ballads*, ed. by F. J. Child, i. 416-423. Boston, 1857.

Tennyson has borrowed little more than the hint of his leading motives. Yet this poem, steeped as it is in the personality of the poet, gives us a picture of the last days of Merlin which, in its depth and colour, may be sought elsewhere in vain. The mysterious charm of the old Celtic legend has here lost none of its glamour; and while the venomous insinuations of the wily harlot well-nigh destroy the beauty of some passages, yet the strange spell that one feels in *The Lady of Shalott* and *The Passing of Arthur*, recurs now and again in this legend of the enchanted sleep of Merlin.

Merlin has inspired nothing of recent years to compare with *Vivien*, but the enchanter figures once more in Tennyson's *Merlin and the Gleam* (1889) and in a poem by Robert Buchanan — *Merlin and the White Death*.¹

We are perhaps hardly bound to notice the appearance of Merlin in Mark Twain's burlesque romance, *A Yankee at the Court of King Arthur*, though it is to be feared that the irreverent mind of this unheroic century will find as much entertainment in the farcical burlesque as in the serious romance of six centuries ago.

V.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EARLY FORMS OF THE LEGEND.

WE have traced in outline the Merlin legend in the various forms which it has assumed in the literature of Europe. We must now go back a little, and endeavour to follow in some detail the development of the legend from the earlier forms. But before we can study the legend itself we are compelled to consider briefly the genuineness and authenticity of the literary documents in which it is contained. For the sake

¹ In *Once a Week*, 10: 251.

of convenience we will glance first at the Latin sources, and then pass to the Welsh literature. The first name to consider is Nennius.

It is not easy to overestimate the importance for the history of the Arthurian romances, and especially for the history of Merlin, of this obscure little chronicle. One can find in the extant Celtic literature little or nothing that throws light on the sources of the romantic Merlin legend. But in this short recital we have in embryo¹ one of the most characteristic and interesting portions of the legend afterwards developed in the French romance. It is in fact, as de la Borderie remarks, "the first and the most ancient collection of the popular legends of Britain, which later gave birth to the romances of *Brut*, of *Merlin*, of *Arthur*—in a word, the immense cycle of the chivalric epics of the Round Table."² We may then agree with Milton that Nennius is "a very trivial author," without losing sight of the immense importance of the *Historia Britonum* in the development of the legendary history of Britain. It will therefore be worth our while to pause for a moment and review the varying opinions that have been advanced with regard to the authorship and the age of the book.

As to the authorship, we need scarcely remark that Nennius is a mere name used, as de la Borderie suggests, to cover our ignorance of the real author. For a time Gildas was credited with the book, but this hypothesis is now universally abandoned. Among other conjectures we may note that Paulin Paris³ supposed the *Historia Britonum* to be the work of an Armorican which was brought into England early in the twelfth century. But critics are now generally agreed that this little chronicle

¹ Cf. de la Borderie, *L'Hist. Brit. attribuée à Nennius*, p. 69. "Ici [cap. 40] commence le récit d'une merveilleuse aventure, germe de tout ce qu'on a écrit plus tard sur le fameux Merlin et ses fameuses prophéties."

² *L'Hist. Brit.* etc. p. 83.

³ *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, I. p. 36.

is "essentially an insular creation."¹ Mr. Skene supposes that the *Historia* was "originally written in British in Cumbria or *y Gogledd*[*d*] (the North), and was afterwards translated into Latin."² It is of course made up of several parts of varying age. If we exclude the interpolations we have, according to de la Borderie,³ the original core of the work, which may be analyzed as follows:—

1. Descriptio Britanniae.
2. Origo Britonum Scotorumque.
3. Britannia sub Romanis.
4. Historia Guortigerni.
5. Arthuri gesta.

For our immediate purpose we are concerned chiefly with the "*Historia Guortigerni*."

The age of the Chronicle has given rise to a great variety of opinions. In the preface to his text of Nennius, Mr. J. Stevenson (Eng. Hist. Soc. 1838) remarks (p. v.): "We may despair of being able to decide, with any degree of accuracy, either as to the age, the historical value, or the authorship of this composition." In Skene's opinion "The text of the *Historia Britonum* was first put together . . . as early as the seventh century."⁴ His opinion is followed in Glennie's Essay on Arthurian Localities⁵ (pp. xxxvii. and cvii.). Nash,

¹ De la Borderie, *L'Hist. Brit. attribuée à Nennius*, p. vii. We ought not, however, entirely to overlook Wright's remark (*On the Lit. Hist. of Geoff. of Monmouth*, Lond. 1848, 4to.) that the earlier manuscripts of Nennius appear to have been written abroad, and in fact never to have been in England, but to have been brought from France.

² Cf. *Encyc. Brit.* 9th ed. 1876, art. *Celtic Lit.* "*Y Gogledd*," notes M. Phillimore. "was technically used for all Britondom north of Wales in the Middle Ages and before."

³ *Hist. Brit. attribuée à Nennius*, p. 27. For a general estimate of the value of Nennius, see Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. p. 152. Both Mr. Skene and Dr. Guest accept the historical authority of Nennius. I much regret not to have seen Mr. Phillimore's articles and notes in *Y Cymynrodor*, vols. ix. and xi., on various points connected with Nennius and Merlin.

⁴ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. pp. 58-60.

⁵ Printed for E.E.Text Soc. in Part III. of the *Merlin*. Lond. 1869.

in his introduction to the *Romance of Merlin*, thinks that the *Historia* was "probably written as early as the eighth century."¹ By far the larger proportion of later critics have fixed upon the ninth century. Schoell, writing in 1851, made a strong argument² in favour of the year 822 A.D. He is followed by de la Borderie³ and by Ebert.⁴ The interpolated Prologue⁵ of the *Historia* (sec. 2) assigns the date of the compilation to the year 858 A.D., but this is not accepted by the critics. Gaston Paris criticizes de la Borderie's argument, and rejects the date 822 for 878.⁶ In the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (xxx. p. 4), G. Paris merely remarks that the *Historia* was composed in the ninth century. Paulin Paris had already taken the same ground,⁷ though confessing that the earliest manuscripts were of the twelfth century. Still more cautious than these critics are those who merely say that the pseudo-Nennius was put together between the seventh and the ninth centuries.⁸ Ten Brink⁹ speaks of the age of the

¹ Part I. p. ii. E.E. Text Soc. Lond. 1865.

² C. G. Schoell, *De Ecclesiasticas Britonum Scotorumque historiae fontibus*, p. 35. Berlin, 1851.

³ *L'Hist. Brit. etc.* Paris, 1883, p. 20.

⁴ *Allgem. Gesch. der Litt. des Mittelalters im Abendlande.* Leipzig, 1887, Bd. iii. p. 387.

⁵ Cf. De la Borderie, p. 12.

⁶ *Romania*, xii. 368-70. "A primo anno quo Saxones venerunt in Britanniam usque ad annum quatum Mervini regis supputantur anni ccccxxix." Now, 449+429=878. "Il écrivait donc en 878." M. Paris selects for his purpose a Mervin who died in 903, and began (perhaps) to reign about 874. His fourth year would be, then, 878.

⁷ *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, i. 38.

⁸ *Encyc. Brit.*, art. *Romance*, xx. 638.

⁹ *Gesch. der engl. Lit.* i. 169. Berlin, 1877. Mr. Phillimore, who is recognized as the best authority on Nennius, sends me the following note on the date of Nennius: "One of the two oldest MSS. of Nennius (Harl. 3859, now said by Mr. E. M. Thompson to be of the early 12th century), which contains the short Welsh chronicle and Anglo-Saxon Genealogies (briefly known as the *Saxon Genealogies* or *Genealogiae*), has annexed to it, in the same or contemporary hands, Welsh annals and genealogies (only found in this MS.) which must, from the way they end, have been written between 954 and 988, as I have shewn in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. ix., in my preface to these *Annales Cambriae* and Old Welsh Genealogies from Harl. MS. 3859." Now this MS. and its three sister MSS. (de la Borderie, who adds other MSS. containing these *Genealogiae Regum Saxonum*, is altogether wrong: the MSS.

Historia as highly doubtful, and possibly not much earlier than Geoffrey of Monmouth, but in this opinion he has little or no following.

We see, however, that in spite of considerable differences of opinion, the critics are agreed in placing Nennius earlier than Geoffrey of Monmouth, and, with few exceptions, in the ninth century. As already remarked, the question as to the historical value of Nennius is for our purpose of no great importance; but we must take the *Historia Britonum* as the original source of one of the most characteristic of the legends relating to Merlin,¹ and as the only original we can find for much of Geoffrey's *Historia*.

De la Borderie does, indeed, attempt to make out a case for the so-called *Historia Britannica*, which he would like to regard as the intermediate link between Nennius and Geoffrey; but he has succeeded in convincing few besides himself. The fragments of this very dubious history date, according to him, from the year 1019 A.D.² "Like the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius,

in question either do not contain them or are not MSS. of Nennius) are very similar, except for the unique additions to one of them, and must, as can be proved, all go back immediately to one prototype. This prototype, ergo, must be older than 954. But this edition of the *Saxon Genealogies* is necessarily more modern as an edition (though it may be preserved in other MSS.) than the edition of Nennius without the said *Genealogies*, but with other accretions to the original work. Now this older edition is the one of which MSS. are most numerous. Moreover, the "*Sax.-Gen.*" edition, besides its accretion of the *Sax.-Gen.*, has the orthography of the Welsh names modernized from the older edition. But the older edition has already accretions (the *Mirabilia*) and changes, which mark it off as more modern than the edition of the Vatican MS. (the oldest known), which is said to be of the tenth century. We may, therefore, judge how far beyond 954 Nennius can be certainly predicated to be. But take 954 as the earliest possible date for the composition of Nennius (which it is not, by far), and, as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* was issued 1120-1130, or thereabouts, there is a difference of 170 or 180 years."

¹ I do not, of course, deny that some of the elements of the legend may be older than Nennius. See the notes on the Sources.

² *L'Historia Britannica avant Geoffroi de Monmouth*, p. 103. A few pages later he urges the following reasons: "Entre l'*Historia Britonum* de Nennius et l'*Historia Regum* de Geoffroi, il a nécessairement existé une forme intermédiaire de la légende des origines bretonnes. Cette forme constituait un livre appelé *Historia Britannica*,

the *Historia Britannica*," he remarks, "is the work of the imagination of the insular and not of the Armorican Britons."¹ Now then, argues de la Borderie, "the book of Nennius, the *Historia Britannica*, the work of Geoffrey, represent the three successive stages of the legend in its development from the British sources. Nennius, or the *Historia Britonum*, is the egg; the *Historia Britannica* is the chicken; the *Historia Regum Britanniae* is the superb and noisy (bruyant) cock, who chants his fanfare to the great orchestra."² He goes on to suggest³ that the *Historia Britannica* is the identical book that was brought from Britain by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford,⁴ for the use of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Britain, we are told, means the British (Welsh) portion of the Island of Great Britain, as opposed to the English portion.

It must be confessed that this is a large theory on a very narrow basis. We have but four small pages of the *Historia Britannica*. One paragraph is given to Arthur: of Merlin, we find no mention. How so careful a critic as de la Borderie could have propounded a theory so lacking in proof is not easy to see. As Gaston Paris points out,⁵ if this Anglo-Latin book existed and was known in Armorica, English historians of that day might fairly be expected to know of

dont l'existence est constatée et testée en 1019 par le prêtre Guillaume, auteur de la *Vie de saint Gouëznou*. Mais—comme l'œuvre de Nennius, forme rudimentaire de la légende, comme le livre de Geoffroi qui en marque l'épanouissement,—cette forme intermédiaire appartient exclusivement, par son inspiration et sa rédaction aux Bretons de l'île, et il n'est nullement prouvé—au contraire—que l'exemplaire qu'en posséda Gautier d'Oxford sortit de l'Armorique," etc.—*Ibid.* p. 108.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 99.

² *Ibid.* p. 102.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 102-107.

⁴ "Ce Gautier, surnommé *Calenius*, est un personnage assez mystérieux. Henri de Huntingdon (*De Contemptu Mundi*, § 4, éd. Arnold, p. 302), l'appelle 'superlative rethoricus.' On lui attribue une continuation de l'*Hist. regum* de Gaufré pendant quarante ans, qui ne s'est pas retrouvée. Il figure en 1129 avec son ami *Gaufridus Artur* (ce surnom ne fut donc pas donné à Gaufré pour son *Historia*) dans les chartes de fondation de l'abbaye d'Oseney près d'Oxford (v. Dugdale, *Monasticon* vi. 251)." —G. Paris, *Romania*, xii. 373. This note is based on one by Sir F. Madden. See further, Ward's *Catalogue of Romances*, i. pp. 218, 219.

⁵ *Romania*, xii. 371, 372.

its existence. Yet William of Malmesbury, writing in 1125, "declared positively that he could find for the ancient history of the island no other sources than Beda and Gildas: indeed, except the pseudo-Nennius used by William himself and by Henry of Huntingdon, no other source was known up to the appearance of Geoffrey's book (1136); and when this appeared, the accounts that it contained of the victories of Arthur in Gaul were to everybody a revelation, which Henry of Huntingdon and others accepted with as much confidence as surprise, (but) which William of Newburgh and others rejected with contempt. Furthermore, Geoffrey, proud of the possession of the Breton book which his friend Walter had brought him, declares that the English historians, not having the documents that he possesses, can say nothing concerning the British kings of which his history alone knows." With no great injustice, therefore, M. Paris ends his criticism by calling the *Historia Britannica* "ce fantôme de ce livre imaginaire." We may, then, pass directly to Geoffrey of Monmouth.

It is quite unnecessary to go into detail in treating of the life of Geoffrey of Monmouth.¹ For our purpose it is enough to note that he was an ecclesiastic who became Archdeacon of Monmouth, that from 1152 to 1154, the year of his death, he was Bishop of St. Asaph, and that between 1130-1150 he wrote three works now generally² accepted as his—the *Prophetia Merlini* (before 1136),³ the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (about 1136),⁴ and the *Vita Merlini* (between 1140 and 1150).

¹ On the whole the best account of him is in Ward's *Catalogue of Romances*, i. pp. 203-222.

² But not universally, as we shall see a little later.

³ Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, i. 207.

⁴ G. Paris, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx. pp. 4, 5. Various dates are assigned for the *Hist. Reg. Brit.* :—

(1) Low and Pulling's *Dict. of Eng. Hist.*, 1130 A.D.

(2) Ten Brink, *Gesch. der engl. Lit.* i. 168, 1132-1135 A.D.

The *Prophetia* was afterwards incorporated with the *Historia*, of which it now forms the seventh book.¹

The first question naturally arising with regard to each of these books is: From what materials are they constructed? In searching for the sources of Geoffrey's *Historia* it is hardly possible to advance far.² The most obvious source is the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius. As for the British book brought from the Continent by Archdeacon Walter of Oxford, we know nothing about it, and we gain little by multiplying conjectures

(3) *Encyc. Brit.* xx. p. 643—"The Round Table romances had their starting-point in Geoffrey's *Historia*, first published in 1138-39, revised and republished in its present form in 1147."

(4) Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. 209—"The first edition of Geoffrey's *Historia* was certainly completed by the end of 1138."

(5) Paulin Paris and Sir F. Madden, 1135-1147 A.D.

(6) Cf. Arnold, *Introd.* to Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (Rolls Series), pp. xxii., xxiii.

¹ On the *Prophecies*, Professor Henry Morley has the following remark, the last clause of which is a good example of the baseless statements that have found their way into so many works on the literature of the period we are treating:—"Afterwards he made alterations, and formed the work into eight books; to which he added Merlin's *Prophecies* translated out of Cymric verse into Latin prose."—*English Writers*, iii. 45.

² "Assurément il a beaucoup,—et très pauvrement,—inventé; mais il s'est appuyé, en beaucoup de points, sur des légendes galloises, sur des contes populaires qu'il a arbitrairement rattachés à des noms de rois (Lear, Bladud, etc.)."—G. Paris, *Romania*, xii. 372.

Compare with the above note the following:—

"That Geoffrey drew his materials from British sources, and did not coin any of them, seems to us the legitimate conclusion to be drawn from a careful study of the whole subject. His book is, however, a compilation and not a translation, at all events no book now exists which can be regarded as his original, while all the *Bruts* or chronicles are posterior to Geoffrey's book and based upon it."—*Encyc. Brit.* 9th ed., art. *Celtic Lit.*

On the specific question of the origin of Geoffrey's *Merlin*, A. Brandl remarks:—

"Ähnlich bunt mag Geoffrey die Figur des Merlin, des Propheten beim letzten Brittenkönig Vortigern, zusammengestellt haben, mit Elementen aus der Legende von St. Germanus, aus druidischer Mystik, aus Daniel und den *XV. Signa ante judicium*, nach deren Art Merlin schliesslich den Weltuntergang weissagt."—Paul's *Grundriss der germ. Philologie*, ii. 621.

For further details, see the discussion of the question whether we have to deal with one Merlin or two, and the discussion of the sources of Robert de Borron's *Merlin*.

with regard to it. Paulin Paris¹ supposed that the Latin chronicle of Nennius was the original text or a translation of the famous British book. Of course this is not impossible, but hardly probable.²

Gaston Paris finds the origin of Geoffrey's *Historia* in the

¹ *Romans de la Table Ronde*, i. 38. Geoffrey, remarks M. Paris, merely expanded Nennius, writing a line for a word, and a paragraph for a sentence, and pieced out the whole with the help of his Latin reading, Vergil, Ovid, etc.

² Those who are interested in the question may follow it up in Ward's *Catalogue of Romances*, i. p. 214 *sqq.*, where the views of P. Paris are controverted, and the whole matter discussed at length. Mr. Ward thinks that a Breton book may have existed:—

“But there are really some grounds for supposing that Walter left behind him a book, resembling Geoffrey's *Historia*, yet distinct from it, though there is nothing to prove whether it was his own composition or the book which he brought from abroad.”—p. 214.

“The Breton book, then, we hold, was not a mere copy of Nennius. At the same time it is evident that whoever drew up the scheme of the present *Historia* had the work of Nennius before him, and made arbitrary changes in certain facts derived from it.”—p. 217.

Mr. Ward remarks further on the origin of Geoffrey's *Historia*: “But the Arthur legend had travelled south, and had been immensely developed, before the days of Geoffrey. At all events, it was not he who invented the fiction, that Arthur was born and mortally wounded in Cornwall. The monks of Laon,^a who visited Cornwall in 1113, were shown rocks called Arthur's Chair and Arthur's Furnace, and were told that this was his native land, ‘secundum fabulas Britanorum regis Arturi’; and at Bodmin they narrowly escaped bloodshed when they refused to believe that Arthur was still alive. (See Hermannus, *De miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis*, book ii. 15, 16, republished by Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. 156, col. 983.) These monks also inform us that similar Arthurian fables were rife in Brittany. Finally, considering that Geoffrey's Arthur is a grandson of an Armorican prince, and that his Armorican cousin Hoel is his brother in arms both at home and in Gaul; and considering that Cadwalader finds a last hope for his degenerate Bretons in the princes of Armorica; one can hardly doubt Geoffrey's deriving much of the latter part of his *Historia* from Breton sources. Whether he followed (or, as he terms it, translated) any regular book, or whether he collected materials and arranged them himself, can never be completely decided.”—*Ibid.* i. 217, 218.

Mr. Ward's opinion may be compared with that of M. Gaston Paris:—“Je suis au contraire tout à fait de l'avis de M. de la Borderie sur la seconde question qu'il traite, celle de la provenance galloise et non bretonne, des fables de Gaufré. Celui-ci prétend à trois reprises avoir trouvé l'histoire des rois bretons dans un livre écrit *Britannico sermone*, que lui avait fait connaître son ami Gautier, archidiacre d'Oxford. Il ment certainement, car on a prouvé qu'il reproduisait textuellement des phrases latines d'écrivains antérieurs, et que par conséquent il ne traduisait pas du Gallois. Il se contredit d'ailleurs: il prétend à un endroit (xii. 20) qu'il a simplement

^a On the visit of the monks of Laon, compare Zimmer, *Zeits. für franz. u. Lit.* xlii. p. 106.

Historia Britonum of Nennius taken as a groundwork, and supplemented by the tales told him by his friend Walter of Oxford, and by his own recollections of Welsh legends. Gaston Paris even admits the existence of a British book, for "the forms of many of the proper names of the *Historia Regum* are often more archaic than those of Nennius";¹ but M. Paris is careful to remark that Geoffrey did not translate from the Welsh.

traduit le livre gallois (*in latinum sermonem transferre curavi*), et à un autre (xi. 1) il dit qu'il écrit tant d'après ce livre que d'après les récits de Gautier (*ut Gaufridus in Britannico prefato sermone invenit et a Gualtero Ozinefordensi audivit*). La vérité est à mon sens, dans cette dernière phrase. C'est avec l'*Historia Britonum* d'une part et les récits de son ami Gautier, ainsi que ses propres souvenirs de contes gallois d'autre part que Gaufréi a composé son roman. Quant au fameux livre gallois, il a existé : les formes de beaucoup de noms propres de l'*Historia regum*, formes souvent plus archaïques que celles de Nennius . . . et que Gaufréi n'a pu inventer, montrent qu'il a eu sous les yeux des documents fort anciens ; en quoi ils consistaient, et s'ils contenaient autre chose que des listes de noms propres, c'est ce qu'il faudrait étudier de près. Mais pourquoi, en parlant de ce livre, Gaufréi dit-il que Gautier le lui a 'apporté de Bretagne' (*ex Britannia advexit*) ? On a compris jusqu'à présent que *Britannia* désignait ici la Petite-Bretagne." G. Paris follows de la Borderie in thinking Great Britain to be meant, and indeed the whole of it, and not Wales, as de la Borderie supposed. He continues :—"L'explication du problème est, à mon sens, bien plus simple. Toute la difficulté repose sur ce point : puisque Gaufréi était en Grande-Bretagne, comment pouvait-on lui apporter un livre de Grande-Bretagne ? Mais il y a pétition de principe. Rien ne nous prouve que Gaufréi fût en Grande-Bretagne quand il écrivait son livre, et il y a même des vraisemblances pour qu'il fût en Normandie. Si Gaufréi était en Normandie, on comprend très bien qu'il prétende que le livre gallois qu'il dit traduire lui a été apporté de Grande-Bretagne par Gautier d'Oxford, et ainsi disparaît toute difficulté sur ce passage. Un mot encore sur les sources de Gaufréi. Il avait très probablement trouvé dans quelque cloître de Normandie un exemplaire de l'*Historia Britonum*, et, croyant cet ouvrage inconnu en Angleterre, il s'était mis à l'exploiter, en s'aidant de divers auteurs latins, pour en tirer sa grandiose mystification. Il reçut sans doute, pendant qu'il y travaillait, la visite de son ami Gautier d'Oxford, qui lui apporta quelque document gallois, et tout deux arrangèrent en commun l'imposture qui devait avoir tant de succès : il fut convenu que Gautier aurait apporté à Gaufréi une histoire complète des rois bretons, qui contenait toutes les belles choses que celui-ci allait apprendre au monde. On a vu que Gaufréi n'avait même pas su soutenir ce mensonge sans se contredire. Tout ce qui, dans son livre, n'est pas tiré de l'*Historia Britonum* (ou d'autres ouvrages latins) repose, sauf ce qui pouvait se trouver dans le document en question, sur l'invention ou sur les contes populaires gallois, recueillis par Gautier et par lui. C'est à la critique à s'efforcer de discerner ce qui doit être attribué à l'une ou à l'autre de ces provenances."—*Romania*, xii. 372-375.

¹ *Romania*, xii. 372, 373.

From all this discussion may be inferred, as in the case of Nennius, the need of extreme caution in the construction of a theory designed to explain all the facts. Nothing really convincing is to be deduced from the evidence. Some of the theories advanced are not impossible; and with this comfort we must be as content as we can.

As for the *Vita Merlini*, it also has been the subject of much discussion.¹ Mr. Ward (*Catalogue of Romances*, i. 278-288) gives an excellent account of the arguments in favour of its genuineness, which is not now seriously questioned by most scholars.²

¹ For instance, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.) some of the contributors affirm, while others deny, its genuineness. In the article on *Romance* we read concerning Geoffrey of Monmouth: "His poem on the *Life and Prophecies of Merlin* was a separate work, published in 1136-1137, and again in 1149"; while in the article on Geoffrey of Monmouth we read: "Internal evidence is fatal to the claims of the second," i.e. the *Vita Merlini*.

Henry Morley (*English Writers*, iii. p. 44) says: "There has also been improperly ascribed to him [Geoff. of Mon.] a life of Merlin, in Latin hexameters."

Compare with these authorities the opinion of Gaston Paris:—

"Gaufrei, quelques années après l'*Historia*, composa un autre ouvrage, la *Vita Merlini*, poème assez élégamment écrit, où des traditions historiques bretonnes se mêlent à des contes venus d'orient ou courant dans les écoles, et qui n'a pas été sans influence sur quelques romans français postérieurs."—*La Litt. Française au moyen Âge*, p. 90.

Also: "Gaufrei composa en hexamètres latins sa *Vita Merlini*, dans laquelle il mêla des notions de géographie et d'histoire naturelle, empruntées aux écrivains classiques, à des contes populaires bretons dont la plupart se retrouvent ailleurs, et à quelques nouvelles prédictions."—*Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx. p. 5.

Paulin Paris had already advanced about the same opinion (*Romans*, i. 77) in opposition to the views of Thomas Wright and Francisque Michel. He says:—

"Il faut absolument en conclure que le poème a été composé avant les romans, c'est à dire de 1140 à 1150. Ainsi tout se réunit pour conserver à Geoffroy de Monmouth l'honneur d'avoir écrit vers le milieu du douzième siècle, le poème *De Vita Merlini* après l'*Historia Britonum* que semble continuer le poème pour ce qui touche à Merlin, et avant le roman français de *Merlin*, qui devait faire un poème d'assez nombreux emprunts."

² The earliest printed edition appeared in 1833 for the Roxburghe Club, under the editorship of William Henry Black. This edition was fortunately limited to forty-two copies; for it was as bad as bad could be. The second, and in fact the only edition based upon the manuscripts,^a is that of Wright and Michel, since

^a G. Paris, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx. p. 5, says there is but one MS.; but cf. Ward's *Cat. of Romances*.

For convenience we may defer all further account of the *Vita Merlini* and the other Latin sources till we have examined the extant Celtic literature that tells us of Myrddin the Bard. Here, too, we find it necessary in the first place to determine the genuineness of the Welsh poems that touch upon Myrddin. We cannot here attempt an exhaustive discussion, but we may trace in a few words the varying attitude of critical opinion toward the few poems that concern the question before us, and set in order the results of the investigations which none but advanced Celtic specialists are competent to make. The data are so meagre that we may perhaps never hope to get more than a probable solution of the difficulties starting up at every turn. There is here a tempting field for an ingenious constructive critic, for in this matter one can conjecture much and prove little.

One caution, however, we should observe from the outset. We must not forget that it is one thing to find in Welsh poems of doubtful age a meagre account of a bard named Myrddin, and in a modern Breton ballad or two the figure of Myrddin¹ the Bard and Myrddin the Enchanter, and quite another thing to show that these throw any real light on the legend as we find it in the French prose romance of Merlin. If we accept the genuineness of the poems ascribed to Myrddin or which make mention of him,—and there is really no great harm in doing so,—we have advanced scarcely a step in tracing out the source of the legend as found in Nennius, in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, or in any of the translations or imitations of Geoffrey's *Historia*. As the investigation proceeds, we shall hardly be

San-Marte did no more than to reprint the text and annotate it. Our edition of the *Vita Merlini* really dates, therefore, from 1837, when it appeared under the title: "Galfridi de Monumeta . . . Vita Merlini. Vie de Merlin attribuée à Geoffroy de Monmouth . . . par Francisque Michel et Thomas Wright. Parisiis, Silvestre, London, W. Pickering, 1837." This edition has become rare.

San-Marte follows Michel and Wright in rejecting Geoffrey of Monmouth as the author, and thinks the poem to have been written soon after 1216. *Die Sagen von Merlin*, p. 271.

¹ Or Marzin.

able to escape the conclusion that—whether or not we accept Geoffrey's story of the Breton book—he based his work upon materials almost, if not quite, independent of any preserved to us in Welsh literature. This Welsh literature is of great interest in that it shows us how the legendary history might have arisen, but it affords a very slender basis for a working theory as to the origin of the French romance.

In studying the Celtic literature we shall find it to be no small gain in clearness to put aside at the outset all that is conceded to have nothing to do with either Myrddin or Merlin. The Celtic literature is preserved in three great groups—the Gaelic, the Breton or Armorican, and the Welsh.

I. The first of these groups, the Gaelic, has nothing original relating to Myrddin or Merlin, and it became possessed of the legend of Merlin only through translation. The only piece relating to Merlin of which we have any knowledge in Irish literature is the eleventh-century version of Nennius; while not till many generations later was the verse romance of *Arthour and Merlin* translated into Irish prose.¹ The fact that so scanty use was made of the legend, even in its borrowed form, is a sufficient proof that the historical bard and the legendary prophet were strangers to the great body² of old Irish literature.

II. It would hardly be necessary to consider the extant Armorican literature at all, were it not that Villemarqué, in a series of studies³ in Celtic literature, made great capital out of Marzin ballads that he pretended to have found in Brittany.

¹ Cf. F. Michel, *Vita Merlini*, p. lxxxii.

² How great this body of Irish literature is may be seen from the estimate of a learned German, who has calculated that to publish all the Irish literature, inclusive of MSS. from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, would require about a thousand volumes, 8vo. Cf. Jubainville, *La Litt. Celtique*, i. 43.

³ Th. Hersart de la Villemarqué, *Contes Populaires des anciens Bretons*. 2 vols. Paris, 1842; *Barzaz-Breiz, Chants Populaires de la Bretagne . . . avec une traduction française*. 2 vols. Paris, 1846; *Poèmes des Bardes Bretons du 6^e siècle*. Paris, 1850; *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*. 1 vol. Paris, 1860, 3rd ed.; *Myrddin ou l'Enchanteur Merlin, son histoire, ses œuvres, son influence*. Paris, 1862 (actually printed, 1861).

Modern criticism rejects the ballads relating to Marzin the Bard¹ and Marzin the Enchanter, and pronounces them "impositions, of which," as Mr. Phillimore assures me, "no original or basis has been found in the country." The authenticity of the *Barzaz-Breiz*, as a whole, has been the subject of considerable discussion, but the question does not belong here.² We are chiefly concerned to know that the literature of Brittany is scarcely older than the fifteenth century,³ and that it maintained its precarious existence only by borrowing from the Latin and the French.⁴ We cannot deny the possible existence of Armorican literary documents more ancient than any now extant, but we are quite in the dark as to what they may have contained concerning Merlin. Even though we were to grant that the ballads on Marzin, instead of being modern forgeries, are based on genuine Breton traditions, we should find them of little service for our purpose. Considered as contributions to folklore they would then possess a certain degree of interest, but the assistance they would render in determining out of what materials our romance was formed would be exceedingly slight.⁵

¹ Villemarqué asserted the forged poem on Marzin the Bard to be earlier than the age of chivalry, and to belong to a time between the sixth and the tenth century. San-Marte, on the other hand, was inclined to refer it to the fourteenth century (*Sagen von Merlin*, p. 230), and to regard it, along with the short poem on Marzin the Enchanter, as an interesting proof that Merlin was known in a twofold character among a people who, like the insular Britons, regarded Merlin as one of their own countrymen.

² Anyone interested in this question may study it in the following discussions:— (1) Le Men, *Athenæum*, April 11, 1868, p. 527. (2) D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, 3^e sér. t. iii. p. 265–281; t. v. p. 621 (3) *Idem*. *Rev. Archéol.* t. xx. (4) *Idem*. *Rev. Critique*, 16 Févr. and 23 Nov. 1867, 3 Oct. 1868. (5) Liebrecht, *Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 7 April, 1869. (6) Jubainville, *Encore un mot sur le Barzaz-Breiz*, Paris, 1873. (7) *Rev. Celtique*, t. ii. (8) Sayce, *Science of Language*, ii. p. 86.

³ W. D. Whitney, in *Language and the Study of Lang.* p. 218, says that one or two brief works go back to the fourteenth century, or even farther.

⁴ Jubainville, *La Litt. Celtique*, vol. i. Introduction, p. 42.

⁵ We are dealing primarily with origins, but we may note that Merlin figures in a Breton drama entitled *Buhez Santez Nonn*, or *Life of Sainte Nonne and of her son St. Devy* (F. Michel, *Vita Merlini*, p. lxxxiii.), and that very recently Louise d'Isle

III. In the face of these facts we must therefore confine our attention to the remaining branch of Celtic literature—the Cymric or Welsh. This, however, affords us much less light than might be desired. The most detailed accounts of Merlin Ambrosius¹ that we find in Welsh literature are contained in the so-called *Bruts*,² but these need detain us only a moment; for we need no longer refute Villemarqué's opinion³ that the

has brought out a poem entitled *Merlin*, poème breton, 2^e éd. revue et corrigée, avec une préface de Louis Frechette, Paris, 1877, 12mo. The *Buhez Santez Nonn* has been recently edited with a translation in the *Revue Celtique*.

¹ Or *Myrddin Emrys*. In referring to Welsh literature I shall usually adopt this spelling. On the form of the name Mr. E. G. B. Phillimore sends me the following note:—"The only possible variant in modern Welsh is *Myrddin Emraïs*. *Ambrosius* makes both *Emrys* and *Emraïs* in Welsh: in Middle and Old Welsh these would be written with an *i* or *y*, or even an *e* for the *y*, and a regular *ei* with a possible variant *e* for the modern *ai*; of course, some people—archaic purists who despise the modern *ai*—would spell *Emreis* now. As to *Myrddin*, it is the *only* form in current Welsh. *Dd* in modern Welsh is equal to the *th* in *the*, *that*, *this*, etc. In Old and Middle Welsh they had practically no character for it; the barred *d* (ð, ð̄ or the like) occurring, but being very rare. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries both the ð̄ and the *dh* were used, but finally disused for the *dd*. For the *y* of *Myrddin*, *e*, *i*, or *y* would be used in Old and Middle Welsh. The sound is that of French mute *e*: in the oldest Welsh would probably be written *o*, but *Mordin* does not occur. It was often written *j* from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century by certain scholars and writers. *Myrdin* is simply the *Middle Welsh* orthography. *Marzin* is Villemarqué's deliberate Bretonization of the word. They have not the sound of *d* in Breton, except, I believe, in one or two sub-dialects: *s* takes the place in usual Breton of both sounds, *th* in *the*, and *th* in *thing*. The barred ð̄ of Professor Rhys' Hibbert Lectures is meant to guide people who are puzzled by the barbarous Welsh *dd*. Nor have they in Breton the "obscure" sound of Welsh *j*; so Villemarqué altered it into *a*, their nearest sound. Skene's Welsh orthography is not consistent. He uses modern, Middle, and Old Welsh forms promiscuously and indiscriminately."

² Mr. Phillimore notes that "*Brut* is derived, not from an originally Welsh word, but from the word *Brutus* through Norman-French or English. It was used to mean a chronicle in these languages, and derived from *Brutus*, as in Wace's *Brut*. Originally it meant a chronicle beginning with Brutus or the like. The history of the transference of the word to Welsh is all that is obscure. In Rhys and Evans' *Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1890), this question is gone into in a note in the preface. The word *Brut* for a chronicle occurs in Welsh before it does in English MSS., but that proves nothing."

³ *Romans de la Table Ronde*, p. 25; *L'Enchanteur Merlin*, note, p. 99. San-Marte, however, held the same opinion, *Die Sagen von Merlin*, p. 16; and strangely enough, de la Borderie (*Hist. Brit. attribuée à Nennius*, p. 35) refers to "le *Brut* er *Breninad* (x^e siècle) et son amplificateur latin, Geoffroi de Monmouth (xii^e siècle)."

Brut y Brenhinoedd (or the *Brut Tysilio*) was the British original of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*. This, like the other *Bruts*, is later¹ than Geoffrey of Monmouth, and obviously based upon his work.²

The Welsh Triads make mention of Myrddin, but they are of no great importance for our purpose. The details are discussed in the footnote.³

Mr. Phillimore remarks that "*er Brenined* is a gross blunder for *y Brenhinoedd*—the usual plural of *Brenin* 'a king'—though *Brenhinedd* also occurs in Middle Welsh; *y* means *the*; *er* does not exist."

¹ P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, i. 38; G. Paris, *Romania*, xii. 373; *Encyc. Brit.* 9th ed., art. *Celtic Lit.*

² De la Borderie, *Les Véritables Proph. de Merlin*, p. 75, p. 124.

³ On the Triads Mr. Phillimore sends me the following note:—

"The Triads simply consist of parts or characters taken from early (pre-seventh century) Cymric, and rarely Cornish, history and legend grouped by threes according to some salient characteristic, e.g. 'The three liberal kings were so and so,' etc.; 'The three felon axe-blows were so and so,' etc." "There are several collections of the Triads, the two oldest existing in MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (call these two *a* and *b*), and others (with a few new ones not found in *a* and *b*) in MSS. of the fifteenth century. All or most of these collections were pieced together by Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, the great Welsh collector of MSS., who died about 1667. He used some versions of the fifteenth century, which have never been published, and one at least which I cannot trace. Let us call this mosaic (*c*). Now, sometime—when it cannot exactly be said, but between 1600 and 1800—some one got hold of a great many—not all—of the old versions of the Triads, and also of a later (probably fifteenth-century) compilation called the 'Triads of the Twenty-four Knights,' and served them up with much additional detail and verbiage, and occasionally with important new matter, mostly not found elsewhere. This version, the fullest of all, was first printed in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, vol. 2, and no MS. of it older than the eighteenth century is known to exist, though I do not believe that it was then concocted. Call this (*d*). Now (*d*) is often known, most misleadingly, as 'The Welsh Triads' or 'The Welsh Historical Triads' *par excellence*. I may add that—1. Robert Vaughan's piecework version (*c*); 2. the Red Book of Hergest version (*b*); and 3. the late or spurious *rechauffée* version (*d*), are printed in this order in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, and are thence quoted by Rhys in his Hibbert Lectures as Versions 1, 2, 3, respectively (*b* has since been printed with absolute correctness).

Now, with this light let us come to what Skene says (and de la Borderie purports to quote or refer to in *Les Véritables Prophéties de Merlin*). In *Celtic Scotland*, vol. I. pp. 23, 24, we read: 'Among the Welsh documents which are usually founded upon as affording materials for the early history of the country, there is one class of documents contained in the *Myvyrian Archaeology* which cannot be accepted as genuine. The principal of them are the so-called Historical Triads, which have been usually quoted as possessing undoubted claims to antiquity under

A word ought to be given to the *Mabinogion*, though we really get from them no light on Myrddin. These are a collection of prose tales, a number of which tell of Arthur and the knights of his court. Merlin (Myrddin) is not mentioned

the name of the Welsh Triads In a former work [p. 24] the author in reviewing these documents [the said Triads and others with which we have nothing to do here, many of which were certainly not concocted in the eighteenth century as Skene thought] merely said, "It is not unreasonable, therefore, to say that they must be received with some suspicion, and that very careful discrimination is required in the use of them." He does not hesitate now to reject them as entirely spurious.' Skene here appends a footnote (No. 15) with the very reservation which de la Borderie ignores — 'See *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. I. pp. 30-32. In rejecting the Welsh Triads which have been so extensively used, the author excepts those Triads which are to be found in ancient MSS., such as the Triads of the Horses in the Black Book of Caermarthen; these in the Hengwrt MS. 536, printed in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. II. p. 457; and those in the Red Book of Hergest.'

Skene says also in the work cited, I. p. 172, in a note (No. 11): 'The author confines himself as much as possible to Welsh documents before his [Geoffrey of Monmouth's] time, and the so-called Historical Triads he rejects as entirely spurious.' Also at pp. 195, 196 he says (end of p. 195): 'The Welsh Triads say that the Picts came from Llychlyn, which is Scandinavia.' . . . (p. 196 end): 'The Welsh Triads which contain the passage referred to may now be regarded as spurious.' The passage referred to, with much other ethnological matter, occurs in (a), but in *no other* collection of Triads. Skene further says in note 50 on p. 197: 'Neither does he refer to the so-called Historic Triads, because he considers them spurious; but among the genuine "Triads of Arthur and his Warriors"' [these are those contained in the Hengwrt MSS. 54 and 536]. 'Ib. [in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*] vol. II. p. 457, there is one to this effect: "Three oppressions came to this island and did not go out of it"' (p. 8).

What Skene means, and what I mean, by 'genuine' is, that the authors wrote down actual tradition or legend which they found to hand; by 'spurious,' that the authors invented some at least of what they record, out of their own heads. The genuine Triads do not purport to be written at any particular date. The oldest MSS. are of about 1225 and 1275 for (a), and 1300-1325 for (b), but contain archaisms and errors of transcription which carry them back each, say, from fifty to a hundred years in their present form. But how much older some of the Triads may or may not be no one can say! Of course (a) is genuine in so far as it copies the older Triads, which it mostly does. Some of its additions and alterations are demonstrably spurious, and the rest cannot be relied upon unless and until corroborated from other sources which have not the same taint."

In the light of Mr. Phillimore's remarks we note that we have two Triads relating to Merlin, both from version (a).

The first I quote is No. 125, which "is entirely peculiar to (a)." This enumerates: "Three principal bards of the Isle of Britain, Myrddin Emrys, Myrddin, son of Morvryn, Taliessin, chief of the bards." Cf. also J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II.

by name, but the combat of the white with the red dragon is found in the story of Llud and Llevelis, much the same as in Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Criticism has not yet said the last word with regard to the age and authenticity of these tales.¹ But the three romances of *Owein and Lunet*, *Peredur ab Eirauc*, *Geraint and Enid*, agree in many essentials with the three French romances of Chrestien de Troyes,—the *Chevalier au Lyon*, *Perceval le Gallois*, *Erec et Enid*,—all of which were produced in the last half of the twelfth century.² Still, according to Loth,³ “the three *Mabinogion* are no more

p. 268; F. Michel, *Vita Merlini*, p. xvi.; and *The Ancient Laws of Cambria*, translated from the Welsh by William Probert, 1823, p. 413, Triad 125.

The second (d) (No. 10) tells of: “Three complete disappearances from the isle of Prydein . . . the second is that of Myrddin, the bard of Emrys Wledig, and of his nine Cylveidd, who directed their way by sea toward the House of Glas.” Cf. J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II. pp. 277, 278. This Triad, as Mr. Phillimore observes, “takes and amplifies *one* subordinate incident from (a), copied thence in (c), No. 34; but everything concerning Merlin is only in (d). Nor does *difancoll* mean necessarily ‘complete disappearances’: *col* is a loss, not a disappearance, and *difancoll* (*difangoll* now) means ‘utter loss,’ whether disappearance or destruction. The Isle of Britain was the consecrated term for the undivided Britondom of the sixth and seventh centuries.”

These two Triads just quoted are very late, and, in Mr. Phillimore's opinion, worthless. He adds: “The only allusion to Merlin or his works which I can find in the genuine Triads are in the Triads of Hengwrt MSS. 54 and 536, Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii. 265—‘The third (concealment and disconcealment^a of the Isle of Britain was) the dragons which Llud, son of Beli, buried (al. concealed) in Dinas Emreis, in Eryni.’ (Eryni roughly answers to Snowdonia.) There is the same statement in one of the Red-Book Triads; but nothing more that I can find.”

^a “This is not the best word, but it means the uncovering of what has been concealed.”

¹ Mr. Phillimore says of the *Mabinogion*, that they are conceded to be Celtic, “excepting the versions of *Owein*, *Perceval*, and *Erec*, and perhaps the *Llud* and *Llevelis*. The stories and incidents are purely Celtic, though here and there you will get a lay figure dragged in from France, as you will from Ireland and other non-Welsh countries. I dare say the manner of telling the Tales may have been indirectly influenced by the French story-tellers, but that is the utmost. As for *Llud* and *Llevelis*, it occurs intercalated in some of the Welsh translations or adaptations of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but is a Welsh addition to the Latin of the original text.”

² Cf. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, i. p. 13; also G. Paris, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx.

³ *Les Mabinogion*, i. p. 15.

translated from Chrétien de Troyes than the poems of Chrétien de Troyes are translated or imitated from them. They all mount to one common source, that is to say, the French romances written in England and based upon British legends; the originals have disappeared, and we have preserved nothing of them but mutilated imitations. It would perhaps be going too far to affirm that the three *Mabinogion* are literally translated from the French, but it is very evident that they follow closely a French source. As for the primitive basis of these tales, it is generally admitted to be of Celtic origin. The Celtic legends of the country of Wales were early known by the Normans after the conquests of England."

I have touched upon the *Mabinogion*, not because the tales yield us much information with regard to Merlin (Myrddin), but because they yield so little. It is certainly rather surprising that a long series of Celtic stories, several of which tell us of Arthur, should make no reference to the great Merlin (Myrddin), unless, indeed, some one chooses to see in this very fact a slight confirmation of the historical character of the bard Myrddin of the sixth century, who had not (as one might urge) been invested in genuine works of Celtic imagination with the legendary character that the enchanter Merlin assumes in the Latin chronicles and the French romances.

There remain to be examined the Welsh poems that contain allusions to Myrddin. If we accept these poems as genuine works of the sixth century, we have nothing more than a few obscure fragments, the full import of which is perhaps even yet not rightly interpreted.

The publication of Old Welsh texts is comparatively recent.¹ It began in 1764, when the Rev. Evan Evans brought out his *Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards*. Twenty years later, Edward Jones published his *Musical and Poetical*

¹ Cf. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. pp. 4-18.

Relics of the Welsh Bards. Following this work appeared in 1792 Dr. Owen Pughe's collection, *The Heroic Elegies and other Pieces of Llywarch-Hen*. The first really important publication of old Welsh poems was made in the year 1801, when the first two volumes of the *Myryrian Archaeology* (sic) of *Wales* were published by Owen Jones, a London furrier, Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg) a stone-mason, and William Owen, later known as William Owen Pughe. A third volume followed in 1807.¹ The lively controversy which at once arose over these poems—helped on doubtless by the recollection of the extravagant claims made for MacPherson's pseudo-Gaelic Ossian—was for a time brought to an end by the publication in 1803 of Sharon Turner's *Vindication of the genuineness of the Ancient British Poems of Aneurin, Taliessin, Llywarch-Hen, and Myrddin*, though, as Gaston Paris remarks, he really proved nothing. Since Turner's day critical opinion has vibrated between alternate acceptance and rejection of these poems. Villemarqué, although a strenuous defender of the Celtic origin of the Merlin (Myrddin) legend, preferred to regard Brittany as the original home of the bard, and did not hesitate to affirm that none of the poems attributed to Myrddin could be accepted as genuine.² In 1849 Thomas Stephens published a careful study of these old poems in his *Literature of the Kymry*. He, too, refused to accept any of the poems as genuine products of the sixth century.³ Still more careful and critical was the investigation of the entire subject of early Welsh literature by W. F. Skene in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (1868). Here appeared all of the texts of the poems in

¹ The whole reprinted in one volume, royal 8vo. Denbigh, 1861, and in one volume, small 4to. Denbigh, 1870.

² "On ne peut pas citer une seule pièce, une seule strophe originale de ce barde : toutes portent des traces nombreuses de remaniements."—Villemarqué, *Poèmes des Bardes Bretons*, q. v.

³ Cf. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 12.

question with a literal translation,¹ and a series of critical dissertations on the genuineness of the poems. This was the first discussion of the matter on the basis of a really critical text. Mr. Skene's investigations led him to the following conclusions: "That the bards to whom these poems are in the main attributed are recorded as having lived in the sixth century, is certain. We have it on the authority of the *Genealogia*² attached to Nennius, written in the eighth century.³ That this record of their having lived in that age is true we have every reason to believe, and we may hold that there were such bards as Taliessin, Llywarch-Hen, and Myrddin at that early period, who were believed to have written poems."⁴

Mr. Skene is recognized as a foremost authority on this question, but his views have not won entire acceptance.⁵ Yet even if we accept all the poems as genuine and ancient, and include the interpolations as well as the evidently spurious poems rejected by Mr. Skene, we have but a shadowy outline of the personality of the Bard Myrddin. For the sake of

¹ By the Rev. D. Silvan Evans and the Rev. Robert Williams: *cf.* i. 7-17.

² The passage referred to is found in the ordinary editions of Nennius, sec. 62. "At that time Talhaiarn Cataguen was famed for poetry, and Neirin and Taliesin and Bluchbard and Cian, who is called Guenith Guant, were all famous at the same time in British poetry" (Gunn's translation, edited by J. A. Giles). There is no mention of Myrddin in Nennius. Mr. Phillimore adds that "Llywarch-Hen is not mentioned either by the author of the '*Genealogia*.' The old identification of Llywarch (Old Welsh *Loumarch* or Leumarch) with Bluchbard is too insane! *et Neirin* is a mistranslation of the Welsh *Aneirin*, a in Welsh meaning *and*. The MSS. read *Tat Auen*, not *Cataguen* (modern Welsh *Tad Awen*, Pater Poeseos). Guenith Guant, now Gwenith Gwawd. The '*Genealogia*' attached to Nennius have nothing to do with Nennius. They were merely accidentally tacked on an edition of Nennius represented by only four very nearly related MSS. They are a distinct work entirely."

³ On this date compare our discussion of Nennius, *ante*.

⁴ *Four Ancient Books*, i. 184.

⁵ *Cf.* for example, the article on *Celtic Literature* in the *Encyc. Brit.* 9th ed. 1876. G. Paris remarks on these poems — "Je suis très porté, pour ma part, à croire qu'il n'y a rien d'authentique du tout, mais on ne pourra le décider que quand on aura appliqué à ces productions bizarres l'instrument de la critique philologique." — *Romania*, xii. 375.

clearness we can perhaps hardly do better than to take up in order each of the Welsh poems that in any way refers to Myrddin. Of these poems eight¹ have been attributed to Myrddin; but they are not all accepted as genuine by either Mr. Skene or M. de la Borderie; nor do these two eminent critics exactly agree with each other as to what is genuine and what is spurious.

These differences of opinion as to just which of these poems were indubitably composed in the sixth century are not reassuring to one who naturally defers to the judgment of recognized specialists in things Celtic. In such a case a layman can hardly do more than silently to place the conflicting opinions side by side, and move on. In our examination we may best begin with the two poems that are least doubtful—*The Dialogue between Myrddin and Taliessin*, and the *Avallenau*.²

I.—The *Dialogue between Myrddin and Taliessin* adds but little to our knowledge. Its chief importance for our purpose is that it helps to establish the existence of a bard bearing the name Myrddin.³ He is represented as talking with Taliessin concerning the battle of Arderydd, and expressing sadness at the slaughter.⁴

¹ Cf. de la Borderie's list in *Les Véritables Proph. de Merlin*, p. 57 (ed. 1884), with that given by F. Michel, *Vita Merlini*, pp. liv., lv. Also Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. p. 222.

² Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. pp. 222, 223; de la Borderie, *Les Véritables Proph. de Merlin*, p. 116. De la Borderie remarks also, p. 81 — “Quoi qu'il en soit, dans le *Dialogue de Taliessin et de Merlin* et dans les *Avallenau* du *Livre Noir*, nous avons (nous croyons l'avoir prouvé) deux poèmes historiques fort curieux, dont l'authenticité, l'attribution à Merlin, ne sauraient souffrir plus de difficulté que celle des poèmes attribués jusqu'ici sans contestation sérieuse—par M. Stephens lui-même—à Lywarch-Hen et à Taliessin.”

³ Cf. J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, ii. p. 268, note.

⁴ It will be instructive to put, side by side, the translation of the *Dialogue between Myrddin and Taliessin*, as given by Davies^a and followed by San-Marte,^b and the translation of the same, as given in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*.^c A few specimens will suffice.

^a *Mythol.* p. 549. ^b *Die Sagen von Merlin*, pp. 138–140. ^c Vol. i. pp. 368–370. This translation is by Rev. D. Silvan Evans. (See i. 17.)

In the sixth stanza Taliessin speaks :

“ The host of Maelgwn, it was fortunate that they came—
Slaughtering men of battle, penetrating the gory plain,
Even the action of Ardderyd [Arderydd], when there will be
a crisis,
Continually for the hero they will prepare.”

In the eleventh stanza Myrddin says :

“ Seven-score generous ones have gone to the shades ;
In the wood of Celyddon they came to their end.
Since I, Myrd[d]in, am next after Taliessin,
Let my prediction become common.”

II.—*The Avalleuau*, observes Mr. Skene, contains passages (already pointed out by Stephens), “ which could not have

DAVIES.

Myrddin.

I.—How great my sorrow ! How woful
has been the treatment of Kedwy and
the boat ! Unanimous was the assault,
with gleaming swords. From the
piercing conflict, one shield escaped.—
Alas, how deplorable !

Taliessin.

II.—It was Maelgwn, whom I saw, with
piercing weapon (sic) before the
master of the fair herd. His master
will not be silent.

Myrddin.

III.—Before the two personages they
land in the celestial circle—before the
passing form, and the fixed form over
the pale white boundary. The grey
stones they actually remove. Soon is
Elgan and his retinue discovered—for
his slaughter, alas ! how great the
vengeance that ensued !

SKENE.

Myrddin.

How sad with me, how sad !
Have Cedwyv and Cadvan perished ?
Glaring and tumultuous was the slaughter ;
Perforated was the shield from Trywruyd
[Tryfrwydd].*

Taliessin.

It was Maelgwn that I saw combating.
His household before the tumult of the
host is not silent.

Myrddin.

Before two men in Nevtur will they land,
Before Errith and Gurrith on a pale
white horse.
The slender bay they will undoubtedly
bear away.
Soon will his retinue be seen with Elgan.
Alas ! for his death a great journey they
came.

* “ This is the Trifruit of Nennius.”— E. G. P.

been written prior to the time of Henry II.”; but these passages seem to be “interpolations in an older poem.”¹ At best we learn from this poem very little about the personality of the bard,² though more than from any other of the Welsh poems.³

In addition to these two poems there are a few others of more doubtful age and authenticity, which mention Myrddin and ascribe to him various qualities.

III.—The *Porchellanau* or *Hoianau*—one of the poems of

¹ *Four Anc. Books*, ii. pp. 316, 317. Cf. de la Borderie, *Les Vêrit. Proph. de Merlin*, pp. 62. Skene's text of the *Avallenau* contains 86 lines; San-Marte's, *Die Sagen von Merlin*, pp. 62-78, has 185 lines.

² To avoid repetition I will cite nothing at this point from this poem, as I have reserved it for comparison with the *Vita Merlini*.

³ M. de la Borderie (*Les Véritables Proph. de Merlin*, p. 72) gives the following account of the *Avallenau*:—“Le barde nous apprend qu'il a été riche, honoré par le roi Gwend[d]oleu, guerrier vaillant dans la forêt de Kelyddon et portant le collier d'or à la bataille d'Arderyd[d]; qu'il a connu les enivrements de l'amour et s'est, avec une jeune fille, promené autour de la tige du pommier tant célébré dans ses vers, c'est-à-dire à la cour du roi, père du jeune exilé dont il annonce le rétablissement (ci-dessus, st. 4, 5, 7). Puis sont venus les jours mauvais. Gwend[d]oleu, son protecteur, ne s'est plus trouvé en état de soutenir sa fortune. Merlin a eu le malheur de causer la mort du fils de Gwendyz, que l'on croit avoir été sa sœur et la femme de R[h]yd[d]erch. De là le disgrâce où il est tombé vis-à-vis de R[h]yd[d]erch, de ses serviteurs et de Gwendyz; disgrâce qui l'afflige profondément. Ces chagrins et ces malheurs ont fini par lui déranger l'esprit. Il a erré—ou bien il a cru errer—longtemps et péniblement, parmi les ténèbres et en compagnie des spectres, dans la forêt de Kelyddon. Aussi appelle-t-il maintenant la mort, espérant ainsi entrer dans le cortège splendide du roi des rois (st. 4, 5, 6, 7). Il semble toutefois reprendre raison, vie et espoir, en songeant au triomphe prochain du jeune prince en qui, nous le répétons il y a tout lieu de voir le fils ou l'héritier de Gwend[d]oleu. Un point à noter: Merlin ne parle point de sa vieillesse. Or, quand ils atteignaient cet âge, les bardes bretons du VI^e siècle—par exemple Lywarch-Hen—ne cessaient de le dire et de geindre sur leurs cheveux blancs, quelquefois en très beaux vers, mais sans jamais craindre de se répéter.

Donc [!] Merlin n'était pas vieux quand il faisait sa pièce des *Pommiers* [*Avallenau*] plusieurs années après la bataille d'Arderyd[d].”

The argument that Myrddin could not have been old because he does not talk precisely like some other bard is certainly a surprising one. We have at most but a few lines with which to construct the entire portrait of Myrddin; and from the purely negative considerations presented by M. de la Borderie we are not warranted in drawing so important an inference.

the Black Book of Caermarthen—is rejected by Mr. Stephens and Mr. Skene as being spurious and late. Like the *Avallenau*, it contains passages not earlier than the time of Henry II.,¹ and really contains nothing to warrant it in being placed earlier than Geoffrey of Monmouth. De la Borderie, however, regards it as containing a few fragments of Merlin's (Myrddin's) work imbedded in a mass of interpolations.²

Myrddin is not mentioned by name in the form, but there is a prediction that,

“All the Cymry will be under the same warlike leader;
His name is Llywelyn, of the line
Of Gwynedd, one who will overcome.”—STANZA I.

And the speaker says of himself :

“Little does R[h]ydderch Hael know to-night at his feast
What sleeplessness last night I bore;
The snow was up to my knees owing to the wariness of the chief,
Icicles hung to my hair: sad is my fate!”—STANZA X.

“Thin is my covering, for me there is no repose,
Since the battle of Ardderyd [Arderydd] it will not concern me,
Though the sky were to fall, and sea to overflow.”—STANZA XXV.³

IV.—*Dialogue between Myrddin and his sister Gwenddydd*⁴
(the *Cyvoesi*).

¹ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii. 316. Mr. Skene also remarks, i. 209, that the poem “must have been composed either in whole or in part in the reign of Henry II.”

² *Les Vérit. Proph. de Merlin*, p. 100, p. 116. A little earlier he remarks, p. 95 : “Force nous est donc d'admettre l'existence d'un poème primitif des *Hoianau*, œuvre de Merlin, envahi aux xi^e et xii^e siècles par des interpolations successives qui, s'étendant de proche en proche d'une strophe à l'autre, ont fini par dévorer et détruire la pièce entière.”

³ For the entire poem see *Four Anc. Books*, i. 482.

⁴ The English translator spells the name of the bard *Myrdin*. De la Borderie spells the name of the sister *Gwendyz*—*Les Vérit. Proph. de Merlin*, p. 57. Mr. Phillimore remarks that the name should have been Bretonized *Gwenzyz*.

If we could accept this dialogue as genuine,¹ we should get considerable information from it with regard to Myrddin, but in all probability it is a late piece of work, and consequently of little value for our purpose. Some of the passages are instructive, in that they show how little we learn from these Welsh poems even when they are most specific²—

MYRDDIN II. Since the action of Ardderyd [Arderydd] and Erydon,
Gwend[d]ydd, and all that will happen to me,
Dull of understanding, to what place of festivity
shall I go?

GWENDDYDD III. I will address my twin-brother³
Myrd[d]in, a wise man and a diviner.

M. XII. As Gwenddoleu was slain in the bloodshed of
Ardderyd [Arderydd],
And I wonder why I should be perceived.

G. XIII. Thy head is of the colour of winter hoar;
God has relieved thy necessities.

¹ Mr. Skene, *Four Anc. Books*, i. pp. 234–241, rejects it as spurious, and adds: “The form of the prophecy in the *Hoianau* is obviously the same as that in the third part of the *Cyvoesi*, which I consider to have been produced in South Wales in the twelfth century.” And de la Borderie in turn observes: “A nos yeux, si l’on excepte les quinze dernières stances (117–131), dont nous parlerons plus loin, les *Kyroësi* est une insipide rapsodie chronologique fabriquée au xii^e ou au xiii^e siècle par un barde pédant, qui avait sous les yeux Nennius, Geoffroi de Monmouth, Caradoc de Lancarvan.”—*Les Vérit. Proph. de Merlin*, pp. 83, 84.

² For the entire poem see *Four Anc. Books*, i. 462 *sqq.* The Roman numerals in the passages I quote refer to the stanzas.

³ On this passage the Rev. T. Price (*Literary Remains*, i. 143, quoted in *Four Anc. Books*, ii. 424) has an important remark: “It is worthy of note that Gwenddydd in this dialogue addresses Myrddin by the appellation of Llallogan, twin-brother . . .” Now this will explain a passage in the Life of St. Kentigern, in which it is said that there was at the court of R[h]ydderch Hael a certain idiot named Laloicen who uttered predictions. “In curia ejus quidam homo fatuus vocabulo Laloicen;” and in the *Scotichronicon* it is stated that this Laloicen was *Myrddin Wylt*. By connecting these several particulars, we find an air of truth cast over the history of this bard, as regards the principal incidents of his life, and there can be no reason to doubt that some of the poetry attributed to him was actually his composition.”

Mr. Ward also touches upon the same matter in discussing Cott. MS. Titus A. xix. “The prose narrative (at f. 74) of the meeting of Merlin and St. Kentigern (or St. Mungo, the patron saint of Glasgow) may perhaps belong to the imperfect

M. xiv. Heaven has brought a heavy affliction
On me, and I am ill at last.

G. xvii. Since thou art a companion and canon
Of Cullaith

M. xx. Since my reason is gone with the ghosts of the
mountain,
And I myself am pensive.

G. xxiv. Since Gwenddoleu was slain in the bloodshed of
Ardderyd [Arderydd], thou art filled with dismay.

G. lxii. Myrd[d]in fair, of fame-conferring song.

life of St. Kentigern which follows it (f. 76b). This narrative has been abridged by Walter Bower (or Bowmaker), last abbot of Inchcolm (d. 1449), and inserted in his enlarged edition of the *Scotichronicon* of John Fordun, lib. iii. cap. xxxi. (see Royal 13, E. x. f. 58, and Walter Goodall's edition, of 1759, vol. i. p. 135). But Bower has omitted the pith of the story. Merlin does not receive the sacrament on the first day of meeting; but one day he comes to the "Mellodonor" (or Molendinar) brook, near Glasgow, demanding the sacrament, and saying that his death is at hand. He is asked three times how he will die, and each time gives a different answer. Still, St. Kentigern is at last persuaded to administer the sacrament to him. Now it has happened, once upon a time, that he was caught and bound by the petty king ("regulus") Meldredus; that he laughed at seeing the king take an apple-leaf out of his wife's hair; that he was promised freedom if he would state the cause of his laughter, and that he then told of the queen's adultery in the orchard. The queen, in revenge, ordered some shepherds to keep a look-out for him. They see him coming away from St. Kentigern, and pursue him with sticks and stones. He falls dying over a bank of the Tweed near Drumelzier, and is impaled on a salmon-stake in the water. Thus he dies by the three deaths that he has prophesied. The laugh at seeing the apple-leaf and the prophecy of the three different deaths are stories introduced into the poem; but in the poem it is not his own death that Merlin prophesies."

The prose narrative begins: "Eo quidem in tempore quo beatus kentegernus heremi deserta frequentare solebat. contigit die quadam illo in solitudinis arbusto solicite orante. vt quidam demens nudus et hirsutus et ab omni bono destitutus. quasi quidam torum furiale transitum faceret secus eum qui lailoken vocabatur. quem quidam dicunt fuisse Merlynium." f. 74. It ends: "Porro opidum istud distat a Ciuitate Glascu quasi xxx^{ta} miliaribus. In cuius campo lailoken tumulatus quiescit.

'Sude per fossus. lapidem perpressus. et vndam?'

Merlinus triplicem fertur inisse necem." f. 75b.

—*Catalogue of Romances*, i. p. 291.

The *Acta Sanctorum* for January tells us with regard to St. Kentigern: "De eius aetate id solum possumus statuere, vixisse seculo a Cristi nativitate sexto, circiter annum 560, nam tum S. Columba floruit, quem illius fuisse aequalem constat."—vol. i. p. 815."

- G. cxii. My twin-brother, since thou hast answered me,
 Myrd[d]in, son of Morvryn the skilful,
 Sad is the tale thou hast uttered.
- M. cxxii. The Creator has caused one heavy affliction :
 Dead is Morgeneu, dead is Mordav,
 Dead is Morien : I wish to die.
- G. cxxiii. My only brother, chide me not ;
 Since the battle of Ardderyd [Arderydd] I am ill.

V.—*Yscolan*¹ is the shortest of the eight poems sometimes attributed to Myrddin, and is rejected as spurious both by Mr. Skene and M. de la Borderie, though the latter believes it to be a poem of the seventh century. But whatever its age it tells us nothing at all about Myrddin.

VI.—*Prediction of Myrddin in his tomb.*²

This is unquestionably as late as the end of the thirteenth century, and cannot be by Myrddin. In any case nothing important is to be learned from a poem which tells us merely—

“I have quaffed wine from a bright glass with the lords of
 fierce war ;

My name is Myrd[d]in, son of Morvryn.”

There remain a few fragments which call for a word of comment. In the *Book of Taliessin* (*Four Anc. Books*, i. 436) we find by an unknown writer a single allusion³ to Myrddin in the poem entitled *The Omen of Prydein the Great*, “Myrd[d]in fortells these will meet, in Aber Peryddon, the stewards of the kings,” ll. 17, 18.

The poem on the Birch-trees contains nothing at all on Myrddin. It neither mentions his name nor alludes to him in any way. Skene regards it as “one of the spurious

¹ De la Borderie, *Les Véritables Proph. de Merlin*, p. 100, p. 108. For the translation see *Four Anc. Books*, i. p. 518. Cf. also, ii. pp. 318, 319, note.

² Called in the *Four Anc. Books*, i. 478, *A Fugitive Poem of Myrd[d]in in his Grave*. Cf. ii. p. 17 ; de la Borderie, *Les Vêrit. Proph. de Merl.* p. 116.

³ Cf. J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, ii. p. 268.

poems attributed to Myrddin which were composed in the twelfth century.¹ Last of all we have the poem called by de la Borderie *Les Fouissements*, which, besides being late, adds nothing to our knowledge of Myrddin.

We have now examined all of the extant Welsh literature that gives any hint as to the personality of Myrddin. We have found the record scanty at the best, and of not too convincing authenticity. Important is the fact that the supernatural element is not introduced, though it may be implied in the gift of prophecy. We here see Myrddin merely as a warrior-bard, who laments in moving words the death of his friends in battle. Our next step will take us to the Latin *Vita Merlini*, which we must compare with the Welsh poems. We shall discover a few points of likeness, but we must guard against overestimating the correspondences. Where the resemblance is not purely accidental there is scarcely enough to argue actual borrowing.

In the *Vita Merlini*² we find in the main a conception of Merlin very different from that in Geoffrey's *Historia*. This difference appears clearly in an analysis of the poem. If

¹ *Four Anc. Books*, ii. p. 334. Translation, i. p. 481. Cf. de la Borderie's remarks on this and other poems of its class in *Les Vérit. Proph. de Merlin*, p. 109.

² Ward (*Catal. of Romances*, i. p. 286) gives a very good summary of the contents, but he does not bring out the fact that the mad bard identifies himself (ll. 681-683) with the prophet who explained to Vortigern the combat of the two dragons. "The main action of this poem begins after the battle of Ardderyd [Ardderydd]; which seems to have been fought in A.D. 573, between the great chief of the Pagans in Scotland, Gwenddolen, on one side, and Maelgwn Gwynedd, R[h]ydderch Hael, and Aedan son of Gafran, on the other. Gwenddolen^a was killed; R[h]ydderch established himself as King of Strathclyde, and recalled St. Kentigern from Wales to become Bishop of Glasgow; and Aedan was inaugurated King of Dalriada (Argyle and the Isles) by St. Columba. The battlefield was near two small hills, still called the Knows of Arthuret, on the western bank of the Esk, about nine miles north of Carlisle."

Cf. *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, by W. F. Skene. Edinburgh, 1868. Vol. i. pp. 65-67. "Merlin is here described as a King of the South Welsh. Guennolous, King of Scotland, is defeated by Peredurus, the leader of the North Welsh, in conjunction with Merlin and Rodar, King of the Cambrians. Merlin, though his side wins the day, goes mad at the sight of the slaughter, and flies into the woods. He is enticed home by his wife Guendoloea, and by his sister Ganiada,

^a [Guenddoleu.]

we take the facts in the life of Merlin in the order in which they are presented in the *Vita Merlini* we find that he was—

1. A king and prophet. l. 21.

2. That he

“Demetarumque superbis,

Iura dabat populis, ducibusque futura canebat.” ll. 21, 22.

3. That in a strife between several princes,

“Venerat ad bellum Merlinus cum Peredūro. ll. 31, 32.

Rex quoque Cumborum¹ Rodarchus.”

4. That at the sight of the slaughter,

“Hoc viso, Merline, doles, tristesque per agmen. l. 38.

Commisceo planctus, tali quoque voce remugis.”

Merlin breaks out into lamentation.

who is married to Rodarcus. Several wild incidents follow, but finally Ganiada builds a great house in the woods for Merlin. Telgesinus (Taliessin) visits him; and they discourse together of the wonders of nature, and recall the day when they conveyed King Arthur in a boat steered by Barinthus (or Barrindeus, abbot of Druimcuillin, and a friend of St. Brandan's) to ‘Insula Pomorum’ (Avalon), where the king's wounds were tended by Morgain and her sisters.”

The Caledonian Forest, to which Merlin fled, is thus described by J. Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, p. 225): “The Caledonian Forest is found to have been located by Ptolemy where there is every reason to suppose it really was, namely, covering a tract where we are told that a thick wood of birch and hazel must once have stretched from the west of the district of Menteith, in the neighbourhood of Loch Lomond, across the country to Dunkeld. It is this vast forest that probably formed, in part at least, the boundary between the Caledonians and the Verturiones or the Brythons of Fortrenn.”

Skene (*Four Anc. Books of Wales*, i. 54) remarks: “The seventh battle [of Arthur] was ‘in silva Caledonis, id est, Cat Coit Celidon’—that is, the battle was so called, for *Cat* means a battle, and *Coed Celyddon* the Wood of Celyddon. This is the Nenus Caledonis that Merlin is said, in the Latin *Vita Merlini*, to have fled to after the battle of Ardderyth, and where, according to the tradition reported by Fordun (B. iii. ch. xxvi.), he met Kentigern, and afterwards was slain by the shepherds of Meldredus, a regulus of the country on the banks of the Tweed. ‘prope oppidum Dunmeller.’ Local tradition places the scene of it in Tweeddale, where, in the parish of Drumelzier, anciently Dunmeller, in which the name of Meldredus is preserved, is shewn the grave of Merlin. The upper part of the valley of the Tweed was once a great forest, of which the forests of Selkirk and Ettrick formed a part, and seems to have been known by the name of the *Coed Celyddon*.”

See also Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. p. 86.

¹ V. R. Cambrorum.

5. That Peredur and his companions vainly endeavour to quiet Merlin :

“Solatur Peredurus eum, proceresque ducesque. l. 68.
Nec vult solari nec verba precantia ferre.”

6. That after three days of weeping and fasting Merlin flees to the forests, and becomes a wild man of the woods, forgetful of himself and of his friends :

“Iam tribus emensis defleuerat ille diebus. l. 70.

Respueratque cibos ; tantus dolor usserat illum :
Inde novas furias, cum tot tantisque querelis
Aera compleret, cepit, furtimque recidit ;
Et fugit ad silvas, nec vult fugiendo videri,
Ingrediturque nemus, gaudetque latere sub ornis ;
Miraturque feras pascentes gramina saltus.
Nunc has insequitur, nunc cursu præterit illas.
Utitur herbarum radicibus ; utitur herbis ;
Utitur arboreo fructo, morisque rubeti.
Fit silvester homo, quasi silvis editus esset. l. 80.
Inde per aestatem totam ; nullique repertus,
Oblitusque sui, cognatorumque suorum,
Delituit, silvis obductus more ferino.
At cum venit [h]yems herbasque tulisset et omnes
Arboreos fructus, nec quo frueretur haberet ;
Diffudit tales miseranda voce querelas.”

7. That his complaints are heard by a passer-by who comes from the court of Rodarchus :

“Ecce viatori venit obuius alter ab aula. l. 121.

Rodarchi regis Cumbrorum, qui Ganiadam
Duxerat uxorem, formosa coniuge felix.
Merlini soror ista fuit, casumque dolebat
Fratris, et ad silvas et ad arva remota clientes
Miserat, ut fratrem revocarent.”

One said he had seen Merlin

“Inter dumosos saltus nemoris Calidonis.”

8. That Merlin is persuaded to return to his wife and sister :
 "Et veniunt pariter laetantes regis in urbem. l. 214.
 Ergo fratre suo gaudet regina recepto,
 Proque sui reditu fit coniunx lacta mariti."
9. But that he shortly goes mad again :
 "At postquam tantas hominum Merlinus adesse. l. 221.
 Inspexit turmas, nec eas perferre valeret ;
 Cepit enim furias, iterumque furore repletus
 Ad nemus ire cupit, furtimque recedere quaerit."
10. That after a time he flees again to the woods :
 "Et petiit silvas nullo prohibente cupitas." l. 385.
 Some time later he is again brought to Court.
11. That one day he utters various prophecies, and adds :
 "Haec Vortigerno cecini prolixus olim. l. 681.
 Exponendo duum sibi mistica bella draconum
 In ripa stagni quando consedimus hausti."
12. That he then asks his sister to send for Telgesinus to
 come to him ; and the two wise men discourse a
 long time together on problems of nature :
 "Quid ventus nimbusve foret," etc. l. 734.

At l. 982, Merlin begins with the betrayal of Constans, and recounts the history of Uter and Ambrosius, Vortimer and Arthur, and the treason of Modred. The story of Ygerne is passed over in silence. This résumé of the *Historia* extends to l. 1135.

In what follows (ll. 1136-1529) we are told of the discovery of a spring, by the drinking of the water of which Merlin's reason was restored. Then follows a considerable discourse with Telegesinus, and some prophecies.

The origin of a considerable part of the *Vita Merlini* is not very difficult to trace. As Gaston Paris remarks : "The author mingles notices of geography and natural history borrowed from classical writers with popular British tales, the greater

portion of which are found elsewhere.”¹ Exactly how much of the material is Celtic is uncertain. There is a certain vague correspondence between parts of the *Vita* and parts of the *Aval-lenau* and the (spurious) *Hoianau*. Merlin has long conversations in the *Vita* with Telgesinus; and Myrddin engages in conversation with Taliessin in a short Welsh dialogue, probably ancient. These correspondences may not be accidental, but they are not so definite as to argue actual borrowing, to say nothing of actual translation.² Of course, Geoffrey uses names that appear in Welsh literature, as for instance, in the following passage; but these had doubtless become common literary property in his day:—

- l. 26. “Dux Venedotorum Peredurus bella gerabat
Contra Guennoloum Scotiae qui regna regebat.”

Peredur is referred to in one of the Gododin Poems of

¹ *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx. p. 5.

² San-Marte (A. Schulz) very well points out the general relations in which the *Vita Merlini* stands to Welsh literature, but he pushes his conclusions farther than most careful critics can follow him. He remarks: “Als eine besondere Eigenthümlichkeit, zumal in dieser Zeit, wo schon die französische Romanpoesie sich Merlins bemächtigt hatte, deren Kenntniss auch unserm Dichter nicht abgeht, ist jedoch hervorzuheben, dass er [der Autor] wesentlich der wälschen Tradition von Merlin Caledonius anschliesst, und eine Kenntniss der wälschen Literatur verräth, welche man bei den französischen und englisch-normannischen Dichtern sehr selten findet. Er hat indess den Stoff ziemlich frei behandelt, und die Tradition nach seiner Bequemlichkeit gestaltet. Merlin ist hier Prophet, aber auch zugleich König der nördlichen Britten. Sein Gegner ist nicht, wie bei den Barden des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, der gegen ihn aufgehetzte Rhydderch (Rodarchus, dux Cumbrorum) der vielmehr als Bundesgenosse auftritt, sondern Guennolous, König von Schottland, der indess in der wahren wie fabelhaften Geschichte dieses Reiches vergebens gesucht wird. Der Verlust dreier Brüder in der Schottenschlacht treibt ihn zum Wahnsinn und wilden Leben im kaledonischen Walde. Ganiada, nicht Gwenddydd, heisst seine Schwester, und Guendolœna seine Gattin, und der mythische Gwendoll au der Barden ist verschwunden, wie auch den mitauftauchenden Taliesin nicht jener neodnidische Mysticismus desselben, sondern die Glorie klassischer Wissenschaft umschwebt, deren Quellen nachzuweisen, fast überall uns geglückt ist.”—*Die Sagen von Merlin*, p. 272.

Aneurin¹ (stanza 31), as "Peredur with steel arms," and he appears also in the *Mabinogion* as the hero of one of the tales.

It would be very difficult to prove that Geoffrey made extended use of any Welsh literature now extant. The following passages from the *Hoianau*, the *Avallenau*, and the *Vita* contain all the parallels I have been able to discover.

THE HOIANAU.

Stanza IX.

To us there will be years and
long days,
And iniquitous rulers, and the
blasting of fruit.

Stanza XXIV.

The dales are my barn, my corn
is not plenteous;
My summer collection affords me
no relief.

Stanza II.

Till Cynan² comes to it, to see its
distress,
Her habitations will never be
restored.

VITA MERLINI.

Deficiunt nunc poma michi, nunc
cetera quaeque.
Stat sine fronde nemus, sine fructu;
plector utroque,
Cum neque fronde tegi valeo, neque
fructibus uti.—ll. 95-97.

Donec als Armorico veniet temone
Conanus
Et Cadwalladrus Cambrorum dum³
venerandus.—ll. 967, 968.

¹ Skene, *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, i. p. 386.

² Referring to the prophecy found in the *Avallenau* and the *Hoianau* of the coming of Cadwaladr and Cynan, Skene remarks (*Four Anc. Books*, i. p. 241): "In the later form of the prophecy Cynan and Cadwaladr come from Armorica. Thus, in the *Vita Merlini* Geoffrey says:—

The Britons their noble kingdom
Shall for a long time lose through weakness,
Until from Armorica Conan shall come in his car,
And Cadwaladr, the honoured leader of the Cymry.

And the prophecy can only have assumed this shape after the fictitious narrative of Cadwaladr taking refuge in Armorica was substituted for his death in the pestilence, and the scene of his return is placed in South Wales, whence this form of prophecy emerged." Mr. Phillimore suggests that Cadwaladr is preferably Cadwaladr.

³ For *dux*.

THE AVALLENAU.¹

VITA MERLINI.

I.

Sweet apple-tree of delightful branches,	Tres quater et iuges septenae poma ferentes
Budding luxuriantly, and shoot- ing forth renowned scions.	Hic steterant mali; nunc non stant. ² —ll. 90, 91.

I will predict before the owner of Machreu,
That in the valley of Machawy³ on Wednesday there will be
blood,—

Joy to Lloegyr of the blood-red blades.
Hear, O little pig! there will come on Thursday
Joy to the Cymry of mighty battles,
In their defence of Cymminawd, with their incessant sword-
thrusts.

On the Saxons there will be a slaughter with ashen spears,
And their heads will be used as balls to play with.

I prophesy truth without disguise,—
The elevation of a child in a secluded part of the South.

II.

Sweet apple-tree, a green tree of luxurious growth,
How large are its branches, and beautiful its form!
And I will predict a battle that will make me shriek
At Pengwern, in the sovereign feast, mead is appropriate.

III.

Sweet apple-tree, and yellow tree,
Grow at Tal Ardd, without a garden surrounding it;

¹ *Black Book of Caermarthen*, xvii. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. pp. 370-373.

² San-Marte, in commenting on l. 90 of the *Vita Merlini*, remarks: "*Tres quater*. Die Zahl stimmt zwar nicht mit *Avalleuau* i.; doch ist die Beziehung darauf klar, und die Kenntniss jenes Gedichts beim Autor sicher vorauszusetzen."—*Die Sagen von Merlin*, p. 316. Doubtless most readers would like to feel as sure as San-Marte.

³ Mr. Phillimore states: "The vale of the Machawy (now spelt 'Bachowey') is in S. Radnorshire. A great battle was fought there near Pain's Castle, toward the end of the twelfth century, and three thousand men were killed. See Giraldus Cambrensis' works for this slaughter."

And I will predict a battle in Prydyn,
 In defence of their frontier against the men of Dublin ;
 Seven ships will come over the wide lake,
 And seven hundred over the sea to conquer.
 Of those that come, none will go to Cennyn,
 Except seven half-empty ones, according to the prediction.

IV.

Sweet apple-tree that luxuriantly grows !
 Food I used to take at its base to please a fair maid,
 When, with my shield on my shoulder, and my sword on my
 thigh,
 I slept all alone in the wood of Celyddon.
 Hear, O little pig ; now apply thyself to reason,
 And listen to birds whose notes are pleasant :
 Sovereigns across the sea will come on Monday ;
 Blessed will the Cymry be, from that design.

V.

Sweet apple-tree that grows in the glade !
 Their vehemence will conceal it from the lords of R[h]ydderch ;
 Trodden it is around its base, and men are about it.
 Terrible to them were heroic forms :
 Gwenddyd[d] loves me not, greets me not ;
 I am hated by the firmest minister of R[h]ydderch ;
 I have ruined his son and his daughter.
 Death takes all away, why does he not visit me ?
 For after Gwenddoleu no princes honour me ;
 I am not soothed with diversion, I am not visited by the fair ;
 Yet in the battle of Ardderyd [Arderydd] golden was my
 torques,
 Though I am now despised by her who is of the colour of
 swans.

VI.

Sweet apple-tree of delicate bloom,
 That grows in concealment in the woods !

At break of day the tale was told me,
That the firmest minister is offended at my creed,
Twice, thrice, four times, in one day.
O Jesus! would that my end had come
Before the death of the son of Gwend[d]ydd happen on my hand!

VII.

Sweet apple-tree, which grows by the river side!
With respect to it, the keeper will not thrive on its splendid
fruit.
While my reason was not aberrant, I used to be around its
stem
With a fair sportive maid, a paragon of slender form.

THE AVALLENAU.

VITA MERLINI.

Ten years and forty, as the toy of
lawless ones,
Have I been wandering in gloom
and among sprites.
After wealth in abundance and
entertaining minstrels
I have been (here so long that) it
is useless for gloom and sprites
to lead me astray.

Et fugit ad silvas, nec vult
fugiendo videri,
Ingrediturque nemus, gaudetque
latere sub ornis;
Miraturque feras pascentes gra-
mina saltus.
Nunc has insequitur, nunc cursu
praeterit illas.
Utitur herbarum radicibus; utitur
herbis;
Utitur arboreo fructu, morisque
rubeti,
Fit silvester homo, quasi silvis
editus esset,
Inde per aestatem totam; nulli-
que repertus,
Oblitusque sui, cognatorumque
suorum,
Delituit, silvis obductus more
ferino.—ll. 74—83.

I will not sleep, but tremble on account of my leader,
 My lord Gwenddoleu, and those who are natives of my country.
 After suffering disease and longing grief about the words¹ of
 Celyddon,
 May I become a blessed servant of the Sovereign of splendid
 retinues!

VIII.

Sweet apple-tree of delicate blossoms, which grows in the
 soil amid the trees!
 The Sibyl foretells a tale that will come to pass—
 A golden rod of great value, will, for bravery,
 Be given to glorious chiefs before the dragons;
 The diffuser of grace will vanquish the profane man;
 Before the child, bold as the sun in his courses,
 Saxons shall be eradicated, and bards shall flourish.

IX.

THE AVALLENAU.

VITA MERLINI.

Sweet apple-tree, and a tree of
 crimson hue,
 Which grow in concealment in the
 wood of Celyddon;
 Though sought for their fruit, it
 will be in vain,
 Until Cadwaladyr comes from the
 conference of Cadvaon,
 To the Eagle of Tywi and Teiwi
 rivers;
 And until fierce anguish comes
 from Aranwynion,
 And the wild and long-haired
 ones are made tame.

Donec ab Armorico veniet temone
 Conanus²
 Et Cadwalladrus Cambrorum dum³
 venerandus.—ll. 967, 968.

¹ But the original has *cord keliton*.

² Cf. "Cadwalladrus vocabit Conanum, et Albaniam in societatem accipiet."
 —Geoff. of Monmouth, *Prophecy of Merlin*, l. 92.

³ For *dux*.

THE AVALLENAU.

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will be in vain,
Until Cadwaladyr comes from the
conference of Rhyd Rheon,
And Cynan to meet him advances
upon the Saxons;
The Cymry will be victorious,
glorious will be their leader.
All shall have their rights, and
the Brython will rejoice,
Sounding the horns of gladness,
and chanting the song of peace
and happiness!

“Non,” Merlinus ait, “non sic
gens illa recedet,
Ut semel in nostris ungues in-
fixerit ortis:
Regnum namque prius populosque
iugabit et urbes,
Viribus atque suis multis domina-
bitur annis.
Tres tamen ex nostris magna vir-
tute resistent,
Et multos periment, et eos in fine
domabunt:
Sed non perficient,¹ quia sic sen-
tentia summi
Iudicis existit, Britones ut nobile
regnum
Temporibus multis amittant de-
bilitate,
Donec ab Armorico veniet temone
Conanus,²
Et Cadwalladrus Cambrorum dum³
venerandus;
Qui pariter Scotos, Cumbros, et
Cornubienses,
Armoricosque viros sociabunt foe-
dere firmo;
Amisumque suis reddent diadema
colonis,
Hostibus expulsis, renovato tem-
pore Bruti,
Tractabuntque suas sacratis legi-
bus urbes.
Incipient reges iterum superare
remotos,
Et sua regna sibi certamine sub-
dere forti.”⁴—ll. 958-975.

¹ V.R. proficient.
Artusage, p. 92.

² V.R. Conais.

³ For *dux*.

⁴ Cf. San-Marte, *Dis*

With very trifling exceptions this is the entire extent of Geoffrey's indebtedness in the *Vita* to such of the Welsh literature as has come down to us. At best it would be difficult to prove from the correspondences between these Welsh poems and the *Vita* that Geoffrey had ever seen them.¹ Surely we may admit that some of the Welsh poems refer to the battle of Arderydd, and that the *Vita Merlini* does the same, without being compelled to assume that the *Vita* is based upon them. From a variety of considerations we may conclude that a considerable part of the *Vita* is in the last analysis Celtic, but further than this we can hardly go. The Welsh poems that we have may be mere fragmentary representatives of a large body of Welsh literature now irretrievably lost, but perhaps still in existence in the time of Geoffrey. It is possible, if not certain, that Geoffrey had access to a considerable mass of floating unwritten tradition based, it may be, in part on old poems that have long since perished. Probably none of these poems were directly employed in the composition of the *Vita Merlini*; but a set of parallel traditions, based in part on the same events referred to in the Welsh poems, may have formed the groundwork of those portions of the Latin poem which tell of Merlin's madness and of his discourse with Taliessin.

VI.

THE TRANSITION TO FRENCH LITERATURE.

HAVING now taken a general survey of the Latin and Celtic sources that are extant, and that can therefore be directly examined, we are prepared to see how the legend passed into the literature of France, and thence into the other literatures of Western Europe. But before entering upon this question

¹ Cf. on this matter P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, i. p. 45.

we ought to glance at what M. Gaston Paris calls the *matière de Bretagne*.¹ Unfortunately we cannot trace the growth of the legend in Armorica. The Breton literature, considerable of which doubtless existed at an early period, has not been preserved except in the form of early French² and Icelandic translations, and none of these relate in any way to Merlin. The existence of a large body of unwritten tradition, which kept a precarious existence on the lips of *jongleurs* and harpers,³ is not open to question. But to what extent the popular imagination modified the original material can, in the absence of literary documents, be only a field for conjecture. But while we are unable to trace directly the Armorican literature in its various forms, we have from a variety of sources evidence of the existence of Breton *lais*, in which perhaps the germ of many of the later French romances is to be sought. Without question there existed both in greater and lesser Britain before Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote his *Historia*, and perhaps before Nennius composed his little chronicle, a considerable body of songs embodying popular legends.⁴ Some of these recitals undoubtedly found their way into Geoffrey's *Historia*. It is probable, too, that the publication of his book and of the numerous translations brought to light a great number of songs or *lais*, as well as prose legends which had been known only in obscure corners or had at most been sung and related by wandering harpers in passing from castle to

¹ *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx. p. 14. By *Bretagne* he means Great Britain : cf. *Romania*, xii. p. 373 ; and p. 82, *ante*.

² Such, for example, as the *Lais* of Marie de France.

³ The existence of British harpers is attested by a number of the classical writers, as, for example, Athenæus, Cæsar, Strabo, Lucan, Ausonius, Fortunatus, etc., who thus show that the wandering gleemen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were not a new creation. Cf. P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, i. p. 7.

⁴ " Rien ne saurait scientifiquement nous empêcher de croire à l'antériorité des chants bretons sur la chronique de Nennius, chants dont un certain nombre sont si profondément celtique."—*Les Épopées françaises*, L. Gautier. Quoted by Hucher, *Saint-Graal*, i. 2. Cf. also P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, i. p. 47.

castle. As soon as the *Historia* crystallized some of this material into literary form, the example once set was followed by a great variety of versifiers and prose-writers, whose activity extended through several generations. A part, at least, of these songs may have related to Arthur and the Round Table as well as to his Court, and they would naturally penetrate into the courtly circles which alone could substantially reward the singer. The stories embodied in these songs must have passed from lip to lip in the form of prose tales, and, once introduced into the quick-witted French and Norman society, the progress of assimilation must have been rapid.¹

¹ The details of the process are unknown, and have naturally led to conflicting views. M. Gaston Paris expresses himself as follows:—"En effet, en dehors du monde des clercs, dans lequel Gaufré de Monmouth avait introduit, en l'arrangeant à sa mode la légende arthurienne, elle avait pénétré, sous des formes variées et par des canaux divers, dans la société chevaleresque. Dès avant la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, les musiciens gallois avaient, semble-t-il, franchi les limites de leur patrie pour venir exécuter chez les Anglo-Saxons eux-mêmes ces 'lais' qui depuis eurent un si grand charme pour le public français. C'est ainsi du moins qu'on peut expliquer que Marie de France désigne le sujet de deux de ses lais à la fois par un mot breton et un mot anglais (*bisclavret*, *garwall*; *laustic*, *nihtegale*), celui d'un autre seulement par un mot anglais (*gotelef*), et que le breuvage amoureux qui causa la passion de Tristan et d'Iseut porte, dans le poème de Bérout, le nom anglais de *lovendris* (les traits particuliers que le prêtre anglais Layamon, dans sa traduction du *Brut* de Wace, ajoute à la légende d'Arthur s'expliquent peut-être autrement). Mais ce fut surtout chez les nouveaux maîtres d'Angleterre que les chanteurs et musiciens bretons trouvèrent un accueil empressé; ils ne tardèrent même pas à passer la mer, et de nombreux témoignages, qui ne dépassent guère la fin du xiii^e siècle, nous les montrent à cette époque exécutant avec grand succès leurs lais dans toutes les grandes ou petites cours de la France du Nord. Ces 'lais bretons' étaient des morceaux de musique accompagnés de paroles: la musique, la 'note,' comme on disait, y jouait le rôle principal; toutefois les paroles avaient leur importance, et les auditeurs qui ne comprenaient pas le breton éprouvèrent naturellement le besoin de savoir ce qu'elles voulaient dire. Elles se référaient toujours, mais peut-être sans la raconter précisément, à quelque histoire d'amour et généralement de malheur. On mit ces histoires en vers français, et nous avons ainsi conservé une assez riche collection de lais bretons, que n'ont plus rien de musical, et qui sont tous composés en vers de huit syllabes rimant deux par deux. Un seul est en vers de six syllabes. . . . Mais la plupart des lais sont réellement fondés sur des contes celtiques. D'ordinaire, les aventures qu'ils racontent ne reçoivent aucune détermination de temps ou de lieu. . . . Les lais ne furent pas les seuls véhicules par lesquels les fictions celtiques pénétrèrent en masse au xiii^e siècle, dans la société polie d'Angleterre et de France, et y suscitèrent une poésie nouvelle. Dès lors les vers de

The oft-quoted passage from the *Chanson des Saisnes* shows

Wace cités plus haut nous ont montré à l'œuvre les conteurs et les 'fableurs' brochant à qui mieux sur le fond des aventures de la Table ronde."—*Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx. pp. 7-9.

The case against the theory proposed by M. Gaston Paris is stated^a "by Prof. Foerster in the introduction to his recently published edition of Chrétien's *Erec*, and at greater length by Prof. Zimmer.^b Without going into details, let it suffice to say, that, on the negative side, the latter challenges the production of any evidence to show, that Welsh bards or minstrels used to sing to the Saxons in England before the Norman Conquest, or even after that event to either Normans or Saxons at a time early enough for the purpose of M. Paris' argument. He contends that the term 'lais bretons' and 'la matière de Bretagne' had nothing to do with Wales, but everything with the Bretons and Brittany. Then as to the lays and the romances, and the suggestion that the latter are derived from the former, he denies it, partly because neither he nor Foerster knows of any lays which can be said to have been originally Arthurian; partly also—and this brings us to the positive side of Zimmer's contention—because he is convinced that the romances were based on stories in prose rather than in verse. He even goes so far as to call attention to what he considers an ancient and far-reaching distinction between Celts and Teutons, namely, that while the Teutonic way of dealing with the heroic was to express it in the form of an epic poem, the Celtic ideal was that of an epic story in prose. To suit the Norman the Celtic originals had not only to be translated into his language, but also transformed into the epic form of his predilection. The versification was his own business, or that of his French neighbours; but the translation was quite a different matter, belonging to an antecedent stage, and this is believed by Zimmer to have been gradually done, in the first instance, by the Bretons of the eastern portion of Brittany when they gave up their own Brythonic speech to adopt Norman French in its stead, and when their nobles became dependent on Normandy.

Accordingly Dr. Zimmer lays great emphasis on the difference between the Arthur of the romances, whom he tries to trace to Breton sources, and the Welsh Arthur whom Nennius, for instance, mentions hunting the *Porcus Troit*. This, however, does not go quite far enough, as the rôle he assigns to the Normanized Bretons of east Brittany does not exclude the Welsh from playing a similar rôle with regard to the Normans later, namely, after the advent of the latter into Wales: witness the case of the Welshman Bledri. The twofold Brythonic origin of the romances makes itself perceptible in a way which the readers of these chapters may have already noticed, especially in the matter of proper names. Looked at from our point of view, the latter divide themselves into two groups:—1. Well-known names like Gauvain and Modred, the forms of which do not admit of being explained as the result of misreading or miscopying of Welsh originals: they may be the French forms which the Normanizing Bretons gave them—without the direct intervention of scribes or literary men of any kind—when they adopted French as their language.

^a I borrow for convenience the summary of the argument from the *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* (pp. 374-376) by Prof. Rhys.

^b In *Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1890, pp. 488-528, pp. 785-832; and *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, xii. pp. 231-256.

what a hold this material had already got upon the writers of romance :—

“ Ne sont que trois maters a nul home entendant
De France, de Bretagne, et de Rome la grant ;
Et de ces trois maters ni a nul semblant
Li conte de Bretagne sont et vain et plaisant.”¹

At the outset this material, in the opinion of Gaston Paris, came from England, and thence was carried into France, either directly by the British singers and story-tellers, or by means of Anglo-Norman story-tellers ; or already put into verse in the lays and the Anglo-Norman poems.”² But the part played by Armorican Britain must not be overlooked. A more or less lively intercourse was kept up between Armorica³ and Great Britain, and it is quite probable that the Arthurian and Merlin legends were almost as well known in Armorica as

2. Names like Gouemans, Bron, and Palomydes, together with place-names like Aroie, which readily admit of being explained from Welsh originals : these mostly belong to the romances more or less closely connected with the story of the Holy Grail, which itself we have endeavoured to trace to Welsh sources. This opens up a new and difficult question, which may be confidently left to future research.”

For the sake of comparison I add the following passage from Kreyssig's *Gesch. der franz. Lit.* i. pp. 78, 79 : —“ Einen ganz andern Character als die *chansons de geste* tragen die nunmehr zu betrachtenden *romans*. In ihnen haben wir das Resultat der Berührung der französischen Normannen und der englischen Kelten zu sehen ; von diesen haben sie die Vorliebe für das Wunderbare, Übersinnliche, Geheimnisvolle, Mystische, den Glauben an Riesen, Zwerge, Feen, Zauberer, Drachen ; von jenen den chevaleresken Zug, die keine Gefahr scheuende Tapferkeit, die Betonung des Motivs der Liebe, der in den Heldengedichten nur spärlich Raum gelassen ist. In ihnen ist der ritterliche Geist zur vollsten Entwicklung gelangt, und es ist wohl angezeigt sein Wesen in kurzen Zügen darzustellen, da die Kenntniss desselben zum Verständniss der sein Gepräge tragenden Litteraturproducte unumgänglich notwendig ist.”

¹ Cf. P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, i. p. 17.

² G. Paris, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx. p. 14.

³ “ Une autre source de transmission des légendes bretonnes a été la Bretagne armoricaine. Sans parler de la communauté d'origine et des incessantes relations des émigrés bretons avec l'île mère, notamment avec la Cornouaille anglaise, il y avait eu une nouvelle émigration de Bretons armoricains en Angleterre au commencement du dixième siècle, émigration considérable, mais, qui, pour beaucoup des émigrants, ne fut pas définitive.”—J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, i. p. 16.

in the heart of Wales itself. At any rate, it is hardly open to question that these British chants and tales are older ¹ than any of the French romances in prose or verse ²; and we may suppose that, while the French romances were growing up on all sides, these British tales were diffused in France and England "under the double form of the *lai* and the story," from the "first half of the twelfth century till toward the middle of the thirteenth."³

Wace recognized the existence of this material in speaking of the Round Table, which Geoffrey of Monmouth had not mentioned, and significantly adds that of this the Britons tell many a fable. He had doubtless an independent acquaintance with Breton legends; for he mentions in the *Roman de Rou* the wonderful fountain of Broceliande, and says that he has visited the spot without discovering any marvels.

We may, then, grant at once that Geoffrey of Monmouth was not the originator of the material of the French romances,⁴ but we may suppose that his work gave the necessary impetus for the literary development of the legends he had told. His popularity is evidenced by several translations ⁵ of his *Historia* into French verse. The first by Geoffrey Gaimar (1145) has disappeared without leaving an enduring trace. But in 1155, about a decade after Geoffrey of Monmouth had given the final touches to his *Historia*, Wace ⁶ translated the whole into

¹ Cf. P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, i. p. 21.

² On the general subject of the Breton *lais* see *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xviii. p. 773; xix. p. 712; xix. p. 791; xxiii. p. 61; xxiii. p. 76; xxiii. p. 114; xxviii. p. 375; xxviii. p. 385; xxix. p. 498; xxx. pp. 7-12; *Romania*, vii. p. 1; *Romania*, viii. p. 29.—*Strengleikar* (Icelandic version), pp. 57, 67, 82.

³ *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx. p. 12.

⁴ Cf. G. Paris, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx.

⁵ Cf. the list in the enumeration of the French forms of the legend, p. 37, *ante*.

⁶ The peculiar difficulty attending this whole investigation is well illustrated by such a series of misstatements as is found in a single sentence from the *Encyc. Brit.* (ix^e ed.), art. *Geoffrey of Monmouth*: "Geoffrey's *Historia* was the basis of a host of other works. It was abridged by Alfred of Beverley (1150), and translated into

octosyllabic rhyming verse, and opened to those writers who had but a slender acquaintance with Latin an orderly grouping of materials that were capable of indefinite expansion.

In so far as Merlin is concerned, Wace is little more than a translator of Geoffrey. The diffuseness of the translator in his versified descriptions of feasts and battles entitles him to no great credit for inventiveness; and his only real addition¹ is his account of the establishment of the Round Table.² This, however, belongs more to the history of Arthur than to that of Merlin.

Wace's *Roman de Brut* was put into French prose shortly after its appearance,³ and then recopied, imitated, and translated so frequently that the versions in English as well as in French have not yet been properly edited. Up to the last quarter of the twelfth century no French writer seems to have ventured to make independent use of the materials for romance that lay scattered in such profusion. But after Wace's *Brut* had made this material familiar to French writers the period of production began. Our limits make it impossible for us to do more than to follow closely the origin of the prose romance of Merlin.

For the purposes of our examination we may note that the prose *Merlin* divides itself into two very unequal parts. The first part comprises about one-seventh of the whole, and represents what was in all probability the original romance of *Merlin*.⁴ The second part deals more particularly with King

Anglo-Norman verse by Geoffrey Gaimar (1154), and then by Wace (1180), whose work, *Li Romans de Brut*, contained a good deal of new matter." The few facts that we have of the life of Wace are found for the most part in the autobiographic hints that he gives in the *Roman de Rou*, ll. 5315-5329; 10440-10453; 16526-16537.

¹ Cf. Ten Brink, *Gesch. der engl. Lit.* i. p. 177. Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, i. p. 261.

² L. 9998. The account of Merlin is practically closed at l. 9022, where Merlin, Ulfen, and the King resume their real persons after the visit to Ygerne. Wace's account of Merlin begins about l. 7490, where Vortigern's tower is mentioned.

³ Villemarqué, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, p. 5.

⁴ This matter is fully treated in the discussion of the MSS.

Arthur. The first part ends with the coronation of Arthur. This event the romancers took as a point of departure for a number of versions widely differing in character. Our English translation is based on the continuation most in vogue. For convenience, therefore, we may first deal with the original romance, and then make a more detailed survey of the continuations. We can then best treat the question of the authorship of the latter portion of the romance.

The original French romance of *Merlin* was in verse, and was probably written as early as the last decade of the twelfth century, if not earlier. The *Merlin*, as already noted, was intended to serve as a connecting link¹ between two other poems, *Joseph d'Arimathie* and *Perceval*. Of these poems we have the first entire²; of the second, we have a fragment of 504 lines; of the third,³ we have nothing in verse, but we possess a fourteenth-century prose version much altered, in a unique manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.⁴ The poem of *Merlin* was early reduced to prose,⁵ and then furnished the incidents of the short romance of *Merlin*. M. Gaston Paris,⁶ following Birch-Hirschfeld, thinks that the prose *Perceval* published by Hucher⁷ is based upon a poem by Robert de Borron. The conclusion is reasonably certain, though we know nothing of the prose-writer.

The few known facts of Robert's life have been brought

¹ G. Paris, *Merlin*, Introd. p. ix.

² Ll. 1-3514.

³ Nutt, *Holy Grail*, chap. ii., gives a summary of all three, but the summary of the *Merlin* on p. 64 D is not taken from the poem (which in the extant fragment does not contain all the matter summarized), but from the prose romance.

⁴ No. 4166, Nouv. acq. fr.

⁵ Cf. P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, i. p. 355. The MS. of the poem of the *Joseph* and the *Merlin* is unique (Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 20,047), and small enough to be carried in the pocket. The only published edition is that of F. Michel, Bordeaux, 1841.

⁶ *Merlin*, Introd. i. p. ix.

⁷ *Le Saint-Graal*, i. pp. 415-505.

together in an attempted chronological sequence;¹ but of his personal history, the date of his birth, the circumstances in which he wrote, his relations to the other writers of his time, the extent of his education, and the opportunities he had for becoming acquainted with the legends which he reproduced in verse—of all this we can say very little that is certain.² He mentions in his poem (ll. 3488–3494)—

“Mon seigneur Gautier in peis,
Qui de Mont Belyal estoit,”

and tells us that from Gautier he had learned the story of the Graal. The meaning of these lines has been variously interpreted; but the most probable explanation is that which takes the words *en peis* and *estoit* to refer to the decease of Gautier (Walter) in 1212. This was thirteen years after he had left France for Italy and the Holy Land, where he had been made Constable of Jerusalem. Robert de Borron had been in Walter's service sometime between 1170 (?) and 1190, and perhaps during the entire period. In these years³ he wrote the first draft of his poem; and the second draft, in all probability, after Walter's death in 1212. This second draft is the one that we possess.

Now follows an obscure period in which the exact sequence of events cannot be traced. But in any case, though we

¹ Cf. P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*; G. Paris, *Merlin*, i. Introd.; Hucher, *Le Saint-Graal*, i. Introd.; Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, Index ii. Mr. Nutt gives, on the whole, the most coherent account.

² Cf. *Romania*, x. p. 601. His name is variously written (cf. Nutt's *Studies*, p. 6): “Messires Roberz de Beron” (*Joseph d'Arimathie*, l. 3461); “Meistres Robers dist de Bouron” (l. 3155). The prose romance writes “Roberz de Borron,” “de Boron,” etc. M. Gaston Paris writes “Robert de Boron.”

³ Nutt, *Studies*, pp. 6, 7. Ten Brink, *Gesch. der engl. Lit.* i. p. 215, supposes Robert to have written in the sixties of the twelfth century. As a curiosity of literary history, we may note that San-Marte regarded Robert de Borron as a thirteenth-century adapter of earlier prose versions of the *Saint-Graal*. Cf. Nutt, *Studies*, p. 99.

cannot fix the precise year in which each production took shape, we may believe that in the course of two generations or less after Robert de Borron began to write, the most important of the prose romances were, if not already written, at least in their main outlines, already conceived.¹ None of these romances can be said to have been finished at any particular time; for in most cases each new copyist felt at liberty to substitute something of his own for whatever was not exactly to his liking.

As already remarked, the prose romance of *Merlin* is a more or less faithful reproduction of the poem of Robert de Borron. As a specimen, I have placed the beginning and the end of the *Merlin* fragment side by side with the French prose and the English prose.

¹ Cf. Nutt, *Studies*, p. 6.

ROBERT DE BORRON'S MERLIN.

B.N. MS. fr. 20,047.

f. 55b, l. 7.

l. 3515.

Mout fu li Ennemis courciez
Quant Enfer fu ainsi brisie; ;
Car Jhesus de mort suscita,
En Enfer uint et le brisa.
Adam et Eue en ha gité
Ki là furent en grant uiuté;
O lui emmena ses amis
Lassus ou ciel, en Paradis.
Quant Deable ce aperquirent,
Ausi cum tout curagié furent.

l. 3525.

Mout durement se merveillicient
Et pour ce tout s'atropelerent,
Et disoient: "Qui est cist hon
Qui ha teu uertu et tel non?
Car nos fermetez ha brisies,

FRENCH PROSE.

B.N. MS. fr. 105, f. 126.

Moult fu li annemis iries quant
nostre sires ot este en enfer et il en
ot iete¹ adam et eue et tant des
autres comme a lui plot.² Quant li
Anemi virent ce si en orlent moult
grant enuie.³ Si sassamblèrent et
distrent.⁴ Qui est cils hom qui⁵ si
nous a enforciez que fermetez ne
riens que⁶ nous cuissions ne puet
estre contre lui gardeé quil ne⁷ feist
ce que lui pleut.⁸ Nous ne cuidions
pas que nuls homs deust⁹ naistre
(f. 126b) de femme quil ne fust
nostre et si nous destruit ainsi.
Comment est il nez quant¹⁰ il n'i a
nul delit domme ne riens ensi comme
nous auons eu dautre homme.

ENGLISH PROSE.

p. 1, ll. 1-11.

FvH wrothe and angry was the
Deuch, whan that oure lorde hadde
ben in helle, and had take oute Adam
and Eve, and others at his plesiere;
and whan the feudes sien that, they
hadden right grete feere and gret
merveile; thei assembled to-gedire
and seiden: "What is he this thus
vs suppristh and distroyeth, in so

Les portes d'Enfer depecies :

Riens n'auoit force encontre lui,
Ne de par nous ne par autrui ;
Car il feit tout quanque lui pleit,
Pour nului son uoloir ne leit.

I. 3535.

Ceci au meins bien cuidions
Qu'en terre ne uenist nus hons
Qui de cors de femme nachist,
De no pouoir fuir pouist ;
Et cist ainsi nous ha destruit,
Qu'il Enfer ha leissié tout uuit.
Comment puet estre d'omme nez
Ne concéuz ne engenrez
Que delit éu n'i auuns
Si cum en autre auoir soluns ?”

I add a collation of the more important readings of B.N. MSS. fr. 747, f. 77, col. 2 (A), and 24,394, f. 108 (B).

¹ Gite (A) ; gete (B).

² tant com li plot (A) ; tant com il li plot (B).

³ merueille (A) ; poor et ml't grant merueille (B).

⁴ dirent (A).

⁵ qui nos a eforciez car en nos permeter rien (A) ; qui si nosorpuet (B).

⁶ qui fust repost *je raie* contre lin *parce que plus loin cela manque dans* (A).

⁷ nen face (A) ; contrestier qu'il nen fist (B).

⁸ plaist (A) ; plot (B).

⁹ poist (A) ; peust (B).

¹⁰ que nosni auons coneu nul delit de nul home terrien, ainsi com nos auons ueu *et* seu de toz autres homes (A) ; que nos nauons veu en lui nul delit *terrien* ensi *com* nos auons veu de tos autres homes (B).

moche that oure strengthes ne nought
ellis that we haue may nought with-
holde hym, nor again hym stonde in
no diffence; but that he doth all
that him lyketh, we ne trowed not
that any man might be bore of
woman, but that he sholde ben
oures; and he that thus vs dis-
troyeth, how is he born in whom
we knewe non erthely delyte.”

ROBERT DE BORRON'S MERLIN.

l. 3991.

La uielle dist : "ma douce suer,
Vous estes bien gîtée puer.

La uostre grant biauté mar fu,

Qu'ainsi auez trestout perdu;

Car iamcis ioie en uostre uie

N'arez en ceste compaignie.

Meis se uous sentu auiez

La ioie as autres, et sauez

Qués deduiz autres femmes unt.

l. 4000.

Quant aueques leur amis sunt,

Certes, ne priseriez mie

Vostre eise une pomme pourrie;

Se sauez quele eise auuns

Quant aueques nos amis suns,

FRENCH PROSE.

B.N. MS. fr. 105, f. 128, col. 1.

ll. 12-38.

Diex bele amie se uous sauez
comme grant ioie¹ autres femmes
ont, uous ne priseriez riens quanqu²
vous auez. Nous auons tele ioie
tant comme nous sommes en com-
paignie dommes que nous amons que
se nous nauions que vne aumonne³
de pain si serions nous plus aise que
uons nestes que se nous auions³ quan-

¹ MS. 24, 394, f. 109^b, col. 1, la ioie.

² aumosne.

³ nos auies.

ENGLISH PROSE.

p. 6, ll. 21-29.

"Now, feire love," quod she,
"yef ye knewe what ioie other
wemen haue, ye sholde preyse litl^h
alle othir thynges; ffor we haue
oche ioie when we be in companys
of men that we loven, that yef we
hadde but a mosse^h brede, we haue
more ioie and delyte than ye haue
with alle the delicatys of the worlde.

Car nous sommes en compaignie
Que nous amuns; c'est bonne uie.
Vn peu de peïn mieuz ameroie,
Se delez mon ami estoie,
Que ne ferioe uos richescas

I. 4010.

Que gardez à si granz destresces.
N'est si granz eise, ce me semble,
Comme d'omme et de femme en-
semble.

Bele amie pour toi le di;
Car dou tout as à ce failli,
Et si te direi bien pour quoi;
Ta suer est ainz née de toi
Et pour li se pourchacera,
[S]i qu'euçois de toi en aura.

.
.

quil a en cest pays.¹ Que uant dont
ioie de femme qui na ioie domme?
Bele amie ie le di pour uous que ia
point nen auerez ne ne saurez que
ioie domme sera. Si uous dirai *pour*
quoi *voestre* suer si est aisnee de vous
si en aura auant a son oez que² ele
sueffre ne ne veille que uous en aiez.
Et quant ele en aura si ne li chandra
de vous. Ainsi auez uous perdue la
ioie de *uestre* bel cors qui tant marg fu.

¹ siecle Die que uant.
² vos en aies point.

Fye! what ioye hath a woman with-
oute man? Ffeire love, this I seye
for yow that knowen not what it is
to be in mannes company, and I wil
telle you why: youre suster is elder
than ye, and so she wolde alwey
holde yow as her sogect, so that she
myght haue aH, and so shold ye loose
your tyme, and the ioye of youre
feire body."

A comparison of the three parallel texts shows how closely and yet with what considerable variations the prose adapter has handled his original. It is, however, by no means certain that we have the earliest French prose version of the poem, and we can therefore make allowances for a second paraphrase based, it may be, upon the first one. As for the English version, it is based upon a French text differing slightly from those texts that have come down to us.

VII.

THE FRENCH MANUSCRIPTS OF THE PROSE MERLIN.

IN the following list I have arranged in chronological order all of the manuscripts of the French prose *Merlin*¹ that are mentioned in the numerous catalogues I have consulted. After grouping the manuscripts according to age, I have endeavoured to point out in detail some of the relations existing among the more important ones. The generic grouping is always a perilous task; and I shall not insist too strongly upon the family resemblances that I find. I need hardly add that I make no pretence to an absolutely exact chronological arrangement, though in the main it will be found, I think, that the older manuscript has the earlier place. Until we have established such a chronology, and know how many hands retouched the original work, we can, of course, scarcely hope to understand precisely the relations of one version to another. We should, however, not forget that a late manuscript may represent a very

¹ One might be led to think from Dr. Sommer's remarks on p. 7 of his *Studies on the Sources of Malory's Morte d'Arthur* that we have but three or four MSS. of the *Merlin ordinaire*. I hardly understand what he means (p. 14) where he speaks of "all MSS. and editions presenting the same version." He cites for the *Merlin* only the Huth MS., Brit. Mus. Add. 10,292, and Harl. 6340, though he had already mentioned MS. 747 of the Bibl. Nat. (p. 7).

early copy now lost, and thus give a more primitive version (though in modernized phraseology) than a manuscript actually older. The original version seems to have been lost,¹ and it can be tentatively reconstructed only by laborious critical comparison. There now exist the following French manuscripts of the prose *Romance of Merlin*. Some of these represent only the first part (ch. i.-vi.), some only the second part (ch. vii.-xxxiii.), and some are mere fragments.²

- 1.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 337, Anc. No. 6958, xiii. cent. Incomplete at the beginning and the end. Contains only the *Book of Arthur*, and after f. 115, col. 1, l. 28, presents a unique version, differing entirely from all the other texts.³
- 2.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 747, Anc. No. 7170, xiii. cent. Contains prose romance of *Joseph*, or the *Saint-Graal*, and the *Merlin*, complete.⁴
3. Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 748, Anc. No. 7170, Fonds de Cangé, No. 4, middle of xiii. cent. Contains *Roman de Joseph ou du Saint-Graal*,⁵ and the first part of the *Romance of Merlin*. Incomplete at the end. Parallels the English version with some variations up to the words, "On witson even be comen coun-[seile of all the barons]," p. 106, l. 31. For our purpose this

¹ There is a bare possibility that B.N. MS. fr. 337 may be the original version of the *Book of Arthur*, but this is not at all certain.

² The * indicates that the manuscript is more fully discussed further on.

³ Cf. G. Paris, *Introd. to Merlin*, i. p. xxiv. note. An edition of this MS. is to be published by the *Société des Anciens Textes*. This version is interesting, too, in that it mentions "maistre Gautiers mape" (f. 152, col. 2), and tells us that he had translated the book from Latin into French at the request of King Henry, who richly rewarded him. *Credat Judæus!*

⁴ "La leçon est bonne et des plus complètes."—P. Paris, *Les MSS. Franç.* vii. p. 1. "Le plus ancien et le meilleur, si nous ne nous trompons, de ceux qui nous ont conservé ce texte."—G. Paris, *Introd. to Merlin*, p. viii. G. P. here refers specifically to the *Merlin* based on Robert de Borron's poem.

⁵ P. Paris, *MSS. Franç.* vi. p. 2, observes that this is a "Volume fort précieux en ce qu'il contient le même récit en prose que M. Francisque Michel a publié en vers d'après le Manuscrit de Saint-Germain, No. 1987. Le texte en prose paraît unique comme le texte en vers. Le roman de Merlin commence au f. 18 r. Il diffère peu des leçons ordinaires, et n'est continué que jusqu'au couronnement d'Artus."

manuscript is of no especial importance, as it belongs to the group of manuscripts which differ so widely (f. 28*b*, col. 2) from the English version at one point (p. 23).

4. Paris, Bib. de l'Arsenal, MS. fr. 2996, Anc. No. 225 B.F., xiii. cent. Contains *Le Petit Saint-Graal ou Joseph d'Arimathe* and the first branch of *Merlin*. Very badly defaced at the end. Last page almost illegible. The legible portion parallels the English version up to p. 105. This manuscript presents the ordinary readings of the MSS., and varies (f. 25*b*–f. 26, col. 1), as do so many of the other MSS., from the English version at p. 23. It may be classed with Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 748 (No. 3 of our list).¹
5. Paris, Bib. de l'Arsenal, MS. fr. 2997, Anc. No. 229 B.F., xiii. cent. Contains the first branch of the *Romance of Merlin*, followed by the *Petit Saint-Graal*.² This manuscript calls for no special remark. Some pages are hardly legible, but the readings in general are not peculiar. The French parallels the English up to the end of Chapter vi. p. 107, but like Bib. Nat. MS. 748 it differs (f. 8) from the English version at p. 23 (*cf.* No. 3 of our list). At the end of the *Saint-Graal* Merlin is called *Mellin*.
- 6.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 344, Anc. No. 6965, middle of xiii. cent.³ Contains *Saint-Graal*, *Merlin*, *Lancelot*, *La Quête du Saint-Graal*.⁴ As far as f. 182, col. 2, l. 36, the French parallels the English version (p. 521, l. 31); then rapidly condenses the remainder of the story, and ends with f. 184, col. 1, l. 26. The first column on the page is filled up with a miniature, and two lines of the *Lancelot*. The second column begins with a miniature and the two opening lines, which are repeated from the first column.
7. Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 2455, xiii. cent. Contains *Saint-Graal* (ff. 1–338) and a very short fragment of the beginning of the prose *Merlin*, nine long lines and four and a half short ones.
- 8.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 770, Anc. No. 7185,^{3a} Fonds de Cangé, No. 6, middle of xiii. century. Contains *Saint-Graal*, *Merlin*

¹ For a further description see *Cat. des MSS.* (Bibl. de l'Arsenal) iii. p. 186.

² *Ibid.* iii. p. 186.

³ *Cf.* Hucher, *Le Saint-Graal*, i. p. 23.

⁴ *Cf.* P. Paris, *MSS. Franç.* ii. p. 365.

complete, *Chronique de la Conquête de Jérusalem par Saladin*.¹

This version closely resembles that of Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 95 (No. 9 of this list), but may perhaps be older.

- 9.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 95, Anc. No. 6769, xiii. cent. Contains *Saint-Graal*, *Merlin* complete, *Roman des Sept Sages*, *Légende de la Pénitence d'Adam*.²

- 10.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 24,394, Notre Dame, No. 206,³ xiii. cent. Contains *Saint-Graal* and *Merlin* complete.

- 11.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 110, Anc. No. 6782.⁴ End of xiii. cent.⁵ Contains *Saint-Graal*, *Merlin* complete, *Lancelot*.

- 12.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 749, Anc. No. 7171, Fontainebleau No. 733, etc. End of xiii. cent. Contains *Roman de Joseph ou du Saint-Graal*, *Merlin* complete. Paulin Paris remarks⁶ that this text is good, and contains several episodes of the *Merlin* not found in all the old manuscripts. The last nine *laissez* of the *Merlin*, are lost.

13. Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 423, Anc. No. 7024, Anc. Bib. Mazarin No. 116, Morceau No. 14. End of xiii. cent. Paulin Paris calls this a "curious abridgement of the romances of the *Saint-Graal* and of *Merlin*. The last leaves are wanting."⁷ There is no formal division between the *Petit Saint-Graal* and the *Merlin*, except that a new paragraph is begun. The French parallels the English up to the middle of p. 23, but at this point differs by giving the version which says that "when the two books are put together they will be .i. *bel liure*."

- 14.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 19,162, S.G. fr. 1245, xiii.-xiv. cent. Contains *Saint-Graal* and *Merlin* complete.

15. London, Huth MS.⁸ End of xiii. or beginning of xiv. cent. Contains the prose *Joseph d'Armathie*, the prose *Merlin*

¹ Cf. P. Paris, *MSS. Franç.* vii. 130, 131.

² *Ibid.* i. 120.

³ Mentioned by P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. 352.

⁴ Described by P. Paris, *MSS. Franç.* i. 145.

⁵ Cf. Hucher, *Le Saint-Graal*, i. 23.

⁶ *MSS. Franç.* vi. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.* iv. 65-67.

⁸ Fully described by G. Paris, *Introd. to Merlin*, i. pp. i.-viii.

- (Eng. chap. i.-vi.), and a unique continuation of the *Merlin*. This version agrees less closely with the English version than several of the other French texts do.
- 16.* Paris, Bib. Nat. Nouv. acq. fr. 4166. Written 1301 A.D. Contains *Joseph d'Arimathie*, the first branch of *Merlin* (Eng. chap. i.-vi.), and a unique continuation of the *Merlin*, known as the prose *Perceval*, which has been published by Hucher.¹
17. Rennes, Bib. publique, MS. 147.² Copy begun 1302-1303 A.D.
- 18.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 105, Anc. No. 6777. End of xiii. or beginning of xiv. cent.³ Contains *Joseph d'Arimathie* and *Merlin* complete.
- 19.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 9123, suppl. fr. 11. xiv. cent. Contains *Joseph d'Arimathie* and *Merlin*. This manuscript, though later and somewhat better preserved, is almost exactly like MS. fr. 105 in its readings. The two MSS. agree in having rubrics as headings for the chapters, a feature not found in many of the MSS. of *Merlin*. These two MSS. seem on the whole to represent more nearly than any of the others the French original of the English romances. The details of the proof will be found in the subsequent discussion.
- 20.* London, Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 10,292. Early xiv. cent. Contains *Saint-Graal*, *Merlin*,⁴ complete. This MS. may be classed with Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 24,394, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 96, and Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 19,162.⁵ Of course this general agreement does not preclude minor differences due to the caprice or negligence of the copyist.
- 21.* Paris, Bib. de l'Arsenal, No. 3482, B.F. 235, xiv. cent. Contains *Merlin* (both branches), *Lancelot*, *la Queste du Saint-Graal*, *la Mort du Roi Artus*. Several leaves are missing: the whole
- ¹ *Le Saint-Graal*, i. pp. 415-505.
- ² F. Michel, *Vita Merlini*, p. lxxi., gives the number as 148. See also *Description, Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. de Rennes* par Dominique Maillet, Rennes, 1837, 8vo., pp. 133, 134. This MS. and the late Brussels MS. are the only ones that I have not examined.
- ³ P. Paris, *MSS. Franç.* i. 140, 141; Hucher, *Saint-Graal*, i. 21.
- ⁴ Described in Ward's *Cat. of MSS.* i. 343. Cf. Sommer's note, *Morte Darthur*, iii. 7.
- ⁵ Nos. 10, 14, 24, of this list.

of *cahiers* xv. and xvi.; in *cahier* viii. two leaves; in ix. two leaves; in xii. one leaf; in xviii. one leaf; in xx. one leaf; in xxii. two leaves; in xxiii. one leaf; in xxv. two leaves.¹

22. Paris, Bib. Nat. Coté dons, No. 1638. Don de M. Piot.² xiv. cent. Fragment of the romance of *Merlin* in eight leaves, numbered. 25-32. The French represents accurately the English version from Eng. p. 59, l. 22, to p. 81, l. 28. With one exception the paragraphs begin at the same point in the French and the English, and in that case there is a variation of but a single line.
- 23.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 98, Anc. No. 6772. xiv. cent. Contains *Saint-Graal*, *Merlin*, complete, *Lancelot*.³
- 24.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 96, Anc. No. 6770. End of xiv. cent. Contains *Saint-Graal*, *Merlin*, complete, first part of *Lancelot*. Agrees closely with Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 24,394 (No. 10 of this list), but the language has been modernized in the copying.⁴
- 25.* Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 117-120, Anc. No. 6788-6791. End of xiv. cent.⁵ Contains *Saint-Graal*, *Merlin*, *Lancelot*. The *Merlin* is found in No. 117, and is very complete.
26. Brussels, Bib. Royale MS. fr. 9246, 1480 A.D. Contains *Joseph d'Arimathie* and *La Vie de Merlin*.⁶
27. Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 113, Anc. No. 6784. End of xv. cent. Contains *Saint-Graal*; the first branch of *Merlin*, representing the first six chapters of the English version; *Lancelot*. The French text is abridged, modernized, and otherwise altered.⁷
28. London, Brit. Mus. Harl. 6340, xv. cent. paper MS. Contains *Merlin*, complete. The version is considerably modernized, and according to Ward⁸ is written at greater detail than the text of the printed edition (2 vols. Paris, 1498), but containing the

¹ Cf. *Cat. des MSS. Bib. de l' Arsenal*, iii. pp. 382, 383.

² Cf. *Romania*, 1878, vii. p. 157.

³ Cf. P. Paris, *MSS. Franç.* i. p. 129.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. p. 125, p. 127.

⁵ Hucher, *Le Saint-Graal*, i. 23, assigns this MS. to the xiv. or xv. century.
Cf. P. Paris, *MSS. Franç.* i. 154-156.

⁶ This MS. I have not seen; but as it was transcribed twenty or thirty years after our translation was made, I imagine that my loss is not great.

⁷ Cf. P. Paris, *MSS. Franç.* i. 152-154.

⁸ *Cat. of Romances*, i. 344.

same adventures, only with two additional chapters, viz. that of the dwarf knight and that of the birth of Lancelot.¹ Besides being too late to have been used as the basis of our translation, this manuscript is a copy of a version which omits numerous passages contained in the English translation as well as in several of the French MS. Such omissions may be verified by comparing E. p. 176 with Fr. f. 83, col. 1; E. p. 179 with f. 83b, col. 1; E. p. 187, l. 8–l. 18 with f. 85b, col. 2; E. p. 189 with f. 86, col. 1, etc. The test passage, f. 21b, col. 2 and f. 22, col. 1, differs from the English, p. 23, in giving the expanded version and in omitting to mention “Maister Martins.”²

29. Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 332, Anc. No. 6954. Beginning of xvi. cent. Contains *Merlin*, complete. The language is modernized so as to represent the speech of the xv. century.³ Besides being too late for our purpose, the minor variations from the English version exclude this version from being regarded as the original. It differs from the English in giving the expanded version for Eng. p. 23, and in making no mention of “Maister Martins.” Other differences may be found by comparing E. p. 485 with f. 223, col. 2; E. pp. 576–578 with f. 261b–f. 262, etc.

THE MERLIN A COMPOSITE ROMANCE.

At this point, before venturing on a further classification, we can most conveniently consider the facts which indicate that the *Romance of Merlin* as we have it is a composite of several romances.

¹ On this Sommer (*Morte Darthur*, vol. iii. p. 7) remarks “The fact is that both texts [Harl. and Add. 10,292] are exactly alike, representing only different stages of the French language; both, therefore, contain more than the printed [French] *Merlin*.”

² This MS. may be compared with Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 24,394.

³ Cf. P. Paris, *MSS. Franç.* ii. 340. To the MSS. noticed above I may add three MSS. mentioned in the *Romania* for 1873, vol. ii. pp. 51, 53, 55 as existing in the Este collection (in Italy) of the fifteenth century.

(1) “6(20). Libro uno in francexe, chiamato Merlino,—in carta membrana, coerto de chore roso.”

(2) “43 Libro uno chiamato Merlino—in membrana, coerto de chore roso—in francexe.”

(3) “Liber Merlini—in membranis.”

In the year 1868, about a third of a century after the publication of his first work on the Arthurian romances, Paulin Paris expressed the opinion¹ that the romance of *Merlin* was made up of at least two principal parts by different writers, the first part² extending to the coronation of Arthur; the second, comprising the remainder of the romance. At first sight the division appears somewhat arbitrary, but closer study makes it extremely probable.³ At any rate, the scepticism with which I was disposed at the outset to regard the theory has almost entirely vanished. As the details of his argument are but little known to English readers, I will venture to reproduce concisely what is to be urged in favour of his view. Paulin Paris presented his arguments in several different forms at different times, but they may be reduced to the following:—

1.—At the close of the original romance of *Merlin*⁴ we are told that Arthur after his coronation held the land and the kingdom for a long time in peace. But in the romance as we have it the rebellion against Arthur follows immediately after. It is hardly probable that a writer would so contradict himself in the course of a few lines.

2.—At the end of the poem of *Joseph d'Arimathie* Robert de Borron had promised to take up the adventures of Alain le Gros when he had read the large book of the *Graal* where they are related. Now, in one of the manuscripts of *Merlin*,⁵ after telling of the coronation of Arthur, the author says he is going to tell of Alain, and when done with him to return to Arthur. This promise is not kept in any version which has come down to us; and these closing lines are omitted in all the other

¹ In *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, i. p. 356 sq.; ii. pp. 101–103, etc.

² Chapters i.–vi. of the English version.

³ Cf. also Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibl.* iv. p. cxxviii.

⁴ P. 107 of the English translation.

⁵ Bib. Nat. MS. fr. No. 747, f. 102, back. The other MSS. containing both branches of the romance make no formal break at this point, though in most cases they begin a new paragraph.

manuscripts. They are evidently the prose equivalents of the concluding verses of the poem of Merlin. All the versions pass at once to the rebellion of the barons who disdained the young king.

From these and other data Paulin Paris concludes : 1. That Robert de Borron had nothing to do with the Book of the *Saint-Graal*, written at the very same time when he composed *Joseph d'Arimathie* ; 2. that after becoming acquainted with the *Graal* he intended to continue the history of Alain le Gros, if not of Bron and Petrus ; 3. that the writers who came after Robert de Borron, finding the story of Alain fully told in the *Graal*, set aside Robert's poetic version (assuming that it really existed) and substituted for it the history of Arthur,¹ which they harmonized as well as they could with the *Merlin*.

M. Paris finds additional confirmation for his theory in the numerous contradictions between the first portion of the romance and the second :—

1.—In the original romance the Duke of Tintagel² left several daughters, the eldest of whom married Loth, King of Orkanie, while another daughter, the illegitimate Morgain, was put to school. In the continuation we find that Ygerne had been twice married before espousing Uter-Pendragon. Of this double marriage were born five daughters : the Queen of Orcanie, wife of Loth ; the Queen of Garlot, wife of Nautre (Ventres)³ ; the Queen of Wales (Gorre), wife of Urien ; the Queen of Scotland, widow of Briadan, and mother of King Aguisel (Aguysas) ; finally, the wise Morgain, surnamed *le fee*.

2.—In the short romance of Robert de Borron, Merlin had made a golden dragon as a standard just after the battle of

¹ Paulin Paris uniformly refers to the *Livre d'Artus*, or shortly, the *Artus*.

² Strangely enough we find in the second part (Eng. p. 177) the name of "Duke Hoel of Tintagel" given as the husband of Ygerne. This is not found in the first part. Geoffrey of Monmouth has, of course, *Gorlois*.

³ I need not remark that the forms of the names are so various in the MSS. that no two writers on the Arthurian romances are quite agreed as to which forms to adopt.

Salisbury, won by the brothers Pendragon and Uter. In the continuation Merlin makes the dragon for Arthur (Eng. p. 115) instead of for his father. This argument is, however, not very convincing, as there is no reason why Merlin may not have made two dragons as well as one.

3.—According to Robert de Borron, Kay was made steward or seneschal at the time when Arthur took the sword out of the stone (Eng. p. 104). In the continuation, observes Paulin Paris, it is at the moment of attacking the six rebel kings that Arthur confides to Kay, his foster-brother, the office of seneschal (Eng. p. 116).

I must confess that as the two passages appear in the English I can see no real contradiction at this point. The English reads as follows:—

“And be counseile of the archebisshoþ and certein of the barouns, Kay was made stiwarde,” p. 104.

“Than toke the kynge the dragon and yaf it to Kay, his stiwarde, in soche forwarde that he be chef banerer of the reame of logres euer while his lif doth dure,” p. 116.

4.—Paulin Paris instances¹ also the confusion introduced by the Round Table of Leodegan, and observes that the continuator of Robert de Borron's narrative was content to follow the ancient lays without regard to the contradictions.

We may then, argues Paulin Paris, regard it as well established² that we have in the large romance of *Merlin* at least two romances. The first ends at the coronation of Arthur, and represents the original poem of Robert de Borron—a poem written to link the poem of *Joseph d'Arimathie* with the (lost) poem of *Perceval*. To this original romance were added several continuations, one of which became more popular than the others,

¹ *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. pp. 126, 127.

² For a continuation of these arguments, see the remarks by Gaston Paris in the Introduction to the *Merlin* published for the *Soc. des Anc. Textes*, 1886.

and furnished the text for the early printed editions. In the following pages I will sketch briefly these different versions.

It is not impossible that other continuations of the romance existed that have not been preserved. Those that we have are found in the following manuscripts :—

1. Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 337 (list No. 1).
2. Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 344 (list No. 6).
3. Bib. Nat. Nouv. acq. fr. 4166 (list No. 16).
4. Huth MS., London (list No. 15).
5. Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 98 (list No. 23).

The continuation known as the vulgate, or the *Merlin ordinaire*, appears in a considerable number of manuscripts which exhibit only minor variations. The reason for treating any of these versions separately is one of convenience only.

1. *Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 337.*

On this manuscript Paulin Paris remarks that it is the one which before all others should be consulted by those who would well understand the history of the Enchanter Merlin.¹ The volume has lost the original beginning and the end, and begins, “with the court that King Arthur holds immediately after his coronation,” and “ends with the combat of Gawein with Oriol, king of the Saxons.” For a considerable distance this version runs parallel with the ordinary version, and in many cases agrees almost word for word with it. But this text (MS. 337), after describing the amour of Guyomar with Morgain le fee, breaks off abruptly (f. 115, col. 1, l. 28), and returns to speak of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. The ordinary French text² (represented by the English version p. 509) introduces at this point King Loth and his sons as starting

¹ *MSS. Franç.* ii. p. 343. He gives a short analysis of the special features of this version in *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. p. 393 sqq.

² *Cf.* Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 747, f. 186, col. 1.

out on their mission to the feudatory princes. The entire remainder of the narrative in MS. 337 and in the vulgate is essentially different, though here and there is a passage which points to a common source. In the unique portion (of MS. 337) which follows the point of divergence, the wars with the Saxons, and the personal adventures of Seigramor, of Yvain, of King Arthur, and especially of Gawein, are dwelt upon at great length, and with an infinity of detail. There are, however, four hundred pages (pp. 108-508) of the English version that contain essentially the same narrative as appears in the first 115 leaves of this manuscript. It is true that the minor variations are such as to preclude the possibility of this version having been actually used by the English translator; for there are numberless differences in forms of names, in numerals, in omitted sentences, and added phrases.¹ Yet multitudes of passages are almost literally coincident, and show clearly that all the versions, in so far as they agree at all, were copied with mere individual variations from one original. This manuscript is one of the very earliest of those that have been preserved to us, though it may in turn have been based upon a version still earlier.

If now we take up the later unique portion of the romance, and add it to the portion which agrees with the vulgate, we have a romance far exceeding in length any of the existing versions.² We cannot go into the details of this unique French version, but must be content to note a few of the more

¹ Cf. for instance, the list of knights, f. 29, col. 2, with that of the English version, p. 212; the description of Gonnore, f. 33*b*, with that on p. 227 of the English version; f. 107*b*, col. 1, with English, p. 485. These are by no means the most divergent of the passages that might be cited.

² In the entire MS. are 294 leaves or 588 pages ($14\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ in.) of two columns each, which would be equal to about 1030 pages of our English translation. If we were to add the first branch of the *Merlin*, we should have, say, 1130 pages, and still have an unfinished romance! The unique portion is equal in amount to about 625 pages of the English translation: that is, it lacks only about 75 pages of being as long as the entire English version.

remarkable passages. In reading the ordinary *Merlin* and the *Book of Arthur*, the attentive reader remarks several passages in which the writer promises to explain something more fully later in the narrative. For instance, after describing the amour of Guyomar with Morgain le fee, the writer adds (p. 509)—“But after it knewe the quene Gonnore, as ye shull here tell.” In the ordinary version there is no further reference to the matter. But in MS. 337, f. 187, col. 2, the narrator returns to the adventure as he had promised (f. 114*b*, col. 2) and describes the visit of Merlin to Morgain le fee after her disappearance from the court, and tells how he comforts her. Now, on p. 508 of the English translation, we read of Morgain le fee that “she was a noble clergesse, and of Astronomey cowde she I-nough, for Merlin hadde hir taught; and after he lerned hir I-nough, as ye shull heren afterward.” But we do not “heren afterward,” except in the unique French version of MS. 337, in which we find that he teaches her many things, and she in turn almost makes the enchanter prefer her to Nimiane his love.

On p. 527 of the English translation (that is, in the portion not represented in this unique French version) we read of the reproof that king Loth gives Agravain for his impure thinking, and then we find a passing reference to an unpleasant accident which befell the young man, “as the booke shall yow devyse here-after.” In all the subsequent story, however, we discover no further reference to the matter; while MS. 337, f. 255, col. 1, gives the story in full, though with some variation. For instance, in the English version (p. 527) we read “that he langwissid longe a-boue the erthe for the vilonye that he dide to a mayden, that rode with hir frende, with whom he faught till that he hadde hym discounfited and *maymed of oon of his armes*.” The French has (f. 255) “il li trenchast la teste.”

The inference from these facts is obvious: Whoever under-

took to write the later portion of the romance of *Merlin* worked over an older version, and was too careless to notice the inconsistencies and contradictions of one part of his narrative with another. This older version may have been that of MS. 337,¹ from which the later writer borrowed now and then a hint. Paulin Paris sees in this special version evidence that it was composed earlier than the *Lancelot*.² This suggestion, however, raises a question that may safely be left till we have the promised edition of MS. 337.

To determine exactly the influence that this special version had upon the composition of the last third of the *Book of Arthur*, is not easy without a printed text. But, as already noted, the

¹ *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. p. 397.

² Compare the remarks of Gaston Paris (Introd. to *Merlin*, p. xxiv.) on the priority of the *Lancelot* over the *Book of Arthur*. I cannot discuss the question, but I shall be surprised if critical comparison of the texts when they are published will altogether justify G. Paris. I note merely a few of the passages in the *Merlin* and the *Lancelot* where the two romances refer to the same incidents:—

1.—The birth of Merlin is recounted in the *Lancelot*, part i., chapter vi.: “Cœ merlin fut ègèdre du dyable. Et cœ il fut amoureux de la dame du lac” (ed. of 1488), but with difference enough, as P. Paris remarks,^a to show that the *Merlin* and the *Lancelot* are not by the same author.

2.—The death of Lancelot is referred to in an interpolated passage^b of the *Merlin* (p. 147).

3.—The trouble that Guyomar caused the realm of Logres, “as the tale shall rehearse here-after,” is referred to in the *Merlin* (pp. 316, 317).

4.—The marvels that Guinebans performs for a maiden (*Merlin*, p. 361 *sqq.*) are paralleled in the *Lancelot*.^c

5.—The origin of Morgain’s hate for the queen (*Merlin*, pp. 508, 509) is explained in the *Lancelot*.^d

6.—The adventure of Agravain and his cure (*Merlin*, p. 527) are touched upon in the *Lancelot*.^e

7.—The adventure of Ban at the castle of Agravadain (*Merlin*, ch. xxx) is paralleled in the *Lancelot*.^f

8.—The loss of the castle of Trebes (*Merlin*, p. 699) is described at the beginning of the *Lancelot*.

An incident not found in the *Merlin* is referred to in the *Lancelot*. Reference is there made to the *Perron Merlin*, “where Merlin had killed the two enchanters.” *Ibid.* iii. 287.

^a Cf. B. N. MS. 24,394, f. 149b, col. 2. ^b *Romans*, iii. 23. ^c *Ibid.* v. 311.

^d *Ibid.* iv. 292, 293. ^e *Ibid.* iii. 326–332; iv. 47 (cf. B. N. MS. 337, f. 255).

^f *Ibid.* v. 309, 324–325.

later writer seems to have taken a hint here and there. For instance, a sort of variant of the adventure of king Ban at the castle of the Lord of the Marsh (Eng. chap. xxx.) is found at f. 184b, with the difference that in this French version the niece plays the leading part instead of the daughter, and that the setting of the two incidents is not the same. To inquire particularly into the motives for the rejection of so much of this old version would lead us too far. If the reason lay in the salacious quality of many of the incidents, one might ask why the adventure of Guyomar and Morgain le fee should have been retained, especially as it is apropos of nothing, and occurs at the very point where the ordinary version begins to differ from this one. But taken as a whole the ordinary version is not so highly seasoned with realistic love adventures as the version it replaced, which is an almost continuous catalogue of lechery. A more plausible explanation, perhaps, is that after the old version had been written, the *Lancelot* appeared and some writer conceived the plan of recasting the *Merlin* as an introduction to the *Lancelot*. There are some difficulties in this view, but M. Gaston Paris regards it as probable.¹ Whatever our view of the relative age of the two versions, the one which the sense of the Middle Ages fixed upon as preferable seems, in spite of incoherency and needless details, to possess more connection and to move forward more definitely toward the end than this crude and formless congeries of adventures. .

2. Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 344.

The only peculiarity worthy of special attention in this manuscript is that after f. 182, col. 2, l. 36, the story is suddenly compressed into a few pages, so that the end is reached on

¹ This may well be true of that part of the *Merlin* between pp. 509 and 699; but as for the part between pp. 107 and 509 there may be more doubt. The interpolations are numerous, and they need critical handling with the help of a critical text before the question can be settled.

f. 184, col. 1.¹ This fact would of itself be sufficient to exclude this manuscript from being regarded as the possible original of the English translation, even though we took no account of minor differences. Yet these smaller differences are considerable, in spite of frequent verbal agreement. For instance, the important passage f. 85*b*, col. 2.; Eng. p. 23, is much longer in the French than in the English; nor is this contraction due to the English translator, for we find the same in MS. 105. Exceedingly interesting is it, however, to find mentioned at this point “maistre Martins,” whose name does not appear in most of the texts, though it is found in the English translation:—

“*Et ki vouldroit nomeir les rois qui deuant i furent et lor uie uoldroit oir, si gardaist en lestoire de bretagne que len apelle brutus, ke maistre martins de rouain retrait de latin en romans.*”

In the English version (p. 23) the reader is referred to a book on the history of the Britons that “maister martyñ traunslated out of latyn.” As most of the manuscripts omit this name, its

¹ The corresponding portion in the English version extends from p. 521, l. 31, to p. 699. Comparing the two versions, we find the parallel almost complete as far as f. 182, col. 2, l. 36; Eng. p. 521, l. 31, when Elizer, son of King Pelles, sets out accompanied by a squire. But in place of the long series of adventures related in our version we have a short account of his proceeding directly to Carlion, where Arthur and his Queen, King Ban, and King Bohors receive him with honour, and tell him of the embassy of Loth and his sons to the princes. While they are talking, the news comes to Ban and Bohors that King Claudas is ravaging their country. They at once take their departure, and without stopping go to their own country (“*et san vont droit au lor terres,*” f. 182*b*, col. 1). All this is, of course, a wide variation from the English version. Then the story turns again to King Loth and his four sons. The King gets Minoras the forester to send messengers to the princes, and then goes his way, meets the princes and secures their promise of help. After this he returns to Arthur at Camelot, where Elizer is knighted. The princes come to help Arthur against the Saxons, and succeed in defeating them before the City of Clarence, after which they kneel before Arthur and ask pardon for their rebellion. He forgives them, and they become his men. Here the tale ends, f. 184, col. 1.

This short version I incline to regard as a condensation rather than an earlier and less diffuse narrative, though I find it not easy to see why some incidents should be passed over while others are retained. A possible reason for the abridgment is that the copyist wished to save parchment for the *Lancelot* and the *Quête du Saint-Graal* which follow.

presence here would seem to indicate that this manuscript stands in somewhat closer relations than do the other manuscripts to the family of manuscripts on which our English translation is based. The long passage with regard to the Saint-Graal in this manuscript may have been condensed into a form like that from which the English passage was translated, or possibly the shorter version may be the original; but this seems hardly probable, as the longer version is found in Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 747, which is perhaps the oldest text of the first portion of the romance.¹

As in the case of so many other manuscripts, the verbal differences alone are sufficient to compel the rejection of this version as the actual working original of the English translation. For instance, in the list of knights (E. p. 212; French, f. 122, cols. 1 and 2) we have such differences as: "And the forthe was Antor"—"et li quars ector ces alvouez"; "the ix^e was Gifflet"—"li.ix. li fiz do de carduel." Conclusive also is the variation in the French passage quoted in the English version (p. 485) and what we find here (f. 175, col. 1, l. 6).

"Et li heraut comansent a crier, et cil criez darmes per-mi ces rans.
'or i paurait qui bien lon ferait. or iert veus qui bien lon ferait.'"

3. *Bib. Nat. Nouv. acq. fr. 4166.*

This unique manuscript is of peculiar interest, as it supplies a missing link in the history of the French Arthurian romances. It contains the prose romance of *Joseph of Arimathea*, the romance of *Merlin* up to the coronation of Arthur, and the romance of *Perceval*,² which exists only in this prose version. Gaston Paris regards these three romances as prose versions of the three poems of Robert de Borron.³ This conclusion is reasonably certain as regards the first two, and not improbable

¹ Cf. G. Paris, *Introd. to Merlin*, p. viii.

² Cf. *Romania*, viii. p. 478.

³ *Introd. to Merlin*, i. p. ix.

as regards the last, but perhaps we have not sufficient evidence for a final judgment. The *Merlin* does not differ widely from the ordinary texts, though the verbal differences are often considerable. The manuscript is beautifully executed, but it would have excited comparatively little attention, were it not for the unique *Perceval*, which adds one more continuation to the *Merlin*.¹

4. *Huth MS.*, London.²

This manuscript, like the one just noticed, contains a unique continuation of the original romance of *Merlin*. The point of divergence is the coronation of Arthur. In the opinion of Gaston Paris this version, "like the ordinary continuation of the *Merlin*," was made "for the purpose of connecting the *Merlin* of Robert de Borron with the *Lancelot* and other compositions."³ The principal interest that it possesses for us is that it contains the original of a portion of Malory's *Morte Darthur*.⁴

5. *Bib. Nat. MS.* fr. 98.

This, perhaps, hardly deserves to rank as a special version. The entire manuscript contains the *Saint-Graal*, *Merlin*, *Lancelot*, and along with the *Merlin* the so-called *Prophecies*, singularly dovetailed into the ordinary text of the long romance. Variations from the English version are scattered throughout the text. On f. 138*b*, col. 2, the longer version,⁵ with no mention of "maister Martyn," is given instead of that found in the English text, p. 23. The list of knights (f. 173, col. 2, and f. 173*b*) agrees more closely with the list in the translation

¹ The *Perceval* has been published by Hucher in *Le Saint-Graal*, i. pp. 415-505; see an analysis in Nutt's *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 28-32.

² Edited by G. Paris and Jacob Ulrich for the *Soc. des. Anc. Textes*, two vols., 8vo. Paris, 1886.

³ *Introd.* p. xxvii. Many further details of interest are found pp. xxiii.-L.

⁴ See Sommer's ed. *Studies on the Sources*, vol. iii.; London, 1891. *Introd.* p. 7 *sqq.*

⁵ Essentially the same as in *Bib. Nat. MS.* fr. 95.

on p. 212, than do the lists in many of the other manuscripts. Still, we have such variations as: "Le ix^e le fil le Duc de Carduelz, marech de la roche" (f. 173, col. 2), and "the ix^e was Gifflet" (Eng. p. 212), etc. The French passage quoted on p. 485 of the English translation differs considerably from the same passage in this manuscript, f. 222*b*, col. 1, l. 19, which reads: "Et li herralz commencerent a crieir permi ces rens, or y paira qui bien fera et honour auoir vouldra," though of course the difference is almost wholly verbal. Even less difference appears between the French quoted on p. 563 of the English translation and the version of this manuscript (f. 239, col. 1).

In the list of knights (f. 241*b*), MS. 98 presents essentially the same version as the English text (p. 576 *sqq.*). In Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 95, however, a much more contracted version is found (f. 313). Many other passages agree almost word for word,¹ so that were it not for the violent interjection of the *Prophecies* towards the end this manuscript would agree about as closely with our English version as do most of the other manuscripts. The union of the *Prophecies* with the text of the romance is not very skilfully made. The *Prophecies* are merely cut into fragments and pieced in as follows:—The first passage begins on f. 250, col. 1, l. 19, and extends to f. 258, col. 1, l. 27. Then the *Merlin* begins again, and continues to f. 276, col. 1, l. 14. The *Prophecies* then recommence, and extend to the end of the romance, f. 287*b*. The next leaf begins with the *Lancelot*.

Some changes in the *Merlin* were necessarily made, in order to accommodate the *Prophecies*. We find in this version no account of the enchanted tower in which Merlin is confined by his love (Eng. p. 681), nor of Arthur's charge to Gawain

¹ Cf. f. 263*b*, col. 2, with Eng. p. 639, which tells of the twelve princes sent by the Emperor Luce to Arthur. At the end of the paragraph the English is a little more concise than the French. Cf. also the account of Merlin as harper, Eng. p. 615, with f. 258*b*, col. 1.

to go in search of Merlin (Eng. pp. 680-682). This French version, however, tells us of the dwarf who was dubbed a knight (Eng. p. 682), and conducts him to the court of King Arthur. Then follows: "Mais atant se tait or li conte deulx a parler, et retorne a parleir dez prophecies de merlins" (f. 276, col. 1). Of Merlin we hear no more, except as he answers the questions of Antoine. The adapter does not allow Merlin to enter upon his enchanted sleep, for the obvious reason that he is needed for the *Prophecies*.¹

Having thus examined and dismissed the versions that evidently could not have served as the actual working originals of the English translation, we have yet to consider the manuscripts which substantially represent the English translation. To enter into a minute comparison of the variations in the different French manuscripts would swell our pages to inordinate proportions, and would be of little real gain to the reader.² Until several of the more important manuscripts have been properly collated and printed, any comparison dealing largely with details will be more confusing than helpful. I shall attempt, therefore, in the following pages merely to trace in a rough sketch the chief lines of divergence, and tentatively to group the different versions. By a series of approximations

¹ The strange French romance known as the *Prophéties de Merlin* might, as Gaston Paris remarks (Introd. to *Merlin*, p. xxv. note), be regarded as another continuation of the original romance of *Merlin*. In these *Prophecies* there is far more said than done; and the burden of the talk falls upon Merlin and Bishop Antoine. I have not taken especial account of the *Prophecies*, but they exist in a considerable number of MSS. and in printed editions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It may be worth while to note that MS. 5229 (old No. 236) (xiv.-xv. cent.) in the Bibl. de l'Arsenal, catalogued as *Histoire de Merlin*, is nothing but the *Prophecies*.

² As one minor difference, I note that, except in a few MSS., the paragraphs do not begin at the same points. Sommer's remark to the contrary (*Morte Darthur*, iii. p. 7) was based upon study of a small proportion of the MSS.

we may finally select the version which on the whole is most closely represented by the English text, but we must not expect to find complete agreement.

It will add to clearness if we set aside at the outset as many of the remaining manuscripts as are plainly to be excluded. We thus dismiss as mere fragments—Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 2455 (list No. 7); Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 423 (list No. 13); Bib. Nat. Côté dons, No. 1638 (list No. 22). We may also reject the manuscripts that contain nothing more of the romance than the paraphrase in prose of Robert de Borron's poem of *Merlin*. There can be no doubt that the translator used one of the complete versions of what we may call the vulgate *Merlin*; for the English version bears no marks of having been pieced together with the short *Merlin* of one manuscript and the *Book of Arthur* from another manuscript, but presents in the main a closely literal translation of one of the French versions. Furthermore, each of the manuscripts containing the first branch only of *Merlin* (pp. 1–107) differs too widely in several essentials to allow us to accept it as the actual basis of the English translation. The manuscripts which we exclude are the following:—

Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 748 (list No. 3); Bib. de l'Arsn. MS. fr. 2996 (list No. 4); Bib. de l'Arsn. MS. fr. 2997 (list No. 5); Bib. Nat. Nouv. acq. fr. 4166 (list No. 16); Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 113 (list No. 27).

After these deductions there still remains a considerable number of manuscripts which call for more extended discussion. In many particulars they all agree most surprisingly with the English version. From all of them may be selected long passages which are almost literally reproduced in the English translation. On the other hand, certain other critical passages differ widely from the English text; and these I have taken as points of departure in my tentative classification.

If we were fortunate enough to have but a single authentic version of the French romance, the task of determining what is due to the translator and what to the original would be sufficiently simple. Since, however, the *Merlin* was one of the most popular romances of the Middle Ages, it has been preserved in so great a number of manuscripts that we are embarrassed by our riches.

Our plan involves taking up the manuscripts in something like chronological order and classifying them. Some repetition is inevitable, but I will avoid it to some extent by cross-references.

1. *Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 747* (list No. 2).

The verbal differences between this version and the English translation are enough of themselves to compel us to reject it from the list of possible originals. More important than mere verbal disagreement are some of the differences which I now proceed to note. The French and the English run closely parallel, with here and there a verbal difference, as far as Eng. p. 23. Then follows in the French (f. 82, col. 2, l. 29) a passage of twenty-two lines not represented at all in the translation. This evident interpolation is not found in all the manuscripts (*cf.* MS. 105), and is introduced in order to justify the attempted fusion of the two romances of the *Saint-Graal* and the *Merlin*. At the end of the *Saint-Graal* (f. 77, col. 2, l. 15) we find the words—

“Et retourne a une autre estoire de merlin, *que* il conuient *aiouter* a fine force avec lestoire del saint graal porce *que* branche en est *et* li appartient. Et comence mesires roberz de borron cele branche en tel maniere. Ml’t fu iriez li annemis quant nostre sire ot este en enfer.”

In the interpolated passage (f. 82, col. 2, l. 41) the same matter is again referred to—

“Et quant li dui liure seront assamble sen i aura .i. biau, et li dui

seront une meisme chose, fors tant que ie ne puis pas dire ne retraire ne droiz nest les priuees paroles de ioseph et de ihū crist. Einsi dist mes sires roberz de borron qui cest conte retrait," etc.

In this passage, furthermore, no mention is made of the mysterious "maister Martyn" of our English version. He is mentioned in but few French MSS.; and one of the few (B. N. MS. fr. 105) stands in other particulars in closer relations with our English version than do any of the other French texts.

On f. 84b begins an interpolation of ninety-two lines relating to the *Saint-Graal*, a passage which differs considerably from our English version (pp. 32, 33).

The most interesting feature of this manuscript is, that it sharply marks off the *Romance of Merlin* (Eng. pp. 1-107) from the *Book of Arthur* which follows. On f. 102, at the end of the *Merlin*, is the passage in which Robert de Borron formally terminates the *Romance of Merlin*. There are nine lines and a half on f. 102b; the remainder of the page is blank.¹ The *Book of Arthur* begins at the top of f. 103.

I shall content myself with the mention of a few other differences between this version and the English translation. The list of knights (fr. f. 125, col. 2; Eng. p. 212) differs so widely in the two versions that to exhibit all the variations I should have to copy the whole. For instance, the French has—"li neuïemes li filz do de carduel"; the English, "the ix^e was Gifflet"; "li onziemes gurnay li bloiz," which hardly represents the English, "the xj. drias de la forrest sauage."

¹ Paulin Paris makes much of this formal mark of division, as being designed to indicate the limits of the original *Romance of Merlin*. He is probably justified in his inference, but there is a bare possibility that this blank is due to the practice common in the Middle Ages of dividing the work of transcription among several copyists. Another blank of a column and a half (f. 188b) occurs without any break whatever in the story. Most of the MSS. take no more account of this transition to the *Book of Arthur* than to begin a new paragraph. In one or two cases even this slight break is omitted.

In the list of kings and princes (Eng. pp. 643, 644) the French (f. 215, col. 1) differs considerably in the numerals, and altogether omits Ydier and Aguyans.

It would be easy to furnish additional proofs that this manuscript did not serve as the basis of our translation. Yet in several points it is more in harmony with the English version than, for example, B. N. MS. fr. 24,394, which omits passages found in the English (pp. 146, 147, 187, 188, etc.), and also in MSS. 747, 105, etc.

2. *Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 770* (list No. 8).

This manuscript shows a large number of striking resemblances to B. N. MS. fr. 95, but still has a considerable individuality. MS. 770 cannot be the original of our translation, but it is interesting in that it mentions "maistre martins" (f. 127*b*, col. 1, l. 12)—

"Mais quant il morront parler il naront talent de moi ocirre. *et* Ie men irai auec aus, *et* tu ten iras es parties ou cil sont qui ont le saint vaissel, et tous iors mais sera volentiers tes liures ois, *et* qui vaurra sauoir la nie des rois qui en la grant bretaine furent ains que la crestientez i venist, si regart en lestoire des bretons. cest en vn liure que maistre martins de beures tranlata de latin en romans. Mais atant se taist ore li contes de ceste cose *et* retourne a lestoire. Or dit li contes quil ot vn roi en bretaine qui eut a nom coustans."

As in MS. 95, the list of knights shows remarkable agreement with the English (p. 212), but there are some differences. For instance, in the English the twenty-second knight is "Placidus ly gays," in the French, "Ierohas" (f. 174*b*, cols. 2 and 3); but the English has also "the xxiiij Ierohas lenches," the French, "Ierohas de lanches."

The two French passages quoted in the English translation exhibit verbal differences, not due to the English transcriber.

For the first passage (Eng. 485) we have (f. 249*b*, col. 3, l. 35)—
*“et li hiraut comencent a crier or i parra qui bien le fera or ert
 veu.”* Compare also Eng. p. 563, with the French (f. 271,
 col. 2, l. 9)—

*“Et il les fist si fu teus li contes chou est li commencemens des
 auentures dou pais. par quoi li mervilleus lyons fu aterre et que
 fils de Roi et de Roine destruira et conuenra quil soit li mieudres
 chevaliers qui lors sera el monde.”*

A conclusive proof that this version did not serve as the basis of our translation is, that MS. 770, like MS. 95, gives the contracted version of the list of the princes (f. 274, col. 2, Eng. p. 576 *sqq.*), a list which is expanded in MS. 98 and several other MSS. in the same way as in the English version.

3. *Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 95* (list No. 9).

This is, perhaps, the most gorgeous of all the manuscripts of *Merlin*, and from the beauty of the miniatures and the illuminated letters seems to belong to the latter part of the thirteenth century, if not to the early part of the fourteenth. In many passages it stands as close to the English version as any of the manuscripts, but it contains additions and omissions enough to compel us to reject it. For instance, it does not mention “maistre Martins,” and presents the following passage¹ as the equivalent for the English version (p. 23):—

“Et quant tu aueras ta paine achieuee et tu seras tex come dois estre en la compaingnie del saint graal. lors sera tes liures aioins au liure ioseph. si sera la cose bien esprouuee de ma paine et de la toie si en aura diex merchi se lui meisme plaist. et cil qui loront

¹ This passage may be compared with the one at the end of the *Saint-Graal* (f. 113*b*, col. 1)—*“Chi se taist ore li contes de toutes les lingnies qui de celidoine issirent et retorne a une estoire de Merlin, qui conuient a fine force aioster a lestoire del saint graal, por ce que la branche i est et li apartiens. et comence mesires Robiers en tel maniere come uous pores oir sil est qui le uous die.”*

proieront nostre signor por nos. et quant li doi liure seront ensamble si i aura .i. biau liure. Et li doi seront une meisme cose, fors tant que ne puis pas dire ne retraire les priuees paroles de ih'u c'est et de ioseph." (f. 123, col. 2.)

On the other hand, the list of the forty-three knights (f. 192*a*) shows in the forms of the names and in the order a striking agreement with the English (p. 212). Even the variants are remarkable for the particulars in which they agree. The English has, for example, "The xxix. Agresianx, the newew of the wise lady of the foreste with-outte returne." The French omits the name, and reads, "Li uintenoefismes fu li fieus a la sage dame de la forest sans retour." As the thirty-second knight the English has "kehedin de belly"; the French, "Kehedins li biaus." Most of the other variations in the two lists are mere differences of spelling.

Without burdening our pages with minor differences, such, for example, as Eng. 563 and Fr. f. 309*b*, col. 1, we find convincing proof that neither this manuscript nor exact copies of it could have been used by the English translator, when we compare the list of the princes who come to Salisbury Plain (Eng. pp. 576–578) with the list in the French (f. 313 *a* and *b*). The two versions agree almost word for word, except that the English adds a line or two of description to each knight. These additions amount to about nineteen lines to the page (p. 576½ – p. 577½), and are found in MS. 98, f. 241*b*, in MS. 105, and others. The evident explanation is, that MS. 95 represents a group of thirteenth-century MSS. afterwards expanded by a copyist who was also an author.

4. *Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 24,394* (list No. 10).

This manuscript is remarkable for striking points of agreement with the English version, and for equally striking omissions. I have space for but a small portion of the variants.

I give them in the order of their occurrence:—English, p. 15, “x. monthes”; French, f. 112, “ix. mois.” Eng. p. 15, “xij. monthes”; Fr. f. 112, “xviiij. mois.” Eng. p. 61, “thre yere”; Fr. f. 129, col. 2, “plus de ij. ans.” Considerable other verbal differences occur between Eng. pp. 60, 61 and Fr. f. 128*b*—f. 129. This MS. agrees essentially with MS. 95 in presenting the longer version (f. 114*b*—f. 115) in place of the one found in the English translation, p. 23. In giving the list of kings who came to Arthur’s court the English (p. 108) mentions six, the French but five¹ (f. 141*b*, col. 1).

The French version (f. 149*b*, col. 2) omits a passage extending in the English version from “Now, seith the boke” (p. 146, l. 27) to “Now, seith the boke” (p. 147, l. 30). Two other omitted passages are Eng. p. 187, ll. 8–18 (*cf.* Fr. f. 157*b*, col. 1); Eng. p. 188, ll. 5–11 (*cf.* Fr. f. 157*b*, col. 2). Characteristic variations and omissions appear in the following passages:—

ENG. pp. 176, 177.

“And so comþ the renoun in to the hoste that theð durste not ride that wey withoute grete foyson of peple. And so onþ that part the kyng Ydiers kepte hem so streyte that theð myght haue no socoure of no vitaille.

“The tother Citee that theð yede to stuffe was cleped Wydesans, and the dir yede the kyng Ventres of Garlot and ledde with hym knyghtes that were left of the hoste.”

FR. f. 155*b*, col. 1.

“Si reuint li renons en lost si qu’il noserent mie cele part cheualcher sans mout grant fuison de gent.

“Lautre cite qu’il enuoierent garnir si ot a non huidesant. A cele ala li rois nantres de garlot si en amena auoec lui ^M_{iiij} homes de cels qui furent remes en la bataille.”

¹ All six are named in MS. 747, f. 111, col. 1; f. 119*b*, cols. 1 and 2; in MS. 105, etc.

A little lower down the page we find—

ENG. p. 177.

FR. f. 155*b*, col. 1.

“and the wif of kyng Ventres was suster to kyng Arthur on his moder side, Ygerne, that was wif to Vterpendragon, and wif also to Hoel, Duke of Tintageh, that be-gat basyne, the wif of kyng Ventres; and upon this basyne be-gate he his sone, that was so gode a knyght and hardy, as ye shall here her-after, and how he was oon of the C.C.I. knyghtes of the rounde table, and oon of the moste preysed, and his right name was Galashyn.”

“et la feme al roi nantre fu [f. 155*b*, col. 2] seror le roi artu de par sa mere ygerne, qui auoit este fille al duc hoel de tintaioel. Si ot a non blaisine et de li ot li rois nantres son fil, qui puis fu compains de la table roonde, et fu nommes par son droit non galescin.”

ENG. p. 179.

FR. f. 156, col. 1.

“kyng loot wente to the Citee of Gale with ^M. knyghtes.”

“li rois loth sen ala a une chite a ^M. combatans.”

In the list of knights (Eng. p. 212, Fr. f. 163*b*, cols. 1 and 2) we find—

ENGLISH.

FRENCH.

No. 2. “Boors de Gannes.”

“Bohors ses freres.”

No. 9. “Gifflet.”

“gyrfe le fil do de cardoel.”

No. 18. “blioberis.”

“bliobleris de gannes.”

No. 21. “Aladan the crespes.”

“meleadant.”

No. 29. “Agresianx, the newew of the wise lady,” etc.

“Agreucil, le fil a lasage dame,” etc.

The English p. 519 has an unusual reading—

FR. f. 239, col. 2.

“and therfore now telle hym that he shall fynde me ther on seinte Berthelmewes day.”

“Or li dites qu'il mi i trouera le ior de la nostre dame en septembre.”

On p. 525 the English agrees with the French—

ENGLISH.

FR. f. 241, col. 1.

“the kynge Looth of Orcanye
sendith hym to wite that he
sholde be with hym at Arestuell
in Scotlonde on oure lady day in
Septembre.”

“que li rois loth dorcanie li
mande si *comme* uos aues oi quil
soit *encontre* lui a arestuel *en* es-
coche le ior de la *nostre* dame en
septembre.”

Wide variations may be pointed out in abundance, as well as almost literal agreement. In the list of princes who come to Salisbury (Eng. pp. 576–578), this Fr. version (f. 254*b*, col. 1 to f. 255, col. 1) supplies all the omissions of MS. 95. The slight variations in the Roman numerals were probably due to haste in copying. Interesting, too, it is to find such agreement as in the following passage, for some of the manuscripts that on the whole agree much more closely with the English version omit the descriptive word *breton*.

ENG. p. 615.

FR. f. 265, col. 2.

“and he harped a lay of Bre-
teigne ful swetely that wonder
was to here.”

“et il harpoit .i. lai breton tant
doucement *que* ce estoit melodie
a escouter.”¹

The unexpected agreement with the English version of such a manuscript as B. N. 24,394, makes difficult a thoroughly satisfactory grouping of the different versions. A long process of collation must precede any such classification.

5. *Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 110* (list No. 11).

This version agrees with the English translation in several particulars, more closely than does MS. 24,394; but it makes no mention of “maistre Martins,” and has the passage (f. 50, col. 3) omitted from the English, p. 23. The lists of knights

¹ MS. 117, f. 141*b*, col. 1, gives the same version as this French text; while Arsn. MS. fr. 3482, B. N. MS. fr. 105, etc., omit the word *breton*.

(Eng. p. 212; Fr. f. 82, cols. 1 and 2) agree in the main, though the French has some words of description not reproduced in the translation. Other lists—*e.g.*, Eng. pp. 576–578, Fr. f. 142*b*–f. 143; Eng. pp. 593, 594, Fr. f. 145*b*; Eng. p. 616, Fr. f. 149, col. 3—show very close agreement. The two passages quoted from the French (Eng. p. 485, Fr. f. 126*b*, col. 1; Eng. p. 563, Fr. f. 140*b*, col. 1) agree, except for a letter or two, with MS. 24,394, f. 230, col. 1; f. 251, col. 2, l. 15.

6. *Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 749* (list No. 12).

At the beginning of the *Merlin* we find above a row of five miniatures the rubric: “Chi co[m]ence lestoire de merlin que mesire robors de borron translata.” This manuscript mentions (f. 132, col. 2) “mesire martins de roescestre,” who appears in the English version (p. 23) as “maister Martyn.” Nowhere else, except in Arsn. MS. 3482, is he called Martin of Rochester,¹ though a certain *Martin* is mentioned in a few other manuscripts.² This passage gives the long version, a part of which does not appear in the English (f. 132, col. 2)—

“*et quant li doi liure seront ensamble. si aura .i. bel liure et li dui seront une meisme chose fors tant que ie ne puis pas dire ne drois nest les priuees paroles de ih'u crist et de ioseph nest cel tans nauoit encore gaires rois crestiens en engleterre. Ne de ceuls qui i auoient este ne me tient a retraire fors tant come a cest conte monte et qui valroit³ oir conter les rois qui déuant furent, et lor vie volroit oir si qui fist et regardast⁴ en lestoire de bretagne que on apelle brutus que mesire martins de roescestre translata de latin en romans ou il le troua si le porroies⁵ sauoir vraiment.*”

¹ Paulin Paris remarks (*Romans*, ii. p. 36): “I know no other mention of this Martin of Rochester, rival of Pierre de Langtofte and of our Wace.”

² *Cf.* p. lxxviii.

³ vouroit: P. Paris.

⁴ regarde: P. P.

⁵ porra: P. P.

Other minor variations forbid us to suppose that the English translator used this version, or a copy of it, though the resemblances are at times surprisingly close. In the list of knights (Eng. p. 212; Fr. f. 195, col. 1) the names are meant to be alike, except that in the English we have "the xlj. bleoris the sone of kynge Boors," and in the French, "li xli.isme fu banins li filleus au roi bohort de gausnes."

In the passages quoted from the French, the first (Eng. p. 485) differs in but one essential word—*bien* for *checun*—

FR. f. 275, col. 2, l. 32.—"*et* hiraut comencent a crier | chi est li honors darmes or i parra qui *bien* le fera | "

The second passage (Eng. p. 563) shows more variation—

FR. f. 300, col. 2, l. 22.—"*et* il les fist si fu i teus li contes. ce sont ichi les auentures dou pais qui par le merueilleus lion fu a terre, *et* qui fu fieus de roi *et* de roine destruiira *et* conuenra quil soit castes *et* li mieudres chr's qui soit aillors el monde."

In the list of princes (Eng. pp. 576-578), the French (f. 305) gives the expanded version, in the main the same as in the English version, though with some variations in the numerals and the descriptive details. For example, Eng. p. 576, "kynge Belynans of south wales"; Fr. (col. 2), "rois belinans de nor-gales." I could multiply examples, but those already given must suffice. In classing this version we must place it with the small group of manuscripts that most closely represent the English, though the coincidence is not so great as in MS. 105. Perhaps it stands in closest relation to Arsn. MS. fr. 3482. The manuscript breaks off at f. 330b with the words translated in the English by "and whan the [kynge saugh this]," p. 667, l. 27.

7. *Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 19,162* (list No. 14).

This manuscript may be classed with MS. 24,394. For Eng. p. 23 this MS. (f. 152*b*)¹ gives the ordinary version, differing from the English, with no mention of "maistre Martins." The list of kings (f. 187, col. 1) is the same as in MS. 24,394 (*cf.* Eng. p. 108). The equivalent of line fifth on p. 143 of the English is omitted from MS. 19,162, f. 197, col. 2. The passage corresponding to Eng. p. 145, l. 15 to Eng. p. 150, l. 29 is lost from the French manuscript between f. 197 and f. 198, so that we cannot tell whether the passage on pp. 146, 147 is omitted as in MS. 24,394. But this version, like MS. 24,394, omits a line corresponding to a line in the Eng. p. 176, as well as the words "of Gale" (Eng. p. 179). So, too, the passages, Eng. p. 187, ll. 8-18, Fr. f. 208, col. 1; Eng. p. 188, ll. 5-11, Fr. f. 208, col. 2. In the list of knights (Eng. p. 212, Fr. f. 216, col. 2) the version is essentially that of MS. 24,394. On f. 313*b*, col. 1, the usual version "de la nostre dame septembre" appears in place of "Berthelmewes day" of the Eng. p. 519. For the Eng. pp. 576-578 this manuscript gives the usual expanded version.

8. *Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 10,292*² (list No. 20).

This version may be classed with MS. 24,394, as is evident from the regular variations that appear in the two versions.

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.
p. 15. "x. monthes." "xij. monthes."	f. 79, col. 1. "ix. mois." "xviiij. mois."

¹ Most of the leaves are not numbered.

² This is the MS. selected by Sommer for his edition of the romance of *Merlin*.

For Eng. pp. 22, 23 the French, f. 80*b*, col. 3 to f. 81, col. 1, gives the ordinary expanded version, with no mention of "maistre Martins."

The list of kings, with the number of attendant knights (Eng. p. 108), agrees exactly, except that the French, f. 101*b*, col. 1, omits the name of Ydiers. On f. 108, col. 2, the French has nothing corresponding to about a page of the English (pp. 146, 147). On f. 113, col. 1, the French omits a line and a half found in the English, p. 176 (bottom), as well as in MS. 105. On f. 113, col. 2, the French version of Eng. p. 177 is confused, and not so exact as MS. 105. On f. 114*b*, col. 2, the French omits the passage found in the Eng. p. 187, ll. 8-18. From f. 114*b*, col. 2 is omitted the equivalent of Eng. p. 188, ll. 5-11. The list of knights,¹ f. 120, cols. 1 and 2, agrees closely with the English, p. 212, but with such variations as—No. 9, "Gifflet" in the English for "Giffles le fil do de carduel"; No. 29, "the newew" for "le fil." The passage quoted from MS. 10,292 on pp. 700, 701 of the *Merlin* of the E.E.T.S., agrees almost word for word with B. N. MSS. fr. 96 and 24,394.

9. *Bib. Nat. MS.* f. 96 (list No. 24).

This manuscript closely agrees at most points with B. N. MS. 24,394. I give below a few of the data which compel us to reject this version as the original of our translation—

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.
p. 15. "x. monthes."	f. 63, col. 2. "ix. mois."
"xii. monthes."	"xviii. mois."
p. 61. "thre yere."	f. 74, col. 1. "plus de .ii. ans."

¹ For the entire list see Malory's *Morte Darthur* (ed. Sommer), vol. iii. pp. 55, 56, *Studies on the Sources*. Sommer prints also the lists from the Auchinlech MS. of the English verse *Merlin*, from Harl. MS. 6340, and from the English prose version.

For the English of p. 23 the French (f. 65*b*, col. 1) gives the ordinary expanded version, with no mention of "maistre Martins." On f. 82, col. 2, Ydiers is omitted from the list of kings (Eng. p. 108). The French also omits (f. 87*b*, col. 2) the passage corresponding to Eng. p. 146, l. 27 to p. 147, l. 30. From f. 155*b*, col. 1, the French omits a line corresponding to the English, p. 176 (bottom). At this point MS. 96 and MS. 24,394 agree word for word. The English, p. 177, differs widely from the French, f. 91*b*, col. 1 (*cf.* MS. 24,394). From f. 91*b*, col. 2, the same omission occurs as in MS. 24,394 (*cf.* Eng. p. 179). The list of knights, f. 96*b*, is essentially that of MS. 24,394, and agrees closely with the English, p. 212. Wide differences between the English, pp. 438, 439, and the French, f. 134, are found in the numerals, a few of which I select—

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.
"xij. kynges."	x.
"xij. princes."	"x. roys et d'un duc."
"xij. kynges."	x.

Numerous points of difference might be noted, but we need not multiply words. There can be no doubt that this MS. presents essentially the same version as Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 10,292 and B. N. MS. 24,394. On comparing MS. 96, f. 176*b*, col. 2, l. 8, to f. 177, col. 1, with MS. 10,292, f. 216, col. 3, I found the two agreeing almost word for word, except that MS. 96 has later forms for almost all the words.

10. *Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 117* (list No. 25).

This cannot be taken as the exact original of the English version, though many passages agree almost word for word. For the English of p. 23, MS. 117, f. 55*b*, col. 1, gives the

ordinary expanded version, and does not refer to "maistre Martins." In the list of kings (Eng. p. 108; Fr. f. 73, col. 1) the French mentions "Constant qui estoi[t] roi descosse," while the English has "Aguysas." The French omits "Ydiers." The list of knights (Eng. p. 212; Fr. f. 86*b*, col. 2) differs very widely. The amour of Guyomar and Morgain (Eng. p. 508) is much abridged in this MS. (f. 126*b*, col. 2). The bits of French on p. 485 and p. 563 of the English version agree closely with the corresponding passages in this MS. (f. 123*b*, col. 2; f. 134, col. 2). This MS. has the expanded version (f. 136, col. 2 to 136*b*, col. 1) of the list of princes (Eng. pp. 576-578), and, except in a few of the numerals and other minor details, agrees closely at this point with the English. On p. 620 of the English we have: "Whan the archebisshop hadde redde this letter"; while the French has: "Quant larchevesque de brise ot les lettres leues" (f. 142, col. 2).¹ The name again occurs in the French a little later (f. 145, col. 2: *cf.* Eng. p. 640). Our English version does not once mention the archbishop by name, though his name appears in many of the French MSS. as well as in Geoffrey of Monmouth. On the other hand, MS. 117 omits much; for example, nearly the whole of the equivalent of Eng. p. 616 (Fr. f. 141, col. 2), including all of the list given in the English and found even in MS. 24,394.

11. *Arsenal MS.* No. 3482 (list 21).

In spite of the very defective state of this manuscript, it has for us more value than some of those better preserved. It is not the exact original of our translation, but it agrees so closely in a great number of passages that I have merely collated with other manuscripts the transcripts I had made from this version

¹ So, too, in MS. 24,394, f. 266*b*, col. 2.

before examining B. N. MS. 105. In a number of passages, however, I must confess that this version is widely at variance with the English. The test passage of the English, p. 23, appears in this MS. (p. 14, col. 3) in part in the usual expanded form, but with the addition of the rare version found in the English translation, suggesting that anyone who is interested in the history of the Britons may study it—

“en lystoire de bretaine *que* len appelle bretus, que mesires martins de rocestre translata de latin en francois, ou la trouua si la porrez sauoir uraiement. En cel temps en i auoit .i. qui estoit constans apeles,” etc.

The numerals afford a peculiarly delicate test of agreement; for the Roman notation used in the manuscripts is far more liable to errors of transcription than the Arabic. The variations in the numerals of this MS. and of the English translation are great enough, but not so striking as in some other MSS. For instance (Fr. p. 62, col. 3), the names of the six kings who came to Arthur's court after his coronation are here given as in the English (p. 108), with the exact number of knights accompanying each king. Even Ydiers is mentioned, though omitted from many of the MSS. I have prepared long lists of the numerals in the French and the English, but omit them for lack of space.¹ In many cases the difference is quite as striking as the agreement, though this manuscript shows less variation than most of the others.

When we turn to the passages that are found in the English, although omitted from several of the French MSS., we learn to

¹ Differences in the numerals may be found by comparing Eng. p. 15, Fr. p. 9; Eng. p. 61, “thre yere,” with Fr. p. 41, col. 1, “*plus de .ii. ans*”; Eng. p. 145, Fr. p. 81, col. 2; Eng. p. 146, Fr. pp. 81, 82; Eng. p. 184, “*xiiij. dayes*,” with Fr. p. 101, col. 1, “*entre ce et quinsaine*”; Eng. p. 187, Fr. p. 102; Eng. p. 188, Fr. p. 103; Eng. p. 576, Fr. p. 271; Eng. p. 643, Fr. p. 306, etc.

appreciate more highly the agreement that we here find. Of the following passages all are omitted from MS. 24,394, MS. 98, etc., yet are found both in the English and in MS. 3482.

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.
p. 146, l. 27 to p. 147, l. 30.	p. 82, cols. 2 and 3 to p. 83, col. 1, ll. 1-5.
p. 176, last line.	p. 97, col. 1.
p. 179, "to the Citee of Gale with ^M _{iu} knyghtes."	p. 98, col. 2, "a la cite de gales a tout ^M _{iii} combatans." The words "de gales" are frequently omitted from the MSS.
p. 187, ll. 8-18.	p. 102, cols. 2 and 3.
p. 188, ll. 5-11.	p. 103, col. 1.

On the other hand, the English account (pp. 252-257) of King Clarion of Northumberland, and his battles with the Saxons, is more extended than the account in the French (p. 135). The name of the "arceuesques del brice" is here given (Fr. p. 295, col. 2; Fr. p. 304, col. 3) as in MS. 117, etc., though omitted from the English (p. 620, p. 640). A remarkable reading occurs on p. 243, col. 2, "et ie uous di certainement que il mi trouerra le ior de la saint bertelemi." The English reads (p. 519), "and therfore now telle hym that he shall fynde me ther on seinte Berthelmewes day." The mention of St. Bartholomew's Day is rare, most of the manuscripts preferring the reading, "our lady day in September."

Enough evidence has been adduced to show that while this version can hardly be taken as the exact original of the English translation, the similarity is very great. I will add at this point a few passages, which are, however, no more remarkable for their agreement than hundreds of others to be found in this manuscript.

(a) FR. p. 112, col. 2.

"car il porte el somet¹ dune lance .i. dragon petit, ne guieres grant, qui auoit la queue longue de toise et demie et toute tortice; et auoit la gueule baee² si grant quil uous fust auis que la langue qui dedens estoit se branlast³ tousiours, et li sailloient estanceles et brandons de feu parmi⁴ la gueule en lair."

(b) FR. p. 114, col. 3.

"et li dragons que il portoit rendoit parmi la gueule si grant brandon de feu quil sourmontoit amont en lair, que cil qui estoient sus les murs de la cite enueoient la clarte de demie lieue loing et de plus."

(c) FR. p. 199, col. 1.

"Ilec peust len ueoir maint riche garnement et mainte enseigne dor et de soie qui au uent uenteloit,⁵ et li airs estoit dous et soues, et li pais biaux et delitables, car moult i auoit fores et prairies ou cil oiseillon⁶ chantoient par mains⁷ langages,"⁸ etc.

Note.—I have collated the two passages (a) and (b) with B. N. MS. fr. 105. Some slight variations of the first passage are found. The second reappears almost literally. (c) Cf. B. N. MS. fr. 105, f. 251b, col. 3.

(a) f. 191b, col. 3.

¹ "Quar . . . portoit ou sommet de la.

² basse bee . . . estoit ains que la langue.

³ se branlast touz.

⁴ parmi la gueule en haut en lair."

⁵ venteloient.

⁶ oiselet.

ENG. p. 206, ll. 16-19.

"for he bar a dragon that was not right grete, and the taile was a fadome and an half of lengthe tortue; and he hadde a wide throte that the tounge semed braulinge euer, and it semed sparkles of fier that sprongen vp in-to the heire out of his throte."

ENG. p. 210, ll. 8-10.

"and the dragon that Merlin bar caste oute gret flames of fier, that it sparkled vp in the ayre, that thei vpon the walles of the town saugh the clernesce of the light half a myle longe."

ENG. p. 384, ll. 29-33.

"Ther myght oon haue seyn many a riche garnement and many a fressh baner of riche colour wave in the wynde, and the seson was myri and softe, and the contre feire and delitable, ffor many feire medowes and forestes ther weren, in whiche these briddes singen with lusty notes and cler," etc.

(b) f. 193, col. 2.

"et li dragons que il portoit rendoit parmi la gueule si grant brandon de feu qui seurmontoit amont en lair, que cil qui estoient sus les murs de la cite en ueoient la clarte de demie lieue loing et de plus."

⁷ maint.

⁸ langaies.

(d) FR. p. 287, col. 3.

ENG. p. 604, ll. 26 to p. 605, l. 8.

"Ne el chastel nauoit que une seule entree, et estoit si estreite que dui cheualier a cheual ni alassent mie li uns en coste lautre se aenuis non. Par desus cel mares¹ auoit une chauciee de leus en leus ainsint comme del lonc dune lance de pierre et de sablon faite. et de chaus *et* ert espesse et bien faite li remanans des fautes estoit de fust et de planches, pour ce que se besoins uenist au chastel que len ostast les planchessi qu'enus ne peust outre passer. *et* au chief deca² la chauciee auoit une eue courant auques rade. mais ele ne portoit pas nauie. Deuant le pie de cele chauciee auoit .i. pin .i. petit ensus de leue dedens .i. praelet qui tenoit bien les passe dun quartier de terre ou de plus. ou l'erbe estoit haute et bele. et li pins estoit [p. 288] biaux et grans et si bien ramus que il peust bien auoir en l'ombre de lui .c. cheualiers et estoit si gentement duis et si iointement que lune branche ne passoit lautre de hautesce. A une branche de cel pin qui tant estoit biaux et gens comme li contes le deuise pendoit .i. cors diuuir bende dor a une chaenne d'argent, que cil sonnoient qui el chastel uoloient herbegier ou qui trespassoient par illec pour demander iouste. A ces .ii. choses seruoit le cor."

"In to this castell was but oon entree, and that was so streite that two horse myght not ther-on mete, oon beside a-nother; and a-bove this marasse was a chauchie fro place to place of the breede of a spere lengthe, made of chalke and sande stronge and thikke and wele made, and this cauchie was of lengthe a stones caste, and the remenaunt was made of planks and of tymbir, so that noon ne myght passe ouer yef the planks hadde betake a-wey; and at the ende of the cauchie was a grete water, but ther-to com no shippes; but it was right feire and plesaunt, and good fisshinge; be-fore the foot of this cauchie was a pyne tre a litill fro the water in a medowe of the space of an acre [p. 605] londe or more, where-ynne the grasse was feire and high, and the pyne tre was right feire and full of bowes, so that oon branche passed not a-nother of height, and vpon a braunche of this pyne was hanged by a cheyne of siluer, an horne of yvorie as white as snowe, ffor that thei sholde it sowne that com for to be herberowed in the castell or elles who that passed forth by that wolde aske Iustinge. Of these two things served the horne that ther was hanged."

¹ chastel ! (B. N. MS. fr. 105, f. 318b, col. 1).² de la.

(e) *Fr.* p. 293, col. 3; p. 294,
col. 1.

Eng. p. 614, l. 35; p. 615, l. 24.

“Tandis com il¹ estoient en tel feste *et* en tel deduit² *et* en tel ioie si comme keus aporloit le premier mes deuant le roi artus et deuant la ro [p. 294] guenieure entra leens la plus bele forme domme qui onques mais fust³ ueue en nule terre de crestiens⁴ en une cote de samit uermelle ceins dun bandre de soie a membres dor a pierres precieuses qui getoient si grant clarte⁵ que tous li palles en flamboia.⁶ *et*⁷ ot uns cheueus⁸ sores une corone dor en son chief comme rois et ot⁹ une harpe a son col qui toute estoit dargent et les cordes dor. et il estoit si biaux de cors et de uis et de membres que onques nule si bele riens ne fu ueue. mais itant li empira son uis¹⁰ que il ne ueoit goutte. non pourquant les iex auoit biaux et clers en la teste. et auoit a sa ceinture loie .i. petit¹¹ chienet a une chaenne dargent qui li estoit atachie a .i. coler de soie a membres dor et le mena cil chiens droitement deuant le roy artus et il harpoit¹² .i. lay¹³ si doucement que ce estoit droite melodie a escouter et el refret¹⁴ de son lay saluoit le roi artus et sa compaignie. si lesgarda li rois artus et la roine guenieure *et* tuit et toutes a merueilles. et keus li seneschaus qui le premier mes aporloit sentarda grant piece dassoir le deuant le roy tant estoit ententis

“And as thei were in this ioie, and in this feste, and kay the stiward that brought the firste mese be-fore the [p. 615] kyng, ther com in the feirest forme of man that euer hadde thei seyn be-fore, and he was clothed in samyte, and girted with a bawdrike of silke harnysshed with golde and preciose stones, that all the paleys flamed of the light, and the heir of his hede was yelow and crispe with a crowne of golde ther-on as he hadde ben a kyng, and his hosen of fin scarlet, and his shone of white cordewan or-fraied, and bokeled with fin golde; and hadde an harpe abowte his nekke of siluer richely wrought, and the stringes were of fin golde wire, and the harpe was sette with preciose stones; and the man that it bar was so feire of body and of visage that neuer hadde thei sein noon so feire a creature; but this a-peired moche his bewte and his visage for that he was blinde, and yet were the iyen in his heed feire and clier; and he hadde a litill cheyne of siluer tacched to his arme, and to that cheyne a litill spayne was bounde as white as snowe, and a litill coler a-boute his nekke of silke harneysed with golde; and this spaynell ledde hym stright be-fore the kyng Arthur, and he harped a lay of Breteigne full

a celui regarder. si se test atant li contes ici endroit a parier deuls et retourne au roy rion des illes."

swetely that wonder was to here, and the refrate of his laye salewed the kyng Arthur, and the Quene Gonnore, and alle the other after; and kay the stiward that brought the first cours taried a-while in the settinge down to be-holde the harper ententify. But now we moste cesse of hem a-while, and speke of the kyng Rion."

I add a collation of the more important variations of B. N. MS. fr. 98, f. 258*b*, col. 1 (A); and B. N. MS. fr. 105, f. 321*b*, col. 2 (B)—

¹ comme ilz (A); ² desduit ainsi comme keux li seneschault (A); et en tel bandoun (B); ³ fuit (A) (B); ⁴ cristiens empiire (A); ⁵ et si grant resplendissement (B); ⁶ et enenlumina (B); ⁷ cil iouencel (A); ⁸ ung cresse cheueux (A); ⁹ si auoit pendue; ¹⁰ et sa byaulte (A); ¹¹ petit (*omitted*, B); ¹² et puez prist a harper (A); ¹³ .i. lai breton tant doucement *que* ce estoit melodie a escouter (B. N. MS. fr. 24,394, f. 265, col. 2); ¹⁴ et en la fin de son refrain (A).

12. *Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 105* (list No. 18).

This manuscript is, for our purpose, more important than any of the others, for it presents the version most nearly resembling the version of the English text. An almost literal copy of this version is found in *Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 9123* (list No. 19). The two manuscripts agree in having rubrics as headings for the chapters, a feature not found in many of the MSS. of *Merlin*, and, indeed, lacking in the English MS. of *Merlin*. The passages taken especially as test passages, where the English contains a considerable amount of matter lacking in a number of the French texts, are all found in MS. 9123, as well as in MS. 105. I give a few references. MS. 9123 has the contracted

version for Eng. p. 23, and mentions as the author of the history of the Britons a certain "Martins de Bieure." The essential identity with the English version may be seen by comparing Eng. pp. 146, 147 with Fr. f. 143; Eng. p. 176, Fr. f. 152, col. 3; Eng. p. 177, Fr. f. 152, col. 3; Eng. p. 179, Fr. f. 153, col. 1; Eng. p. 187, ll. 8-18, Fr. f. 155; Eng. p. 188, ll. 5-11, Fr. f. 155*b*, col. 2; Eng. p. 212, Fr. f. 162*b*, col. 3 to f. 163, col. 1. Same version as in MS. 105: Eng. p. 229, Fr. f. 167*b*, col. 3 to f. 168, col. 1; Eng. p. 485, Fr. f. 244*b*, col. 1; Eng. p. 509, Fr. f. 251*b*, col. 2; Eng. p. 563, Fr. f. 266, col. 3; Eng. p. 576, Fr. f. 269*b* to f. 270; Eng. p. 616, Fr. f. 280, col. 2. The closing pages, except for a letter here and there, are exactly as in MS. 105.

We turn now to MS. 105. This manuscript betrays innumerable evidences of haste in copying,¹ but in its main features it approaches most nearly to the original from which the English translation was made.

The English translation of the test passage (pp. 22, 23) is based on a version slightly differing from this one, but the agreement is more striking than appears in any of the other French versions.

FR. f. 133*b*, col. 1.

ENG. p. 22, l. 35.

"Blaises quist ce *que* mestier
li fu, et quant il ot tout quis et
assamble si li commenca a conter
les amours de ihesu crist et de
joseph darimachie, si comme eles
auoient este et de pierre et de

"Blase sought aȝ that hym
mystered to write with, and when
he was aȝ redy, Merlyn be-gan) to
telle the lovyng of Ihesu [p. 23]
Criste and of Iosep Abaramathie,
like as thei hadden ben) of

¹ Especially noticeable is the omission of the substantive verb and of descriptive words. Compare, for instance, Eng. p. 508: "Whan Guyomar entred in to the chambre ther as was Morgain the fee, he hir salued full swetly"; Fr. f. 289*b*, col. 2: "Quant guyomar entra en la chambre ou morgain si li salua moult doucement."

pol, et des autres compaignons si comme il sestoient departi, et le fenissement de joseph et de tous les autres. puis li conta comment dyables apres toutes ces choses furent auenuës prirrent *conseil* de ce quil auoient perdu les pouoir quil souloient auoir sus les hommes et sus les femmes, et coument li prophete leur auoient mal fait, et comment il prirrent conseil que il feroient vn homme qui auroit leur sens et leur memoire dengignier les gens. et tu as oi par ma mere, et par autrui la paine que il y mirent a moi faire. mais par leur folie moult il perdu.

Elayn and of Pieron, and of othir felowes like as they weren departed, and the fynyshment of Ioseph and of alle other. And after he tolde hym that whan alle thise thynges were don, how the deu-elles toke their counseile of that they hadde loste their power that they were wonte to haue over man and woman, and how the prophetes hadden hyndred here purpos, and how they were acorded to purchase a man, that sholde haue their witte and mynde to disceyve the peple. 'And thou hast herde be my moder, and also be other, the trauayle that they hadden to begete me; but through their foly, they alle loste their trauayle.'

CHAPTER II.

"Ensi deuisa merlins ceste oeure, et la fist fere a blaise. Et comment sen esmerucilla blaises de ce que merlins li disoit. et toutes uoies ses paroles bonnes il entendit moult uolentiers. Et endentres quil [f. 133b, col. 2] tendoient a ceste chose fere uint merlins a blaise si li dist, Il te conuient a souffrir de ceste chose et ie la souffrerai encore grigneur. blaises demanda comment? Merlins li dit. ie serai enuoiez querre deuers occident. et cil qui me uenront querre aront enconuent a leur seigneur que il locirront. Mais quant il morront parler il naront talent

"Thus devised Merlyn this boke, and made Blase to write it, which hadde ther-of so grete merveile that he wolde not telle it to no persone, and alwey hym thought that his tales weren gode, and therefore he herkened hem gladly. In the menetyne that they entended a-boute this mater, come Merlyn to Blase, and seyde: 'Thow moste haue grete traueyle a-boute the makynge, and so shaß I haue moche more.' And Blase axed, 'How?' Merlyn seyde: 'I shaß be sente after to seche oute of the weste, and they that shaß come to seche me haue graunted their lorde that they

MS. 105, f. 133*b*, col. 2.

“de moi occirre et ie men irai
auec eulz et tu ten iras es parties
ou cil sont qui ont le saint uestel.
et touz iours mais sera volen-
tiers tes liures oiz. et qui uoudra
sauoir la vie des roys qui en la
grant bretagne furent ains *que* la
crestiente venist si regarde en
lystoire des roys bretons. cest
uns liures que martins de bieure
tranlata de latin en roumans. Mais
ore se taist li contes de ceste chose
et retourne a la uraie hystoire”

shuff me sle, but whan thei come
and here me speke they shuff
haue no with me to sle. And
I shaft go with hem; and thou
shalt go in to that partyes,
where they be that haue the
holy vesseh. And euer here-
after shaft thy boke gladly be
herde, and he that with knowe
the lyf of kynges whiche were in
the grete Bretayne be-fore that
cristendom come, be-holde the
story of Bretons. That is a boke
that maister Martyn *traunslated*
oute of latyn, but heire rested
this matere. And turneth to the
storye of Loth, a crysten kyng
in Bretayne [p. 24] whos name
was Constance. This Constance
regned a grete tyme, and hadde
thre sones, the first hight Moyne,
and the tother Pendragon, and the
thirde Vter.’”

There are, of course, variations. If we compare Eng. pp. 32, 33 with the French f. 137, col. 3 to 137*b*, col. 2, we find that the manuscript has an interpolation of 92 lines relating to the *Saint-Graal*, not exactly reproduced in the English. On the other hand, the omissions of MS. 24,394, and others, are here supplied. Compare, *e.g.*, Eng. pp. 146, 147 with f. 173*b*, col. 2 to f. 174, col. 2¹; Eng. p. 176, Fr. f. 182*b*, cols. 2 and 3; Eng. p. 177, Fr. f. 182*b*, col. 2. The passage relating to the

¹ This passage (Eng. pp. 146, 147), remarks Sommer (*Le Morte Darthur*, vol. iii. p. 44, note), is not found in the French originals. His mistake was due to his examining an insufficient number of MSS., for, as I have already shown, it is found in several.

son of king Ventres is here given exactly, though strangely mixed in some of the versions. Eng. p. 179 reads :

“That than the kyng looth wente to the Citee of Gale with ^M_{II} knyghtes and fightyng men” ;

Fr. f. 183*b*, col. 1 :

“que li roys loth sen ala a la cyte de gales a tout ^M_{II} combatans.”

Many MSS. omit the words “de gales.” Eng. p. 187, ll. 8–18 is found in Fr. f. 186, and Eng. p. 188, ll. 5–11, in Fr. f. 186, col. 3.

The passage Eng. p. 229, l. 13 *sqq.*, differs somewhat from the French f. 199, col. 3, which here is closely like MS. 24,394. But MS. 105 has the words omitted from many versions—

“la plus sage dame de la bloie bretaine,”

and thus parallels the English :

“the wisest lady of alle the bloy breteyne.”

A slight difference appears also on comparing Eng. p. 509 with Fr. f. 289*b*, col. 3. The two French passages quoted in the English text have not the precise form that they bear in MS. 105. Compare the version Eng. p. 485 with Fr. f. 282, col. 2 :

“*Et* li heraut comencierent a crier. ici est l'onneur des armes. or i para qui bien le fera” ;

Eng. p. 563 with Fr. f. 306, col. 1 :

“Cest yci li commencemens des auentures du pays par quoi li merueilleus lyons fu aterre, et que fils de roy *et* de royne destruiira et couendra que il soit chastes et li mieudres cheualiers qui lors sera el monde.”

This version mentions the “archeuesques del brice” (f. 323*b*, col. 2), while the English has merely “the archebisshop” (p. 620, p. 640, etc.).

In a manuscript so carelessly copied we must not look for exact agreement with the English version ; but for that very reason we must attach considerable importance to the agreement we do find. Nearly all the manuscripts are at variance with the English p. 15. Here the numerals are the same :

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.
p. 15. "x. monthes."	f. 130 <i>b</i> , col. 3. "x. mois."
"ij. yere."	"xij. mois."
"xij. monthes."	"ij. ans."

The names and the numerals, Eng. p. 108, exactly agree with those in the French, though at this point most MSS. vary widely in the numerals, and omit the name of Ydiers. Less exact agreement appears Eng. pp. 145, 146 ; Fr. f. 173, col. 2 to f. 173*b*, col. 1. In the list of knights, Eng. p. 212 ; Fr. f. 193*b*, col. 3 to f. 194, col. 1, there are such differences as—

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.
No. 4, Antor.	Artus qui le nourri.
No. 9, Gifflet.	li filz au duc de cardueil.
No. 19, Canide.	Canot de lisse.
No. 30, Chalis.	Dyales lorfenin.

Other lists showing considerable variation appear, Eng. pp. 576–578, Fr. f. 309*b*, col. 2 ; Eng. p. 616, Fr. f. 322. The latter is a characteristic specimen. I omit all but the most essential details.

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.
Palereus xv.	fariens dirlande xv.
Tasurs xij.	sapharins xij.
Brinans xiiij.	ramedons xiiij.
Argans xj.	arganz xiiij.
Taurus xj.	thaurus xj.
Kahadins x.	kaamin x.

After this comparison we need scarcely devote more space to illustrative passages. There is, on the whole, none of

the manuscripts of *Merlin* showing more general agreement with the English version than does MS. 105. Yet the verbal differences are so great as to compel us to reject even this version from being regarded as the one actually followed by the English translator. Nevertheless, very large portions of this missing French version were literally transcribed by the writer of MS. 105, as may be seen by a glance at passages where the English translator copied the French words without translating them at all.

ENGLISH.

FRENCH, MS. 105.

- | | |
|---|---|
| p. 2, l. 14, and when we hadde assaied hym. | f. 126 <i>b</i> , col. 2, omitted. (In Huth <i>Merlin</i> , p. 2, "et quant nous l'eusmes essaié.") |
| p. 3, l. 19, This riche man had grete plente of bestes and of other richesse. | f. 127, col. 1, Cil riches homs auoit moult grant plente de bestes et dautres richesces. |
| p. 4, l. 5, and seide a worde of grete ire. | f. 127, col. 2, et dist vne fole parole que sa grant ire li fist dire. |
| p. 7, l. 21, Ye shall abandon yow to alle men. | f. 128, col. 2, vous uous habandonnerez aus hommes. |
| p. 8, l. 32, fuþ humble to god. | f. 128 <i>b</i> , col. 1—col. 2, moult humilians enuers dieu. |
| p. 10, l. 26, confessed and repentant. | f. 129, col. 2, confes et repentanz. |
| p. 27, l. 33, be force of clergie. | f. 135 <i>b</i> , col. 1, par force de clergie. |
| p. 34, l. 7, grete doel. | f. 138, col. 2, grant duel. |
| p. 40, l. 1, Thus delyuæred Merlyn the Clerkes. | f. 140, col. 3, Einsî se deliura merlins des clers. |
| p. 40, l. 3, the significaunce of the two dragouns. | f. 140, col. 3, la senefiance des .ij. dragons. |
| p. 59, l. 29, thus be these two tables conuenable. | f. 148 <i>b</i> , col. 2, ainsi sont ces .ij. tables conuenables. |
| p. 147, Merlin maunded that aþ the harneise and armoure sholde be trussed in males. | f. 149 <i>b</i> , col. 2, si commanda M. que tos li harnois fust trousses en males. |

Of like sort are many of the instances of tautology in the English text, though in some instances the fault appears to belong to the translator :—

ENGLISH.

- p. 5, l. 1, FvH wrothe and angry was the DeueH.
 p. 5, l. 28, And so he taught and enformed hem here creaunce and feith.
 p. 7, l. 33, fuH hevy and pensif, makynge grete doeH and sorow.
 p. 8, l. 19, kepe the fro fallynge in to grete ire or wrath.
 p. 22, l. 8, lest thow me disceyve and be-gyle.
 p. 615, l. 29, triste and sorowfull.
 p. 627, l. 9, the grete mortalite and slaughter.
 p. 632, l. 36, I haue yow hider somowned and assembled.
 p. 643, l. 2, the king hem yaf riche yestes and presentes.
 p. 643, l. 32, Whan the kynge this vndirstode he was gladde and ioyfull.
 p. 656, l. 32, with grete force and vigour.
 p. 674, l. 35, and he a-bode gladde and myrye.
 p. 680, l. 4, and he hir taught and lerned so moche.
 p. 682, l. 35, Whan kynge Arthur hadde a-dubbed the duerf by the preier and request of the damesell, and she had hym

FRENCH.

- f. 127, col. 1, Moult fu li anemis iries.
 f. 127b, col. 2, Moult les aprist bien li preudons et enseigna se eles le uousissent croire.
 f. 128, col. 3, Molt fu irie et moult fist grant duel.
 f. 128b, col. 1, tu te gardes de cheoir en grant ire.
 f. 133, col. 3, que tu ne me puisses engignier ne decevoir.
 Omitted from MS. 105, f. 322, col. 1. (MS. 24,394, f. 265, col. 2, l. 30, reads, "tristes et dolans.")
 f. 325b, col. 2, la grant mortalite et la grant occision.
 f. 327, col. 3, omitted.
 f. 330, col. 2, si leur donna li roys de moult riches dons.
 f. 330b, col. 1, Et quant li roys lentendi si en ot molt grant ioie.
 f. 334b, col. 3, a force et a vigour.
 f. 341, col. 1, et il demoura en son chastel liez et ioians.
 f. 342b, col. 2, et il li endist et enseigna.
 f. 343b, col. 1, a cele heure que li roys artus ot adoube le uain cheualier par la proiere a la damoisele, quele len mena ainsi

[p. 683], ledde as ye haue herde gladde and ioyfull	comme vous auez oi moult liee et moult ioianz
[thei] entred in to a feire launde that was grete and large.	[il] entrerent en vne lande qui moult estoit longue <i>et</i> large.

The net result of the entire investigation of the manuscripts is negative. In other words, we have proved that the English version is not translated word for word from any of the extant French versions, though most of them tolerably represent the story as a whole, and many of them agree almost literally in a large number of passages with the English version. Two of the MSS. (MS. 105 and MS. 9123) agree on the whole more closely with the English than do any of the others, and these two doubtless belong to the family of MSS. of which one was used by the translator of our version. I must confess, then, that I have not found the exact original, but I am firmly convinced that the English version is a slavish translation of a fourteenth-century¹ manuscript, now lost, and that a careful collation of all the extant MSS. might enable us to find a French equivalent for almost every word of the translation.²

¹ M. Paul Meyer, Director of the École des Chartes, to whom I submitted the French passages quoted in the English version, pp. 485, 563, assured me that the forms were those of the fourteenth century.

² As for the version of the printed editions, it need not detain us long.* The earliest edition did not appear till 1498, more than a half-century after our translation was made, and so, of course, can be of importance only in so far as the version of the printed text may represent an older manuscript original. At the beginning of my search for the version used by the English translator I compared paragraph by paragraph the English text and the French edition of 1498, and found a general agreement in the incidents, but very considerable verbal differences, and at times important omissions. I cannot take room for examples, but refer the reader to Fr. vol. i. f. 130, Eng. p. 212; Fr. vol. ii. f. 1, Eng. p. 379; Fr. vol. ii. f. 58, Eng. p. 484. Near the end of the romance, Fr. f. 172, col. 2, a sharp divergence from the English version begins, and continues to the close^b (f. 172b) of the romance.

* Cf. the remarks of P. Paris on the general value of the printed editions.—*MSS. François*, i. pp. 126, 127. ^b Cf. Ward, *Catal. of Romances*, vol. i. p. 343.

VIII.

TWO MERLINS OR ONE?

After this long examination of the romance, we may now consider a question that naturally suggests itself: Have we to do with two Merlins or one? This question is of no great importance in itself, but it has held too large a place in the literary history of the legend to be dismissed with a word. The answer to this question involves a comparison of all the data. For the sake of clearness, therefore, it will be well, even at the expense of some repetition, to bring together whatever can be urged with regard to the separate existence of Merlinus Ambrosius and Merlinus Caledonius (Myrddin).

Of Merlin Ambrosius¹ the so-called sixth-century Welsh poems know nothing. In them there is no hint of the existence of the wonder-working Merlin of the romances. The Triads, as we have seen (pp. xcix.-c.), mention Myrddin Emrys (Merlin Ambrosius), Myrddin, son of Morvryn, and Taliessin as the three principal bards of Britain, and tell of the disappearance of Myrddin, the Bard of Emrys Wledig, and his nine bardic companions. But the importance of this material in the Triads is hardly greater than must be attached to what we find in Giraldus Cambrensis, and other writers of the twelfth century.

The introduction of Merlin Ambrosius into Welsh literature (as distinguished from oral tradition) seems to be due to the Welsh translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, though of course the legend may have existed as

¹ On Merlin Ambrosius, Rhys (*Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 162) remarks: "But under the name Ambrosius or Emrys were confounded the historical Aurelius Ambrosius and the mythic Merlin Ambrosius, in whom we appear to have the Celtic Zeus in one of his many forms."

a floating popular tradition for centuries earlier. The Irish translation of Nennius belongs to the eleventh century; but the legend of Merlin, as well as the history of Arthur, was an exotic which did not thrive on Irish soil. For our earliest knowledge of the exploits of Merlin Ambrose we are, therefore, limited to two sources—Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth.

All that Nennius has to tell is contained in cap. xl., xli., xlii., xlviii., and lxvi. of his *Historia Britonum*. He does not even give us the name of Merlin; for the boy who is born without a father, and who explains to the king why his castle walls do not stand, replies, on being asked his name, "I am called Ambrose,"¹ the British for which is Embries, that is, the leader.² The addition of the name Merlinus is due to Geoffrey of Monmouth, writing at least three centuries later than Nennius. Geoffrey treated the legend in two different forms, the first in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1135–1147), and the second in the *Vita Merlini*. In the *Historia* the entire account of the boy Ambrose, as given by Nennius, is transferred to Geoffrey's pages, but with some changes from the text of Nennius that we possess. These changes are due in part, it may be, to the manuscript version which Geoffrey used; but more probably to his own invention.³

¹ Nennius, cap. 42: "'Ambrosius vocor' (id est, Embries Guletic ipse videbatur). Et rex dixit: 'De qua progenie es?' 'Unus est pater meus de consulibus Romanicæ gentis.'" (San-Marte's text.)

² It is important to note that not only does Nennius fail to name Merlin, but, as is remarked elsewhere (p. ciii.), the author of the *Genealogies* tacked on to the work of Nennius does not even include Myrddin among the bards of Britain: (cap. 62) "Tunc Talhaern Cataguen (Tat Anguen) [Aguen] in poemate claruit, et Neirin et Bluchbard (Bluchbar) et Cian, qui vocatur Guenith Guant simul uno tempore in poemate Britannico claruerunt." Cf. San-Marte, *Die Sagen von Merlin*, p. 8.

³ As already remarked, the name *Merlin* is not found in any of the Celtic manuscripts, but the Welsh name Myrddin is the exact phonetic equivalent of the Latin form. G. Paris, in his criticism of de la Borderie's *Les Véritables Prophéties de Merlin*, makes the following comments (*Romania*, xii. p. 375):—"Pourquoi appelle-t-il le barde-prophète du vi^e siècle *Merlin*? Ce nom est de l'invention de Gaufrei de Monmouth, qui sans doute a reculé devant le *Merdinus* qu'il aurait

The chief additions by Geoffrey¹ are the following:—

1. Nennius (cap. xl.) tells us that the king and his wise men, in seeking a place for a tower, came to a province called Guenet,² and, after examining the mountains of Heremus,³ selected the summit of one of them as the site.—Geoffrey says merely that after going about the country they finally came to Mount Erir, and there began to build.

2. Nennius (cap. xli.) relates that the messengers who went out in search of the boy born without a father came to the field of Aelecti,⁴ in the district of Glevesing, where they found some boys playing ball. Two of them began to quarrel, and one called the other a boy without a father. When the messengers inquired whether the child had ever had a father, the mother denied all knowledge of the manner of his conception, and assured them that the boy had no mortal father.⁵ At this the boy was taken away to King Vortigern.

Geoffrey⁶ tells us that the messengers found some young men playing before the gate of a city afterwards called Kaermerdin. As they played, two of the young men, whose names were Merlin and Dabutius, began to quarrel, when Dabutius reproached Merlin—"As for you, nobody knows what you are, for you never had a father." Then the messengers looked closely at Merlin, and asked the bystanders who the boy was. They

obtenu en latinisant le nom gallois, mais qui trouvait assurément dans la tradition une forme avec *d*, puisqu'il prétend que Caermerdin (Carmarthen, ancien Maridunum) doit son nom à Merlin." The name is variously written. Villemarqué, in his *Myrddhin, ou l'Enchanteur Merlin*, p. 3, gives a partial list of the different forms: (1) Ancient British, *Marthin*; (2) Modern Welsh, *Myrdhin*; (3) Armorican, *Marsin*; (4) Scotch, *Meller*, *Melziar*; (5) French, *Merlin*. To these we may add: *Myrdin*, *Myrddin*, *Myrddhin*, *Merdhin ap Morvryn*, *Martinus*, *Merlinus Ambrosius*, *Merlin Wyllt*, *Merlinus Caledonius*, *Merlinus Sylvestris*, and *Merlinus Avilionius* (so named from the *Avallenau*). Cf. Nicolson, *Eng. Hist. Library*, pp. 31, 32. For the Welsh form, see p. xcvi., note 1, *ante*.

¹ The passages in Geoffrey's *Historia* that parallel the account by Nennius are: B. vi. 17, 18, 19; B. vii. 3, up to the point where the prophecy begins.

² Guined, Guoinet, Guenez. ³ Heremi, Heriri, Eryri. ⁴ Elleti, Electi, Gleti.

⁵ Strangely enough, in the very next chapter (xlii.) the boy tells the king, "My father was a Roman consul."

⁶ *Hist.* vi. 17.

replied that his father was unknown, but his mother was daughter to the king of Dimetia, and now a nun in St. Peter's church in that city. The messengers thereupon went to the governor of the city, and ordered him to send Merlin and his mother to King Vortigern. On being questioned by the king, the mother replied that the boy's father was a very beautiful young man, who had the power of talking with her while remaining himself invisible, and that he had several times lain with her in the shape of a man, and left her with child. The king wondered at the recital, and ordered his counsellor, Maugantius, to tell whether the story was possible. He said that numerous instances of a like description were known, and that possibly the boy had been begotten in the same way; for Apuleius, in his book on the Demon of Socrates, had mentioned those spirits, half men, half angels, which live between the earth and the moon, and which we call incubuses. These had been known to assume human shape and to lie with women.

3. Nennius relates (cap. xlii.) that on the next day after the boy had appeared before King Vortigern a meeting was held for the purpose of putting him to death. When the boy asked the reason of his being brought there, he learned that it was with the design of sprinkling with his blood the ground on which the tower was to be built. He then requested that the wise men by whose advice this was to be done might be brought thither. When they came, he questioned them as to what was hid under the ground where the tower was building. On their confession of ignorance, he foretold successively what was to be found—the pool, the two vases, the folded tent, the two sleeping serpents, one white and the other red—and explained the meaning of their combat.

Geoffrey gives in the main the same account,¹ but in his version the conversation with the king, the questions addressed

¹ *Hist.* vi. 19; vii. 3.

to the wise men, and the combat of the two dragons, occur on the same day, without the interval that we find in Nennius. Geoffrey substitutes two hollow stones for the vases of Nennius, and tells nothing about the folded tent in which the dragons slept. Geoffrey has the pond drained before the fight begins, while Nennius lets the combat commence at once.

From this point the agreement between Nennius and Geoffrey, in so far as Merlin is concerned, entirely ceases. The short explanation which Nennius gives of the meaning of the combat is omitted by Geoffrey, who, on the other hand, fills the greater part of his seventh book with the famous prophecies of Merlin. The remainder of Geoffrey's account of Merlin touches upon his relations with Aurelius Ambrosius and Uter-Pendragon—the two sons of Constantine. After Merlin has assisted Uter-Pendragon to win Igerna the name of the enchanter vanishes from Geoffrey's pages, except in two brief references¹ to his prophecies. In spite of these minor differences the accounts of Nennius and Geoffrey relate to the same personage: the additions merely show what progress the myth had made in the course of three centuries.² But if, now, we turn to Geoffrey's *Vita Merlini*, we meet a difficulty; for, although we still find the name Merlin, a small portion only of the account of him as given in the *Historia* is reproduced in the *Vita*, and the leading topic in the poem is the madness of Merlin the bard. Yet the identity of the bard with the enchanter is directly asserted in the poem.³ With this matter we shall deal presently.

¹ *Hist.* xii. 17, 18.

² It would be interesting to compare the growth of the Merlin legend with the growth of other mediæval legends. The *Chanson de Roland* in its finished form belongs to the latter part of the eleventh century, while the battle of Roncevaux was fought August 15, 778. The legends attaching to Godfrey of Bouillon were evolved somewhat more rapidly.

³ ll. 681–683. San-Marte remarks (*Die Sagen von Merlin*, s. 322) that from about l. 431 Geoffrey begins to confuse Merlin Ambrosius with Merlin Caledonius. Geoffrey says (l. 681 *sqq.*) that Merlin the bard is the same as he who once prophesied before Vortigern; but he omits all account of the paternity of Merlin as related in the *Historia*.

It may be worth our while briefly to review some of the opinions held on this question. One side contends stoutly for two Merlins. It is argued that there was an enchanter of the name of Merlin, who lived, if at all, in the time of Vortigern, king of Britain, about the end of the fifth century. His history contains elements more or less mythical. The other personage was a Welsh bard, named Myrddin, who lived in the sixth century, and who went mad with grief over his friends killed in the battle of Arderlydd, in the year 573. As already remarked, Nennius knows only the fatherless boy who calls himself Ambrosius, or Embries Guletic.¹ Geoffrey of Monmouth repeats the story told by Nennius, adopts the name Ambrosius, and adds that of Merlinus.² His other additions in the *Historia* are merely supplementary, and in no essential particulars contradictory to the account in Nennius. In the *Vita Merlini* Geoffrey calls him Merlin throughout, but he tells us that “rex erat et vates,” and though, as we have seen, he identifies³ the Merlin of the *Vita* with the Merlin of the *Historia*, he surrounds the bard with a group of persons⁴ unknown in the earlier work. The *Vita* can hardly be placed later than 1150; so that the identification of the bard with the enchanter was made at a very

¹ *Hist. Brit.* cap. xlii.

² In touching on these names M. Gaston Paris strangely says: “Ce double nom, *Merlinus Ambrosius*, ne se présente que dans la *Prophetia Merlini* de Gaufridi, que nous prenons ici sur le fait, accolant son *Merlinus* à l'*Ambrosius* [sic] de Nennius; dans le corps de son livre (publié après la *Prophetia*), il dit simplement *Merlinus*” —G. Paris, *Romania*, xii. 371, note. Yet Geoffrey has in the *Historia*, vi. 19 (San-Marte's edition, *Sagen von Merlin*, pp. 19, 20): “Tunc ait Merlinus, qui et Ambrosius dicebatur”; and four lines below: “Accessit iterum Ambrosius Merlinus ad magos.” In the *Prophecy* we find (cap. i.) “de Merlino”; (cap. ii.) “Merlini”; and (cap. iii.) “Ambrosio Merlino.” These are the only cases where the double name is mentioned.

³ Cf. also George Ellis, *Eng. Hist. Library*, Lond. 1786, p. 31; F. Michel, *Vita Merlini*, pp. xviii., xix.; San-Marte, *Die Artussage*, p. 90.

⁴ Such, for instance, as his sister Ganieda, ll. 122-124; Poredur, l. 31; Rodarchus, l. 32, etc. Cf. the later discussion in this section.

early stage of the literary development of the materials, be they legendary or historical, or both.

The first attempt¹ of which we have any record to make a *formal* distinction between Merlin the enchanter and Merlin the bard is due to Gerald de Barri, better known as Giraldus Cambrensis. In his *Cambriae Descriptio*,² written near the end of the twelfth century, we find the following (cap. xvi.): "Sicut et olim, stante adhuc Britonum regno, gentis excidium, et tam Saxonum primo, quam etiam Normannorum post adventum Merlinus uterque, tam Caledonius quam Ambrosius fertur vaticinando declarasse." After comparing the prophecies of Merlin with those of Scripture, he adds: "Merlini itaque prophetiam legimus, sanctitatem eius vel miracula non legimus. Obiiciunt, et quia prophetiae non extra se fiebant, quando prophetabant, sicut de Merlino Silvestri legitur, quod amens factus prophetabat, et de his similiter quasi arreptitiis, de quibus hic locuti sumus."

Also, in the *Itinerarium Cambriae*, i, 10, he refers to Caermardyn: "Sonat autem Caermardyn, urbs Merlini, eo quod iuxta Britannicam historiam ibi ex incubo genitus, inventus fuerat Merlinus." In ii, 6: "Ea nocte iacuimus apud Nevyn videlicet vigilia paschae floridi; ubi Merlinum Silvestrem diu quaesitum, desideratumque Archidiaconus Menevensis dicitur invenisse."

Most important of all is the passage in cap. viii.: "Non procul ab ortu (fluminis) Conwey in capite montis Eryri, qui ex hac parte in Boream extenditur, stat Dinas Emrys, i.e. promontorium Ambrosii, ubi Merlinus prophetavit, sedente super ripam Vortigerno. Erant enim Merlini duo, iste qui et Ambrosius dictus est, quia binomius fuerat et sub rege Vortigerno prophetavit, ab incubo genitus, et apud Caermerdhin inventus; unde

¹ That is, unless we assume the Triads to be older than we thought them.

² For all these texts, conveniently brought together, see San-Marte's *Sagen von Merlin* Zeugnisse, pp. 37-58.

et ab ipso ibidem invento denominata est Caermerdhin, i.e. urbs Merlini. Alter vero de Albania oriundus, qui et Celidonus dictus est, a Celidonia silva, in qua prophetavit, et Silvester, quia cum inter acies bellicas constitutus, monstrum horribile nimis in aera suscipiendo prospiceret, dementire coepit, et ad silvam transfugiendo silvestrem usque ad obitum vitam perduxit. Hic autem Merlinus tempore Arthuri fuit, et longe plenius et apertius quam alter prophetasse perhibetur.”¹

In another place² Giraldus repeated his distinction between the two Merlins, and remarked that the Caledonian Merlin was much less known than the other, and that it seemed to him worth while to collect and publish whatever information he could find about the man: “Erat itaque Caledonii Silvestris solum hactenus fama percelebris; a Britannicis tamen Bardis, quos poetas vocant, verbo tenus penes plurimos, scripto vero penes paucissimos vaticiniorum eiusdem memoria retenta fuerat.”

Giraldus has some other references to Merlin, of much less importance. From Geoffrey's *Historia* he takes the account of Merlin's transfer of the great stones from Ireland to Stonehenge. He tells also of the wonderful Lech-lavar or talking-stone, with which vulgar tradition had connected a prophecy of Merlin, but whether of Merlin Ambrosius or Merlin Caledonius we cannot affirm, for the prophecy is not given by Geoffrey.

We must not make too much of negative evidence, but we note in the work of William of Newburgh (b. 1135-6? d. 1200?) an omission that seems a little surprising, if we

¹ San-Marte, *Die Sagen von Merlin*, p. 52.

² “Noch um 1180 scheint die wälsche Tradition bestimmt den Ambrosius und Merlin unterschieden zu haben, wie aus dem *Itinerarium* des *Giraldus Cambrensis* hervorgeht, der mit eben so ungemeiner Begier als Leichtgläubigkeit dergleichen Volkssagen sammelte, doch aber Gottfrieds *Chronik* einmal eine *fabulosa historia* nennt” (*Cambriae Descriptio*, cap. vii.). San-Marte, *Die Artussage*, pp. 91, 92.

assume that two Merlins were well known in his day. William of Newburgh criticized very severely Geoffrey's *Historia* as being full of falsehoods, and especially blamed the lively churchman for introducing the prophecies of Merlin,¹ who was fabled to have had a woman for his mother and a demon incubus for his father. William makes, however, no mention of two Merlins, and seems to know of Merlin Ambrosius only.

Some of the other data at our disposal are not easy to interpret. For instance, in two old lives of St. Patrick—one by Jocelyn, at the end of the twelfth century, and the other doubtfully attributed to Beda—is an account of a certain evil-doer, who, by the prayer of St. Patrick, was mysteriously raised into the air and dashed to the ground a corpse.² Jocelyn gives the man the name *Melinus*, while Beda (?) calls him “mago quodam nomine Locri.” It is, however, by no means certain that our Merlin is here referred to at all. Mere identity of name does not necessarily prove identity of personality.

Ralph de Diceto, who died in the year 1210, mentions Merlin as a bard born of a demon incubus and a king's daughter, who was a nun and lived in the city of Caermarthen. This account, of course, merely follows Geoffrey's *Historia*.

In the course of the next hundred years no writer seems to have thought the matter worth mentioning; for not until the appearance of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, in the first half of the fourteenth century, do we find any further attempt to distinguish the magician of the time of Vortigern from the

¹ William refers with scorn to the “lying prophecies of a certain Merlin, to which he (Geoffrey) has himself added considerably.” Paulin Paris infers from William's attitude that the Merlin legend was not very old at the time when Geoffrey wrote. Cf. *Romans*, i. 65-72. Just here we may note Mr. Ward's remark (*Catal. of Romances*, i. 210) on Henry of Huntingdon, that “though he appears to have had no great taste for marvels, it is certainly odd that he never once mentions the name of Merlin, as one would have anticipated if Merlin had made any great figure in the first recension” (of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*).

² Cf. San-Marte, *Die Sagen von Merlin*, pp. 51, 52.

bard of the sixth century. The doggrel rhyming Latin verses¹ which Higden wrote on Merlinus Ambrosius and Merlinus Caledonius reproduce much of the phraseology of Gerald de Barri, and add really nothing to the solution of the question.²

Merlin is referred to by a number of other writers of the Middle Ages. Thus, Sigebertus Gemblacensis³ mentions a prophecy of Merlin relating to Arthur; and the monk of Malmesbury who wrote the life of Edward III. remarks on the year 1315 that, in consequence of a prophecy of Merlin predicting the recovery of England by King Arthur, the Welsh raised frequent revolts. Merlin is in each case referred to as a well-known name, without any hint of the existence of a second Merlin.

The fourteenth-century *Scotichronicon* of John Fordun touches⁴ on the Merlin of Geoffrey's *Historia* as—"quidam

¹ "Ad Nevyn in North Wallia
Est insula permodica
Quae Bardisia dicitur,
A monachis incolitur,
Ubi tam diu vivitur
Quod Senior praemonitur.
Ibi Merlinus conditur
Silvestris ut asseritur.
Duo fuerunt igitur
Merlini ut conicitur
Unus dictus Ambrosius
Ex incubo progenitus
Ad Kaermerthyn Demeciae
Sub Vortigerni tempore
Qui sua vaticinia
Proflavit in Snaudonia.
Ad ortum amnis Coneway
Ad clivum montis Erery,

Dinas Emreys ut comperi
Sonat collis Ambrosii
Ad ripam quando regulus
Vortiger sedit anxius.
Est alter de Albania
Merlinus, quae nunc Scotia;
Repertus est binomius,
Silvestris Calidonus,
A silva Calidonia
Qua prompsit vaticinia,
Silvestris dictus ideo,
Quod, consistens in praelio,
Monstrum videns in aere
Mente coepit excedere,
Ad silvam tendens propere
Arthuri regis tempore
Prophetavit apertius
Quam Merlinus Ambrosius."

Cf. further, F. Michel, *Vita Merlini*, pp. xix., xx.; and Nash, in the first volume (pp. xii., xiii.) of the *Merlin*, E.E.T.S.

² Higden does indeed tell us that the Caledonian Merlin lost his reason at seeing a phantom in the air instead of at the sight of his friends slaughtered in battle; but even this account is borrowed from Giraldus Cambrensis, and can at most be nothing more than a variant of the commonly received version.

³ San-Marte, *Die Sagen von Merlin*, p. 54.

⁴ iii. c. 17.

ex Cambria, Merlinus nomine, plura quasi prophetice cecinit ad intelligendum obscura,"¹ etc.

With this account we may compare that of Powel,² who, as Francisque Michel remarked,³ lived at a time when "the prophecies of the British bard [?] still preserved their authority."

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Buchanan, in his Scottish history, compares the Merlin of the time of Vortigern with Gildas, somewhat to the disadvantage of the former, and says that Merlin ought rather to be regarded as a great deceiver and a crafty old fellow than as a prophet. Buchanan, like several of the other writers we have examined, seems to know but one Merlin. Yet the distinction made by Giraldus Cambrensis is repeated early in the second half of the sixteenth century in Bale's *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum Catalogus*,⁴ which gives (p. 48) an account of Merlinus Ambrosius, followed by one of Merlinus Caledonius (p. 59).

The elaborate commentary by Alanus de Insulis (*cf.* p. xlvii.)

¹ *Cf.* in Hearne's edition of Fordun, pp. 202, 212, 251, 709, 755, 1206, 1208, 1226. See also Mr. Ward's article on *Lailoken* in the *Romania* for 1893, pp. 510, 511, in which he shows how Fordun's work was interpolated later by Bower, who finished his revision in 1447.

² "Merlinus ipse natus est in Cambria, non ex incubo daemone (ut inquit Baleus), sed ex furtiva venere cuiusdam romani consulis cum virgine vestali in Maridunensi monialium coenobio, ut in Brevario apud Gildam habetur." He then goes on to give an abstract of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and continues: "Aliunde ergo per impostores asseritur eius conceptio, quam ex communi hominum officio et uso, ut facile deciperentur creduli. . . . Dicitur etiam quod suis incantationibus Utherum regem in Gorlroidis Cornubiae ducis speciem transformaverit, ut Igernae uxoris potiretur amplexu et quod ex eo scelerato concubitu Arthurum et Annam genuerit; sed de his prudentes iudicent. De Maridivi urbis nomine vide ea quae annotavimus supra in cap. x. lib. 1. Extant apud Galfridum Hist. Britannicae libro quarto [?] Merlini vaticinia, obscura quidem illa et nihil certi continentia, quae vel antequam eveniant, sperare, vel cum evenierint promissa, vera audeas affirmare. Praeterea ita composita sunt ut eadem ad multa diversarum, rerum eventa sensibus ambiguis et multiplicibus, circumflectere et accommodare quis possit. Et quanquam multi his et huiusmodi imposturis delusi et decepti perierint tamen hominum credulorum tanta est insania ut quae non intelligant, quovis sacramento, vere esse contendere non dubitent nec in manifesto interim deprehensi mendacio se coargui patiantur."—

Quoted by F. Michel, *Vita Merlini*, pp. x.-xiii.

³ *Vita Merlini*, p. x. ⁴ Basiliae, apud Iohannem Oporinum (M.D.LIX.), fol.

on Merlin's prophecies was published in 1603; but neither this work nor Freytag's *Programma de Merlino Britannico*, printed in Naumburg in 1737, brought to light any new material relating to the question now before us. In 1748 Bishop Tanner gave a biography of the two Merlins in the *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*¹ (pp. 522–525). Nearly forty years later Bishop Nicolson published, in his *English Historical Library*² (pp. 31, 32), a careful bibliographical account of authorities on English history, and, in characteristically vigorous style, proved to his own satisfaction that all the supposed Merlins were really but one.³ The rough-and-ready dogmatism of the Bishop failed to carry conviction to Sir Walter Scott; for, in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*,⁴ he distinguishes Merlin

¹ Lond., 1748, fol.

² Lond., 1786, fol.

³ "Amongst these bards is to be reckoned their famous *Merlyn*; whose true name (says *Humph. Lhuid*) is *Merdhyn*, so called from *Caermarthen* [*Mariduno*], where he was born. This was so mighty a Man in his Time that our Writers have thought it convenient to split him into three. The first of these (Godfather to the two following) they call *Merlinus Ambrosius* or *Merdhyn Emrys*; who liv'd about the Year 480 and wrote several prophetic Odes, turned into Latin Prose by *Jeffrey of Monmouth*. The next is *Merlinus Caledonius*, who liv'd A.D. 570, wrote upon the same Subject with the former, and had the same Translator. The third is surnamed *Avalonius*, who liv'd under King *Malgocunus* (they might as well have made him Secretary to *Joseph of Arimathea*, says our great *Stillingfleet*); and yet my Author^a goes gravely on, and affirms that he was an eminent Antiquary, but seems to mix too many Fables with his true story. They write this last, indeed, *Melchinus*, *Melkinus*, and *Merwinus*, and make him to live some time before the latter *Merlyn*. But this is all stuff, and he is manifestly the same Man or nothing. The most learned of the *British* Antiquaries agree that this *Myrdhyn ap Morvryn* (call'd from the country he lived in *Caledonius*, and *Sylvestris* from his Humour of leading a retired life in the woods) wrote a Poem called *Avalleuau*, or the Apple-Trees, to his Lord *Gwendholen ap Keidio*; who was slain at the Battle of *Arderith*, in the Year 577. Some Fragments of this Poem were found at *Hengwyrth*, in *Meirionydshire*, by Mr. Lhwyd; who long since observed to me that from hence the Poet himself got the surname of *Avalonius*. If so, there's a happy Discovery made of one of the many foolish Impostures of the old Monks of *Glassenbury*: Who, to secure this famous Prophet to themselves, have made King *Arthur's* Tomb and their own Monastery to stand in *Insula Avalonia*. Soon after him came *Ambrosius Thaliessin*, whom *Bale* and *Pits* make to live in the Days of King *Arthur*, and to record his story."

^a J. Pits, p. 97, *Hist. Regum Britannorum*.

⁴ Edinburgh, 1833, vol. iv. pp. 141, 143.

the Wild from Ambrose Merlin, and to the former attributes the Scottish prophecies.

Sixteen years later, in 1849, Thomas Stephens, in his *Literature of the Kymry* (p. 208 *sqq.*), reaffirmed the identity of Merlin Caledonius with Merlin Ambrosius. His argument, in brief, is as follows:—Nennius represents Myrddin Emrys as a child who appears before King Vortigern, about 480 A.D. On the other hand, the Myrddin ab Morvryn of the Welsh poems is an old man who, about 570 A.D., is the brother-in-law of Rhydderch Hael, one of the three victorious princes in the battle of Ardeydd.¹ In order to affirm the identity of the two prophets, we must assume an age of more than ninety years; but this was not exceptional in Wales. Then we have the striking fact that the two prophets lived in North Wales and North England—districts not widely separated—and that their prophecies show considerable similarity. Furthermore, the bards of the twelfth century and later took the prophecies of Merlin Ambrosius, as given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and let them reappear as prophecies of the Caledonian Merlin, thus showing that the two bards were held to be identical. This conclusion was natural enough, for the father of the Caledonian Merlin was known, while the traditional Myrddin Emrys was a child without a father, and seemed therefore less real than the bard whose father was named.

San-Marte seems to adopt the view of Stephens, for he concludes his summary of Stephens' argument in these words: "Und so gelangt Stephens zu dem wohlmotivirten Resultat, dass Merddin Emrys und Merddin ap Morvryn, Wyllt und Silvester, wie Merlin der Barde, Zauberer, und Prophet nur verschiedene Namen für eine und dieselbe Person seien."²

A different conclusion was reached by the French critic Villemarqué. He regarded Merlin Ambrosius as a historical personage, associated as a bard with King Aurelius Ambrosius.

¹ Fought in 573 A.D.

² *Die Sagen von Merlin*, p. 235.

By a singular series of etymological guesses, Villemarqué tried to establish a connection between the Breton *Marzin* and the Latin *Marsus*, son of Circe. Although he held that Myrddin the Welsh bard had really lived, he would not affirm that any of the poems attributed to him are genuine.

For several years after the appearance of M. de la Villemarqué's theory the only critic of note who touched on the Merlin problem was Mr. D. W. Nash.¹ His theory rejects altogether the view of Mr. Stephens and others, who hold that the "Merddin Emrys of Vortigern and Merddin the son of Morvryn must be taken to have been one and the same person, and that the latter is the one whose character formed the nucleus from which the other was developed." "Merddin Emrys" (Merlin Ambrosius) has in Nash's view no claim to be regarded as a historical character. To use again his words: "We ought, I think, to look upon the figure of the great enchanter as a pure work of fiction woven in with the historical threads which belong to this epoch of the Saxon wars in Britain."² On the other hand, he adds: "So far from being of unknown or mysterious birth, the pedigree of Merddin Caledonius is as well ascertained as that of any other British celebrity."³

Mr. Skene did not discuss this specific question in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*,⁴ but he established more firmly than before the historical character of a Welsh bard bearing the name of Myrddin.

The conclusion arrived at by Stephens, in his *Literature of the Kymry*, that Merlin Ambrosius, Merlyn Sylvester, and Merlin Caledonius were one and the same person, was adopted by M. Paulin Paris in his *Romans de la Table Ronde* (i. p. 80).⁵

¹ His short paper was prefixed to Part I. of the *Romance of Merlin* (1865), edited by Mr. Henry B. Wheatley for the E.E.T.S.

² pp. viii., ix.

³ p. x.

⁴ Edinburgh, 1868, 2 vols., 8vo.

⁵ "Mais (dira-t-on, pour expliquer la différence des légendes) il y eut deux prophètes du nom de Merlin: l'un fils d'un consul romain, l'autre fils d'un démon incube; le premier ami et conseiller d'Artus, le second, habitant des forêts; celui-ci

His son, M. Gaston Paris, though less pronounced, seems to hold essentially the same opinion.¹

The last critic that I shall cite, Mr. H. L. D. Ward,² regards the Merlin who was brought before Vortigern as purely legendary and mythical; while the Myrddin of the Welsh poems is historical, and is to be assigned to the latter part of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh. In a paper published in the *Romania*³ for 1893, pp. 504-526, Mr. Ward proves that a wild man of the name of Lailoken,⁴ who lived in the time of St. Kentigern, is to be identified with Merlin Silvester, otherwise known as Merlin the Wild or Merlinus Caledonius. This wild man one day meets St. Kentigern and begs the good man to listen to him. Then he goes on to accuse himself of being the cause of the death of all those who were slain in the battle "inter

surnommé *Ambrosius*, celui-là *Sylvester* ou le *Sauvage*. L'*Historia Britonum* a parlé du premier, et la *Vita Merlini* du second. Je donnerai bientôt l'explication de tous ces doubles personnages de la tradition bretonne : mais il sera surtout facile de prouver à ceux qui suivront le progrès de la légende de Merlin que l'*Ambrosius* le *Sylvester* et le *Caledonius* (car les Écossais ont aussi réclamé leur Merlin topique) ne sont qu'une seule et même personne."

¹ "M. de la Borderie appelle toujours la *Vita Merlini* en vers, *Vie de Merlin le Caledonien*, et dit qu'elle a été écrite 'sur la fin du xii^e siècle'; mais ce poème est sans aucun doute de Gaufrei de Monmouth, et a été par conséquent écrit avant 1154. Quant au surnom de *Caledonius* (ou plutôt *Celidonius*, ou *Silvester*) donné à Merlin, il ne figure pas dans le poème; il est de l'invention de Giraud de Barri (Itin. Kambr., ii. 8), qui, frappé de l'anachronisme qu'avait commis Gaufrei, a essayé, à la façon des gens du moyen âge de tout concilier en supposant deux Merlin; mais la *Vita Merlini* dit expressément que son héros était le même qui avait jadis parlé à Wortigern."—*Romania*, xii. 375, 376.

² De même, pour concilier l'*Historia Britonum* avec Gaufrei, il dit: "*Merlinus qui et Ambrosius dictus est, quia binominis fuerat.*"

³ Author of the *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum*. This opinion I got from Mr. Ward in conversation, April 22, 1890.

⁴ Mr. Ward prints in full the Latin texts that contain the account of Lailoken. The oldest of these, Cotton Titus A. xix., he places in parallel columns beside the later mutilated version in Bower's *Scotichronicon*. Of this oldest version Mr. Ward says that it was "written at the request of Bishop Herbert (and therefore before 1164) by a cleric of St. Kentigern's, who was apparently a foreigner."

⁵ Cf. pp. cviii.-cxi. above.

Lidel et Carwonnok," i.e. the battle of Arderydd (A.D. 573). A variety of detail establishes the essential identity of Lailoken with the Myrddin of the *Avallenau*. Moreover, a considerable part of the account of Lailoken is very like what we find in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini*. Now, as we can hardly assume that the writer of the life of St. Kentigern invented the story out of nothing, we must believe that he used earlier material accessible as an oral tradition or in the form of a written narrative in prose or verse. The date (1164) of the oldest version of the life of Kentigern is, however, only about sixteen years later than that assigned to the *Vita Merlini*. Evidently, then, Geoffrey of Monmouth obtained access in some way to a life of St. Kentigern, with the accompanying account of Lailoken, and incorporated such features as served his purpose into his *Vita Merlini*. The variations in his poem from the story as it appears in the prose versions are what we might expect from a writer of Geoffrey's lively invention. The style of the earliest prose version, published by Mr. Ward in his article, suggests a Celtic origin.¹ Hence we may not improbably suppose that if Geoffrey's source was an oral tradition, he may have learned the story from some Welshman. The fact of chief interest, the identification of the historic Myrddin with Merlin Ambrosius, is brought out clearly by Mr. Ward.

"People had certainly begun to identify Lailoken [Myrddin or Merlin Silvester] with Merlin [Ambrosius] when the narrative in Titus A. xix. was written. It says of him: 'qui Lailoken vocabatur quem quidam dicunt fuisse Merlinum, qui erat Britonibus quasi propheta singularis, sed nescitur.' Again, Lailoken utters that prophecy about a triple death (in this case told of himself), which we regard as essentially Merlinesque, because we know it well in the French romance. And lastly, at the end of Part II., when it has been told

¹ Cf. Mr. Ward's note, p. 523.

how he was buried at Drumelzier in Tweeddale, 'in cuius campo lailoken tumulatus quiescit,' the following couplet is added :

' Sude perfossus, lapidem perpressus, et undam,
Merlinus triplicem fertur inisse necem.'

In all other respects, Lailoken is very different indeed from the semi-dæmon who attaches himself to the early kings of Britain. Kentigern describes him as a mere man, subject to cold and hunger, and liable to death. He is much more a madman than a prophet. He can never make the same statement twice over. No one pays much heed to his words until he has died the triple death he had prophesied; and then a few of his other strange sayings are recalled to mind." (p. 512.)

The most instructive lesson to be drawn from this long discussion is the diametrical opposition in opinion of those who have studied the question most carefully. The materials are, in my judgment, too scanty to allow us to affirm or to deny absolutely the existence of an earlier as well as a later Merlin. If the story of the boy without a father be a myth, we may yet suppose that the myth enclosed some small kernel of truth, even though we may not hope to discover what the exact truth is. If we adopt Mr. Skene's opinion, and assign the Chronicle of Nennius (or portions of it) to the seventh century, or take the more common view which refers it to the ninth century, we may well suppose the author to have been conversant with British traditions relating to the bard Myrddin. If the whole early account of the Enchanter Merlin be legendary, we have nothing to prove that the legend¹ existed as a whole before the birth of the historical Myrddin of the sixth century. If it be a later growth than the time of the real Myrddin, we need have no more difficulty with the mythical features than we have with the mythical Charlemagne

¹ I have elsewhere taken account of the possible oriental element in the account given by Nennius. See supplementary notes.

of the *Chanson de Roland*, or the mythical traits added to the character of Godefroid de Bouillon in the *Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne*.

My own belief is, that the only really historical personage is the Welsh bard Myrddin, while the Merlin of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini* is, as we have seen, the same personage with the addition of confusing details borrowed from the life of Merlin Ambrosius. I also incline to think that Merlin Ambrosius is for the most part legendary, but that what we actually know of him can scarcely be more uncertain. As for his name, Geoffrey borrowed the name *Ambrosius* from Nennius, and Merlin (Myrddin) from Welsh tradition. A slight amount of actual prophetic Welsh tradition, added to a much larger amount of prophecy concocted by Geoffrey himself, made up the book of Merlin's prophecies. I hardly think that Geoffrey of Monmouth knew at first-hand the Welsh poems which have come down to us. If he did, the use he made of them was exceedingly slight. On the other hand, if we suppose him to have got his acquaintance with Welsh legend mainly through oral tradition, we have little difficulty in accounting for the genesis of Merlin Ambrosius, and for the confusion of the two prophets in the *Vita Merlini*. We may suppose Geoffrey at first to have known vaguely of a Welsh bard or prophet, and to have heard the name of Merlin (Myrddin) connected with the story of a boy without a father. These slight hints were all that his active mind needed to enable him to string together the materials which floating tradition and his own imagination furnished him. Such, at any rate, is the conclusion gradually forced upon me in the progress of this investigation, but I should be glad to abandon this theory for one better grounded.

The question, then, stands very nearly where it did when we started; and it need not detain us much longer. We have found that Geoffrey of Monmouth was the first or among the first to

assert the identity of Merlin Ambrosius with Merlin (Myrddin) the Caledonian, and that Giraldus Cambrensis was the first to assert explicitly that Merlin Ambrosius was not the same as Merlin the Caledonian. Since the time of Giraldus we have discovered no important materials (unknown in his day), while we have probably lost much then extant; so that, in spite of our more critical methods, we can scarcely do more than to balance probabilities and to confess our ignorance. As for the Welsh poems, it appears probable that at least portions may be referred to the sixth century, and that a Welsh bard of the name of Myrddin actually existed. In the interval between the death of Myrddin and the time when the short chronicle of Nennius was committed to writing a tradition had arisen of a wonderful diviner. This tradition may have owed something to floating tales concerning Myrddin, even though his name may not have been uniformly associated with them all. During this intermediate stage of development the mythical element was first introduced, but how long the mythical features had existed cannot be definitely fixed. Yet we may be well-nigh certain that the essentially oriental motive in the story of the boy whose blood was to be sprinkled on the foundations of Vortigern's tower did not originate with Nennius. Exactly what is the origin of all the other features we may hardly presume to guess, but that some are Celtic seems not unlikely.

Of one thing, however, we may be certain: the Merlin of the French romances owed nothing directly to the Welsh poems that have come down to us, though floating Celtic legend contributed more than one striking element to the great prose cycle—notably the story of Nymiane. We must not expect perfect unity in the conception of the French romancers. In all probability the romancers had no critical knowledge of the legend, and would not have cared a straw whether their accounts of Merlin were confused or not. They contentedly

jumbled together elements which were perfect strangers to one another before they were violently incorporated into the original story. Throughout the romances we have no hint that more than one Merlin was known, so that, whether invention played a large part or not, we find a multitude of incidents bearing no analogy whatever to the known facts of the life of the Bard Myrddin. If, therefore, we assume two Merlins, we must admit that with one of them the French romances have little or nothing to do; if we assume but one Merlin (Myrddin), we must admit that his features have been altered almost beyond recognition. Confused the portrait of Merlin in the romances certainly is, in the sense that it groups together elements of very diverse character; but the portrait is not unharmonious, and by the very multiplicity of details it seems far more real to us than the shadowy figure outlined by the Welsh bards.

IX.

NOTES ON THE SOURCES.

We are now prepared to look a little farther, and to trace some of the materials of which the romance is composed. The ultimate source of many of the incidents is sufficiently obscure; but of the romance as a whole we may say that it is a French superstructure, reared upon a Celtic foundation according to plans supplied by Geoffrey of Monmouth, but greatly modified by Robert de Borron and later romancers.

The setting of the story in the French romance is very different from that in Geoffrey of Monmouth; for in Robert de Borron's tale Merlin is the chief character, instead of the subordinate figure that we see in Geoffrey's *Historia*. Hence we find the romancer continually adding traits and incidents of which there is no hint in Nennius or Geoffrey. It is evident, therefore, that we cannot account for every line and paragraph, but that we must regard considerable portions as pure invention. The first six chapters of the French romance contain much material essentially the same as portions of Geoffrey's *Historia*. But this matter Robert probably got at second-hand, for there is no reason to think that he knew any language but his own. Yet we may well suppose that Robert was familiar, at least at second-hand, with floating Celtic tradition, and that he picked up from the lips of wandering singers and story-tellers more than one of the details of his romance. Some legends would unquestionably have come to his ears in that story-telling age; but just which of his materials were so derived is a matter of conjecture. Gaston Paris has argued strongly against Robert's familiarity with Latin,¹ and has urged that he got the leading features of the legend more or less directly from Wace² or other French translators of Geoffrey, and modified the outline according to his fading recollection of minor details, piecing out the story with his own inventions.

The following notes on the leading incidents make no pretence to be exhaustive, and they take little account of minor variations from Wace and Geoffrey of Monmouth.³

¹ *Merlin*, Introd. pp. x.-xviii.

² Cf. P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, i. p. 336.

³ In tracing the sources I have freely availed myself of the investigations of Villemarqué, Paulin Paris, Gaston Paris, Kölbing, Rhys, and others.

THE MERLIN OF ROBERT DE BORRON.

1. *Council of Demons* (p. 1).

This was probably suggested by the Gospel of Nicodemus (chap. xvii.), which had been turned into French verse before Robert de Borron wrote.¹

2. *Begetting of a Child by the agency of a Demon*² (p. 3).

This incident in its simple form is found in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Reg. Brit.* vi. 18; Wace, *Brut*, ll. 7623–7644. The belief in the existence of incubi seems to have been very general in the Middle Ages. Geoffrey himself refers to Apuleius, who gives a very singular account of the Demon of Socrates in the *Liber de deo Socratis*, but Apuleius has nothing to say of incubi. St. Augustine, in *De Civitate Dei*, xv. 23, mentions incubi under the name *dusii* or *drusii*—

“Et quoniam creberrima fama est, multique se expertos, vel ab eis qui experti essent, de quorum fide dubitandum non est, audisse confirmant, Silvanos, et Faunos, quos vulgo incubos vocant, improbos saepe exstitisse mulieribus, et earum appetisse ac peregissee concubitus; et quosdam daemones, quos Dusios Galli nuncupant, hanc assidue immunditiam et tentare et efficere, plures talesque asseverant ut hoc negare impudentiae videatur: non hinc aliquid audeo definire, utrum aliqui spiritus elemento aërio corporati (nam hoc elementum etiam cum agitur flabello, sensu corporis tactuque sentitus) possint etiam hanc pati libidinem, ut quomodo possunt sentientibus feminis misceantur.”

¹ G. Paris, *Merlin*, Introd. i. p. xii. Cf. *Trois versions rimées de l'Évangile de Nicodème*, Soc. des Anc. Textes, 1885. The Latin text has been edited by Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Lipsiae, 1876.

² Cf. G. Paris, *Merlin*, Introd. p. 13; and Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Works, vol. ii. p. 763 (note by Selden): “I shall not believe that other than true bodies on bodies can generate, except by swiftness of motion in conveying of stolen seed some unclean spirit might arrogate the improper name of generation.” Cf. also Alf. Maury, *La Magie et l'Astrologie au Moyen Âge*, p. 189, where the *deuce* is discussed. Very curious information on the entire subject of demons may be found in Jean Bodin's *Demonomanie*, Paris, 1580, and in Joh. Wier's *De Praestigiis daemonum et incantationibus ac veneficiis*, Basel, 1563.

When, in the course of the Middle Ages, the belief grew up that Antichrist¹ was to be born of a devil and a virgin, just as Christ was born of the Holy Ghost and a virgin, we see that the essential elements of the story, as we find it in the romance, were already at hand.²

Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III. sec. 2, mem. i. subs. 1, gives a considerable discussion of the intercourse of the Devil with women. For several other references see Dunlop's *Hist. of Fiction* (1888), i. p. 146, note; i. p. 156, note; ii. pp. 461, 462; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, art. *Incubi*; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. pp. 189 and 193.

We may incidentally note that when Merlin reaches the age of twelve months he is uttering wise sayings. In the romance of *Kyng Alisaunder* (Morley's *English Writers*, iii. p. 297) we read of women in the East who bear but one child in their lives. "This child is able to begin talking to its mother as soon as it is born."

3. *The Punishment of being Buried Alive*

(p. 5) is that to which vestal virgins were condemned if unfaithful to their vows. Cf. also Dunlop's *Hist. of Fiction* (1888), i. p. 147, note.

4. *Sprinkling of Foundation with Blood* (pp. 23-28).

Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* 40, 42; Geoffrey, *Hist. Reg. Brit.* vi. 17. Also in Wace and other translators of Geoffrey. For other references see Dunlop's *Hist. of Fiction* (1888), i. p. 461.

¹ Wulfstan, *Homily xvi.*, *De temporibus Antichristi* (p. 95), has: "Crist is sōð god and sōð mann, and Antecrist bið sōðlice deofol and mann." See also Ebert *Allgem. Gesch. der Lit. des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, i. p. 97; iii. p. 480.

² Kölbing (*Altenglische Bibl.* iv. p. lxi.) points out interesting parallels between the mysterious origin of Merlin and that of Richard in the Romance of *Richard Coeur de Leon*, l. 207 sqq. The mother of Richard was, according to the romance, in league with the Devil, since she could not hear mass; and when compelled to hear it, she flew through the roof with her two children.

5. *The Hermit Blase* (p. 23).

Blase may be a mere invention, but Kölbing calls attention¹ to three passages in Lazamon's *Brut*, where a hermit is mentioned whom Merlin knows and visits. Lazamon translated (c. 1200) Wace, and made some additions, due in part, it may be, to oral tradition. Robert de Borron, of course, knew nothing of Lazamon, but the two writers might easily have stumbled upon the same popular story, preserved as a local tradition in more detail in one district than in another.²

6. *Vortigern and the Sons of Constance* (p. 24).

(1) Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist.* vi. 5-9.

(2) Wace, *Brut*, ll. 6585-6859.

7. *Vortigern's Tower, and the Boy without a Father* (pp. 27-31).

(1) Nennius, *Hist.* 40, 41.

(2) Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist.* vi. 17, 19.

(3) Wace, *Brut*, ll. 7491-7710.

M. Gaster has shown that there are curious parallels between the early history of Merlin and several Jewish legends relating to the building of Solomon's Temple, which are told of Ashmedai and Ben Sira, and that these legends are at least as old as the eighth or ninth century.³

¹ *Altenglische Bibl.* iv. p. cxii.

² Mr. Scott F. Surtees, in a short study on *Merlin and Arthur* (E.E.T.S., 1871), identifies Blase with Lupus, but his theory is badly reasoned out. He even identifies Merlin with Germanus (see also p. xc., *ante*). We may admit that certain elements are borrowed from the lives of Lupus and Germanus without assuming identity. Paulin Paris thinks that Blase was introduced as a sort of excuse for the inventions of the romancer, and compares the hermit with the false Dares, Callisthenes, Turpin, etc.—*Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. 32, 33.

³ Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibl.* iv. p. cvi. Mr. Ward, of the British Museum, in calling my attention in conversation (April 22, 1890) to this same matter, suggested that the similarity of incident is not due to borrowing, but rather to the fact that the conception had become common property. As early as 1836, F. Michel, *Vita Merlini* (Introd. p. lxxi.) pointed out the oriental element in this

8. *Merlin's bursts of Laughter on going to Vortigern* (pp. 33, 34).

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Vita Merlini*, ll. 490–532.

The setting of these two incidents is, of course, very different in the prose romance and in the *Vita Merlini*. In the poem, Merlin laughs at a beggar who has a concealed treasure, and at a young fellow with a pair of new shoes, who will soon be drowned. The incident of the shoes appears to have been a widely diffused mediæval legend; and there is good ground for thinking that Robert de Borron did not get it from the *Vita Merlini*.

Without insisting on Robert's ignorance of Latin, we may note that there are in the *Vita Merlini* two instances of Merlin's knowledge, which, as G. Paris remarks,¹ are not less piquant than those here given, and which we might, perhaps, expect Robert to reproduce, but with which he seems not to have been acquainted. The evidence is, however, negative, and should not be pressed too far. Gaston Paris refers to the Hebrew legend of the Talmud, and calls attention to the similarity of the story related of the demon Ashmedai, who was brought before Solomon.²

The story of the priest chanting at the head of the funeral procession, in which was borne a dead child that was really the priest's own son, is found in a modified form in Straparola's

incident as found in "The History of the Temple of Jerusalem"—translated from the Arabic MS. of Imam Jalal-Addin al Siûti, with notes and dissertations, by the Rev. James Reynolds, B.A. Lond., 1836, 8vo. Here, too, is a parallel to Merlin's bursts of laughter.

¹ *Merlin*, Introd. i. p. xv.

² For a further account of the history of this legend, see M. Gaster's *Jewish Sources of and Parallels to the Early English Metrical Legends of King Arthur and Merlin*, Lond., 1887. Gaster also gives (*Feuilleton-Zeitung*, No. 299, Berlin, March 26, 1890) a Rumanian legend (quoted by Kölbing) of the Archangel Gabriel and a hermit, in which the same motive recurs. Kölbing points out that the Italian version of *Merlin* varies somewhat the account of the churl and the shoes. *Allenglische Bibl.* iv. p. cxi. note.

Tredecim Piaceroli Notte (Venice, 1550). Gaston Paris remarks¹ that the tale probably came to Robert de Borron as one of the floating oral traditions on the *devinailles* of Merlin.²

9. *The Fight of the Dragons, and the Interpretation* (pp. 38–40).

- (1) Nennius, *Hist.* 42.
- (2) Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist.* vii. 3, 4; viii. 1.
- (3) Wace, *Brut*, ll. 7711–7776.

Wace omits the interpretation by Geoffrey of Monmouth, though he gives the prediction of the death of Vortigern. The interpretation in the prose romance of *Merlin* is different from that in Geoffrey's *Historia*. For instance, in Geoffrey's account the red dragon betokens the British nation, while the white dragon denotes the Saxons. In the romance the red dragon signifies Vortigern, and the white dragon typifies the two sons of Constance. As Robert de Borron cannot have got his interpretation from either Geoffrey or Wace, he must have either invented it or had access to oral or written sources unknown to us.³

10. *Death of Vortigern* (p. 42).

- (1) Nennius, *Hist.* 47, 48.
- (2) Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist.* viii. 2.
- (3) Wace, *Brut*, ll. 7777–7848.

The *Merlin* strangely confuses the original account. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, the three sons of *Constantine* were Constance, who became a monk, Aurelius, and Uter-Pendragon; while in the romance we read (p. 24) of a king Constance who

¹ *Merlin*, Introd. p. xv.

² We may note that the mother of the judge (p. 20) had got her boy with a priest. Cf. p. 34 of the English version.

³ The tale of Llud and Llevelis in the *Mabinogion* (vol. iii.) contains the story of the two dragons—the white and the red—much the same as in Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Cf. p. c., ante.

"hadde thre sones, the first hight Moyne [that is, a monk], and the tother Pendragon, and the thirde Vter."¹

11. *Merlin's Prophecy of the Threefold Death of a Baron* (p. 51).

Vita Merlini, ll. 310-321 ; ll. 391-417.

In the *Vita* it is a page whose death is prophesied, and it is the queen who disguises him as a woman. G. Paris suggests² that Robert de Borron probably got the story indirectly. The different setting seems due to Robert's own invention.

12. *Merlin brings from Ireland the Stones of Stonehenge* (p. 58).

(1) Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist.* viii. 10, 11, 12.

(2) Wace, *Brut*, ll. 8207-8386.

The circumstances and the purpose are very different in the romance from what is related in the earlier accounts. In Geoffrey's *Historia* the stones are brought over because of their healing properties while Aurelius is living. In the romance Uter sets them up on Salisbury Plain as a monument to his brother Pendragon.³

13. *Founding of the Round Table* (p. 59).

Wace, *Brut*, ll. 9994-10,005.

As already remarked, no allusion to the Round Table is made by Geoffrey, though there is reason to suppose that the legend is much older than his *Historia*.⁴ In the references to the Round Table in the *Merlin* there is some confusion.⁵ Wace tells us Arthur founded the Round Table; while the *Merlin* (p. 60)

¹ Cf. G. Paris, *Merlin*, Introd. p. x.

² *Ibid.* p. xvi. Cf. P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. p. 56; Villemarqué, *Myrdhim*, p. 125.

³ Cf. P. Paris, *Romans*, ii. 58.

⁴ But see P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. pp. 64, 65.

⁵ Cf. G. Paris, *Merlin*, Introd. i. p. xvi.

says that it was founded by Uter-Pendragon.¹ Merlin tells the king the story of the table at which Christ had sat, and of the table which Joseph of Arimathea was commanded to make. The third was to be established by the king in the name of the Trinity, and was to have a void place for the knight yet unborn who should bring to an end the adventures of the Holy Grail. This is one of the not infrequent points of contact in our romance of the Grail legends and those of Merlin, though, of course, originally independent.²

14. *Amour of Uter-Pendragon with Ygerne* (pp. 63-78).

(1) Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist.* viii. 19, 20.

(2) Wace, *Brut*,³ ll. 8803-9058.

As we might expect, the variations here introduced by Robert de Borron are considerable, but we cannot take space

¹ For additional references on the Round Table see Dunlop's *Hist. of Fiction* (1888), i. p. 151, note; ii. p. 456. "It would be interesting to understand the signification of the term Round Table. On the whole, it is the table, probably, and not its roundness that is the fact to which to call attention, as it possibly means that Arthur's court was the first early court where those present sat at a table at all in Britain. No such thing as a common table figures at Conchobar's Court or any other described in the old legends of Ireland, and the same applies, we believe, to those of the old Norsemen. The attribution to Arthur of the first use of a common table would fit in well with the character of a Culture Hero, which we have ventured to ascribe to him, and it derives countenance from the pretended history of the Round Table; for the Arthurian legend traces it back to Arthur's father, Uthr Bendragon, in whom we have, under one of his many names, the king of Hades, the realm whence all culture was fabled to have been derived. In a wider sense, the Round Table possibly signified plenty or abundance, and might be compared with the Table of the Ethiopians, at which Zeus and the other gods of Greek mythology used to feast from time to time."—J. Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, pp. 9, 10.

² On the origin of the *Holy Grail* see Rhys's *Studies*, ch. xiii., also p. 170 *sqq.*; and Nutt's *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*.

³ G. Paris remarks that Wace omits the name Gorlois, and that Robert de Borron does the same. Yet Wace at least once mentions Gorlois under the name—"Gornois un quens Cornvalois," l. 8689; "Li quens de Cornuaille," l. 8793; "Que li quens a de Cornuaille," l. 8937. Robert of Brunne, translating Wace, does the same:

"þe Erl of Cornewaille was o þat hyl;

Gorlens he highte, a man of skyl."

ll. 9207, 9208.

for pointing them out. The ultimate source of this story is difficult to determine. It has been compared with the story of David and Uriah, and with the tale of Amphitryon in Ovid.¹ Possibly Geoffrey's biblical or classical reading helped him to a hint; but not improbably the underlying idea had become common property, and need not be referred to any definite source.

As for the frequent metamorphoses of Merlin throughout the romance, they are not essentially different from the metamorphoses of the old mythologies—Proteus, Vertumnus, etc. We need not, therefore, take especial account of the passages where Merlin appears as a blind cripple (p. 73), etc. But we may note that transformations of all sorts are very common in Celtic stories.²

15. *Uter-Pendragon's³ Battles, and his Death* (pp. 92-95).

(1) Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist.* viii. 18, 21-24.

(2) Wace, *Brut*, ll. 9059-9238.

Of course the details of the battles differ in the romance, and in Geoffrey and Wace; but it is a little remarkable that Robert tells us that Pendragon (who in the romance takes the place of the Aurelius Ambrosius of Geoffrey) was killed in the battle of Salisbury (p. 56), while Geoffrey (viii. 14), as well as Wace, says that Pendragon was poisoned, and that Uter afterwards met a similar fate (viii. 24). Our romance has no account of the poisoning, and agrees with Geoffrey (viii. 22) and Wace only in making Uter suffer a long illness, so that he has to be borne in a horse-litter.

We are not obliged to suppose the dragon standard of Uter

¹ Cf. P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. p. 81.

² Cf. e.g. the *Mabinogi* of Manawyddan, Rhys, *Studies*, p. 290; P. Paris, *Romans*, i. 16.

³ For the Celtic Uter-Pendragon see Rhys, *Studies*, p. 256. Cf. also Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, Index I.

the invention of the romancer. Such a standard was used in war by the Dacians and by the Roman emperors after Constantine. A dragon was the standard of Wessex; so, too, in the public processions of the Pope, the image of a dragon under the cross was borne at the end of a lance by *Draconarii*, a name also given to the bearers of the dragon banner of the Roman emperors.¹

16. *Coronation of Arthur*² (pp. 95-107).

Geoffrey (*Hist.* ix. 1) and his translator Wace agree in their account of the boy Arthur. The crown is set upon his head by the Archbishop Dubricius³ at the request of the nobles, because of the increasing numbers of the Saxons. The birth of Arthur (viii. 20) is no mystery. In the romance, on the other hand, the barons know nothing of Arthur till he takes the sword out of the anvil in the presence of the people. This incident of the sword is referred by G. Paris⁴ to biblical legends; and it recurs in various forms in the literature of the Middle Ages.

¹ Cf. Brockhaus, *Conversations-Lexicon*, Art. *Drache*; Dunlop, *Hist. of Fiction* (1888), i. p. 126, note; ii. pp. 449-456.

² For a discussion of "Arthur, historical and mythical," see Rhys, *Studies*, ch. i., especially the summary, p. 47.

³ In the English prose version the name of the archbishop is not given, though in *Arthur and Merlin* (ed. Kölbing), l. 2783, we find "bishop Brice" mentioned, and I have found the name in several of the French MSS. of the prose *Merlin*. In Geoffrey's *Historia* it appears, viii. 12; ix. 1, 4, 12, 13, 15.

⁴ *Merlin*, Introd. p. xx. Cf. also P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, i. 234. Essentially the same incident appears in the *Quête du Graal*, where Lancelot refuses to make the attempt to draw it out, "persuaded that this honour was reserved for the most perfect of knights."—P. Paris, *Romans*, v. p. 330. In *Kyng Alisaunder*, l. 2625 sqq., the prince draws out of the ground a spear. Cf. Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibl.* p. lxi. In the *Völsunga Saga*, cap. iii., Sigmund, son of King Völsung, pulls out of the Branstock the sword at which all others had vainly tugged, and wins it for himself. This sword was the gift of Odin. For an additional reference see Dunlop's *Hist. of Fiction* (1888), i. p. 153, note. For notes on magic swords and spears see W. A. Clouston's remarks "On the Magical Elements in Chaucer's Squire's Tale," Chaucer Soc., pub. 1889, part ii. pp. 372-381.

THE BOOK OF ARTHUR.

We have seen in our examination of the manuscripts that there are several continuations of the original romance of Robert de Borron. One of these continuations is the basis of the second part (pp. 108-699) of our English translation. It remains to discuss briefly the sources of this continuation—the so-called *Book of Arthur*.¹ The study of the manuscripts has thrown light on the way in which the romance was built up piece by piece, but of the origin of the materials the manuscripts tell us nothing.

The study of the sources belongs rather to French scholars than to English; for the investigation demands a minute comparison of the other French Arthurian romances yet unpublished. A large number of questions, too, must be relegated to the Celtic philologist, who must determine the origin of the various groups of personal and local names. Numerous special investigations, with the help of critical texts, must precede the solution of these and other problems. But we must not overlook the fact that many of the elements of the continuation are invented, or at least selected from the common stock of material that lay ready for any romancer who chose to use it, and can be traced to no definite source. Padding of this sort we may pass by without extended remark. In our discussion we can perhaps best take up the chapters in their order, and bestow a few words on the sources of the leading incidents. The great extent of the romance forbids us to touch any but the more important matters, and those only lightly. In many instances the notes scarcely attempt more than to indicate what the questions are.

¹ The author (or authors) of the *Book of Arthur* is unknown. Paulin Paris suggests that he may be the same as the writer of the *Saint-Graal*; but this is a mere conjecture.

The short narrative of Robert de Borron had utilized nearly all that the literature before his time had to tell of the wonder-working Merlin; but the story had quickened the invention of more than one writer. In the recital of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Merlin disappears from view after the adventure of Uter and Ygerne.¹ Robert makes Merlin figure also at the coronation of Arthur.

But after the conception of a diviner and magician was once given, nothing was easier for the romancers who continued Robert's work than to introduce Merlin at all suitable emergencies into the further history of Arthur. This plan involved piecing together in confusing and almost overwhelming detail a congeries of legends and recitals which must have been originally distinct, and in their elements far earlier than the time when the romance was written. Yet out of the confusion stands the outline of a few great events. The rough sketch is furnished by Geoffrey's *Historia*, but in the hands of the romancers this is expanded both by free invention and the insertion of borrowed legends.² In the continuation we trace the several narratives running at times side by side, but separate, and at other times tangled together:—

1. The revolt of the seven kings occupies a considerable portion of the romance (pp. 108–599).

2. The wars with the Saxons, which had already begun in the time of Uter, are directed against both Arthur and the kings revolted from him, and ultimately compel the rebels to make common cause with Arthur.

¹ There occur later two mere references to him—*Hist.* xii. 17, 18.

² Omissions and changes of all sorts occur. In Geoffrey (ix. 1) there is no revolt against Arthur immediately after his coronation. Hoel of Armorica sends help to Arthur against the Saxons (ix. 2). Cheldric is not mentioned in the romance. In Geoffrey (ix. 9) Lot, Urian, and Augusel are brothers. Guanhamara is of Roman descent, and educated under Duke Cador. Arthur's remote conquests (ix. 10, 11) are not reproduced in the romance. Arthur's marriage (ix. 9) occurs in Geoffrey after the defeat of the Saxons, and his coronation after the war with the Romans.

3. The war of King Leodegan with King Rion, and the marriage of Arthur with Gonnore, are more or less of a break in the continuity of the narrative; though, where all is so loosely put together, one may hesitate to determine what is principal and what subordinate.

4. The war with the Romans (p. 639 *sqq.*) is merely supplementary, and not strictly an integral part of the narrative.

5. Along with these larger divisions of the narrative are legends of Merlin, of Nimiane, of Gawain, and others. A slight attempt at unity is made by introducing at intervals the hermit Blase, to whom Merlin relates all that has happened; but this device is crude, and has no advantage further than that it allows Merlin now and then to recapitulate a portion of the story.

CHAPTER VII.

This chapter appears to be for the most part a patchwork of commonplace incidents, though many of the materials are old. The thought of holding a grand court after Arthur's coronation is evidently borrowed, with much modification, from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, ix. 12. But Geoffrey says that Arthur held his court at Pentecost, while the romance (p. 108) places it after the middle of August. On the other hand, Robert de Borron¹ agrees with Geoffrey in making the coronation occur at Pentecost. Of the names here introduced, three at least are taken from Geoffrey, viz. Loth, Urien, Aguysas, though with slight changes of form. Prof. Rhys points out² that these and other names here found are Celtic. Urien is the subject of eight poems in the *Book of Taliessin*.³ Ventres (Nentre of Garlot),⁴ Ydiers

¹ Cf. p. 107 of the *Merlin*.

² *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, chap xi., "Urien and his Congeners."

³ *Ibid.* p. 259.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 323.

(Edern, son of Nûd), Carados, Benbras (Brebras),¹ are easily identified in Celtic legend.

In Geoffrey's account there is no revolt, but the rebellion is naturally enough suggested by the circumstances of Arthur's birth as detailed in the *Merlin* of Robert de Borron, and could be easily invented with the attendant features. Apart from the references to King Leodegan and his war with King Rion, to both of whom we shall recur later, the remainder of the chapter is taken up with the commonplace description of a battle of the Middle Ages. The dragon standard has already been commented upon.

CHAPTER VIII.

This chapter is occupied with the mission of Ulfin and Bretel to King Ban and King Bors. We have a résumé (p. 121) of a part of Robert de Borron's *Merlin*, and an account of the children of Ygerne, different from that given on p. 86 of the romance.

On turning to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, ix. 2, we learn that ambassadors are sent into Armorica to get the help of King Hoel, Arthur's sister's son, against the Saxons; and he provides 15,000 men. In the romance, Ulfin and Bretel, who had already figured in Robert de Borron's *Merlin*, go to Armorica (or Little Britain) for the help of King Ban of Benoyk² and King Bors of Gannes. These are both identified³ by Prof. Rhys with characters in Celtic literature. "The identity of Ban or Pan with Uthr Ben or Uthr Pen-dragon is shown by his name, and the story of his dying immediately after drinking from a certain well (p. 127). This has its counterpart in Geoffrey's account (viii. 24) of Uthr Pendragon's

¹ Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 172.

² On Benoyk (Benoic) see *ibid.* p. 304.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 161, 162.

death in consequence of his foes having poisoned the well he was wont to drink from. Thus Bors readily falls into his place as Ambrosius or Emrys, brother to Uthr Ben, especially as the two are described by Geoffrey as exiles in France, whence they are invited to come over to take possession of this country against Vortigern and his allies. But under the name Ambrosius or Emrys were confounded the historical Aurelius Ambrosius and the mythic Merlin Ambrosius, in whom we appear to have the Celtic Zeus in one of his many forms." Bors is "the same person called Bort in the Welsh Triads, for, besides the similarity of the name, Bors, like Bort, was one of those who found the Holy Grail."¹ Ban and Bors are warred upon in their own realm by King Claudas de la deserte, in whom Paulin Paris² thought he could recognize Clovis, King of the Franks, or Clotaire I., his successor. "Nam Britanni sub Francorum potestate fuerunt post obitum regis Chlodowei, et comites non reges appellati sunt." (Greg. Tur. iv. 3, A.D. 549.)

The other incidents of the chapter relate to the adventures of Ulfín and Bretel, and are plainly invented.

CHAPTER IX.

1. Most of this chapter appears to demand no especial source, as it is largely taken up with the details of Arthur's first great tournament; but there seems little reason to doubt that the original suggestion of this feature came from Geoffrey's *Historia*, ix. 13, 14.

2. The interesting detail with regard to Kay that he was hated because of his surly tongue, and that this was due to his having been nursed by a woman of lower rank than his

¹ Rhys, p. 161. For the part that Ban and Bors play in the legends of the Grail, see Nutt's *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, Index I.

² *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. 109.

mother (p. 135), is shown by Gaston Paris to point to a widespread superstition of the Middle Ages.¹

3. Towards the end of the chapter, Guynobans, the brother of Ban and Bors, is mentioned (pp. 138-140) as a great clerk whom Merlin teaches many things. What use the young fellow makes of his knowledge we shall see later (*Merlin*, p. 361). Now in Geoffrey's *Historia*, v. 16, a certain Guanius joins with Melga in slaying Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins. According to Rhys,² "The Welsh versions usually have Melwas and Gwynwas: it is the latter name also, probably, that meets us in Malory's Gwinas, i. 15, and Gwenbaus, brother to Ban and Bors, i. 11."

4. At the end of this chapter we have the words (p. 131)—
 "But now cesseth the tale of hem, and returneth to speke of kyng Arthur, that is lefte at Logres." This is one of the very numerous instances in the second branch of the *Merlin* of this kind of transition. Paulin Paris finds³ in these *laissez* an additional proof of the dual authorship of the romance, for nothing of the sort appears in the prose redaction of the *Joseph of Arimathea* or in the first branch of the *Merlin*, although so common in the second branch (pp. 108-699) and in the *Saint-Graal*.

CHAPTER X.

1. The greater portion of the details of the battle of Bredigan is, of course, pure invention, though the legend of the battle itself may have some more substantial basis. This battle parallels the earlier one of Arthur with the rebel kings.⁴

¹ *Merlin*, Introd. I. p. xxi.

² *Studies*, p. 343, note.

³ *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. 160.

⁴ Cf. P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. 124.

2. The entrusting of a ring to Merlin, which he is to show as a token to Leonces de Paerne (p. 143), is a very familiar motive, much older than the romance.

3. Merlin's account of King Rion and of Leodegan and his daughter Gonnore (p. 114) is repeated (p. 141) in much the same terms, with some additional touches. The discussion of this matter, however, belongs more properly to chap. xiv., and later.

CHAPTER XI.

For the two chief incidents here detailed I can cite no specific source. The transformations of Merlin may be compared with those recounted by Geoffrey of Monmouth. The poetic glamour in the story of the great churl coming through the meadows, with his bow and arrows, and his coat and hood of russet, seems to suggest some other source than the invention of the French romancer, but I have hit upon nothing precisely the same. Cf. Malory's *Morte Darthur*, book i. chap. xvii.

CHAPTERS XII, XIII.

1. In these chapters we have a prolix account of the return of the Saxons, and of their ravages in Britain. Much of the geography is fantastic, and cannot be explained. But several of the place-names, though strangely disguised, probably represent actual localities.¹

¹ I cannot take space for details, but refer the reader to Prof. Rhys's *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, Index. See also J. S. Stuart Glennie's *Essay on Arthurian Localities* (E.E.T.S. No. 36), and the index of place-names to Malory's *Morte Darthur* (ed. Sommer), vol. ii. The conclusion of P. Paris on this matter is as follows: "Tout ce qu'on peut donc assurer, c'est que la scène des récits qui touchent à la France embrasse la Touraine, l'Anjou, la Poitou, la Marche, la Bretagne, une partie de l'Auvergne, et de la basse Bourgogne" (*Romans*, ii. 111). Trebes is Trèves, on the borders of Benoyk and Berry. Benoyk is Vannes. "La terre deserte est le Berry, dont la capitale est Bourges et le roi Claudas" (ii. 110, 111). Cf. also Dunlop's *Hist. of Fiction* (1888), i. 198, note.

2. The account of the begetting of Mordred (pp. 180, 181) is variously told in the romances,¹ and in Geoffrey's *Historia*, ix. 9. Geoffrey calls him Arthur's nephew and Lot's son, and seems to know nothing of Arthur's incest with his sister. But the basis of the whole story of Mordred is certainly Celtic, and this ugly feature is doubtless a part of the original myth.²

3. The account of Gawain's conversation with his mother (p. 185 *sqq.*) may be compared with that of Ewein and his mother (p. 241), the second being evidently a mere variant of the first. The singular detail with regard to the waxing and waning of Gawain's strength (p. 182) is touched upon by Prof. Rhys,³ who finds in it evidence for regarding Gawain as a solar hero.

4. The enchantress Carnile, who is here mentioned (p. 185) along with Morgain and Nimiane, is evidently to be referred to the same mythical sources with them.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The entire story of the relations of Arthur with Gonnore has been greatly embellished by the romancers, with the result that no two accounts precisely agree. In Geoffrey's *Historia* there are but three references to Guanhumara, and of these the first only (ix. 9) is important for our immediate purpose. There she is said to have belonged to a noble Roman family, to have been educated under Duke Cadur, and to have excelled in beauty all other women in the island. Geoffrey's whole

¹ Cf. P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. p. 105 *sqq.*; G. Paris, *Merlin*, Introd. i. p. xl. *sqq.*

² Cf. Rhys, *Studies*, p. 20 *sqq.* and the index. Also Dunlop's *Hist. of Fiction* (1888), i. p. 183, note; ii. p. 220, note. On the "black cross" mentioned on p. 181 of the romance, see P. Paris, *Romans*, i. 302.

³ *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 14. Cf. also Malory's *Morte Darthur*, iv. 18; vii. 15, 17; xviii. 3; xx. 21. For Gawain's part in the story of the Grail, see Nutt's *Studies*, Index I.

account of Guanhumara tallies hardly at all with the account in the *Book of Arthur* and in the other romances, to say nothing of the Celtic sources.¹

2. As for Leodegan, I can throw no light on the origin of the story of his wars with Rion. Malory touches lightly upon Leodegan (i. 17, 18; iii. 1), but tells us little about the conflicts with Rion. Still, both Leodegan and Rion play too large a part in the romances to allow us to count them as mere figments of the imagination. With Rion is connected the old story of the mantle fringed with beards. The essential outlines of this incident are found in Geoffrey's *Historia*, x. 3, where Arthur, after overcoming the giant of Mt. St. Michel, says that he had found none so strong since he had killed the giant Ritho on Mt. Aravius. In our romance (p. 649) we read that "neuer hadde thei seyn so grete a feende," and on p. 649 we find no mention of Ritho. Malory also omits the name, and makes Arthur say: "This was the fyerst gyaunt that euer I mette with / saue one in the mount of Arabe / whiche I ouercame / but this was gretter and fyerse" (*Le Morte Darthur*, v. 5).

Ritho had made furs for himself of the beards of the kings he had killed, and he offered to give Arthur's beard the most prominent place. We have in our romance two accounts² of this mantle, with characteristic differences. In the first (p. 115), we are told that Rion had conquered twenty crowned kings, and made a mantle of their beards, and that he had sworn not to cease till he had conquered thirty kings. According to the second account (pp. 619, 620), he had flayed off the beards of nine kings, and he now wanted Arthur's beard for

¹ For some account of the Celtic sources see Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, ch. ii., especially p. 38, and the whole of ch. iii., "Gwenhwyvar and her Captors."

² At the beginning of the French romance *Li Chevaliers as deus espées* occurs the incident of the demanding of Arthur's beard by King Ris. Cf. also *Layamon* (ed. Madden), iii. p. 398.

the tassels. In Geoffrey, Ritho is a giant; and in our romance Rion is called "kyng of the londe of Geauntes and of the londe of pastures" (p. 114). Later, he is called king of Ireland (pp. 175, 208); king of Denmark and Ireland (p. 228); king of "Denmarke and Islonde" (p. 327); king of the Isles (p. 619); and lord of all the west (p. 620).

In the romance of *Arthur*, as outlined by Dunlop (*Hist. of Fiction*, 1888, vol. i. p. 224), we read that Laodogant "had been attacked by King Ryon, a man of a disposition so malevolent that he had formed to himself a project of possessing a mantle furred with the beards of those kings he should conquer. He had calculated with the grand-master of his wardrobe that a full royal cloak would require forty beards: he had already vanquished five kings, and reckoned on a sixth beard from the chin of Laodogant. Arthur and his knights totally deranged this calculation by defeating King Ryon. Laodogant, in return for the assistance he had received, offered his daughter, the celebrated Geneura, in marriage to Arthur. Merlin, however, who does not appear to have been a flattering courtier, and who does not seem to have attached to the conservation of Laodogant's beard the importance that it merited, declared that his master must first deserve the princess."

San-Marte pointed out a Celtic legend in which King Rion and his mantle are referred to.¹

3. Most of the other incidents of the chapter are evident inventions or combinations. The details of the battles are much the same throughout the romance, and call for no especial attention. The second Gonnore seems to be a mere variant of the first, and to owe her existence to the ingenuity of the romancer.²

¹ *Beiträge zur bretonischen . . . Heldensage*, p. 60. For the rôle of Rion in the Huth *Merlin* see G. Paris, *Introd.* i. p. lxi.

² Cf. also P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. 141.

It may, perhaps, be going too far to see in the substitution of the false Gonnore for the queen a recollection of the legend of Charlemagne's mother, Berte, whose place was usurped, as the story goes, by her servant Aliste; but there is considerable similarity in the two accounts. (Cf. L. Gautier, *Chanson de Roland*, p. 357; Dunlop's *Hist. of Fiction*, revised edition, ii. p. 446.)

4. By the reference to the Holy Grail (p. 229) we are taken into another cycle of legend; while the introduction of the nephew of the Emperor of Constantinople (p. 230, cf. p. 186) is one of several proofs of the influence of oriental material on our romance.¹ This young man figures in many other Arthurian romances.

CHAPTER XV.

For this chapter we can scarcely hope to find a definite source. The actual wars with the Saxons doubtless gave rise to Celtic traditions which were handed on with endless permutations of essentially the same incidents; but the general similarity of the various battles warns us not to look for the source of more than an occasional name or incident.²

CHAPTERS XVI., XVII., XVIII.

In these chapters we find a host of easily manufactured incidents, of which I can cite but a few. Seigramor is again brought in (p. 259), but no especially striking motive is introduced. On p. 262 *sqq.* Merlin appears in the guise of an old man. This transformation may be compared with that in Robert de Borron's *Merlin* (p. 72). On p. 263, the old man calls Gawain a coward. The same incident in another

¹ For the Saigremors who appears in Chrestien's *Conte du Graal* and in other legends of the *Grail*, see Nutt's *Studies*, Index I.

² Cf. the conversation of Ewein with that of Gawain in chap. xii.

form reappears a little later (p. 297). Other parallels suggest themselves, as, for example, p. 279, where Merlin appears disguised as a churl, much the same as on p. 167.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. In this chapter the romancer doubtless makes use of older materials, considerably modified to suit his needs. The prophecies (p. 304 *sqq.*) seem to have been suggested by the similar prophecies of Geoffrey's *Historia*, book vii.

2. The meeting of Merlin and Nimiane is here detailed in a form that does not recur in the other romances. As is well known, Malory (iv. 1) identifies the maiden whom Merlin loved with one of the ladies of the lake. Her name appears in various forms, easily explicable when one takes account of the confusion in the MSS. of the letters *u* and *n* and *m*. The original Celtic character underwent a variety of transformations at the hands of the romancers, who combined and differentiated the original legends with little regard for consistency. We may be somewhat surprised to find Rhÿs identifying Nimiane with Morgain le Fee, but of the justice of this there can be little question.¹

As for the wonders² that Merlin performs before Nimiane,

¹ Cf. G. Paris, *Merlin*, Introd. p. lxx. Rhÿs, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, pp. 284, 348, compares Nimiane with Rhiannon, wife of PwyH. Cf. also Nutt's *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 232, my discussion of the *Vita Merlini*, and Sommer's *Morte Darthur*, vol. iii. p. 117 *sqq.* Cf. also Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* (4th ed.), pp. 342, 533, 685; n. 117, 128; Dunlop's *Hist. of Fiction* (1888), i. 186, note.

² "Manni, in his *Ist. del Decam.* ii. 97, cites an anonymous MS. where it is said that Boeccaccio's story [of a garden produced by enchantment: *Decam.* Giorn. x.] is found in a collection much older than his time, and adds that Giovanni Tritermio relates how a Jewish physician, in the year 876, caused by enchantment a splendid garden to appear, with trees and flowers in full bloom, in mid-winter. A similar exploit is credited to Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth century. The notion seems to have been brought to Europe from the East, where stories of saints, dervishes, or jogis performing such wonders have been common time out of mind."—*Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, part iv. (1886), p. 332, note.

they belong to the familiar tricks of the mediaeval 'tregetours,' referred to by Chaucer in the *House of Fame*, book iii., and in the *Frankelneys Tale*.¹

CHAPTER XX.

1. This chapter affords scarcely any really new material; for the interminable details of the hand-to-hand conflicts are essentially repetitions, with slight increment, of the details of the preceding battles.

2. Merlin's prophecies here deserve as little attention as the prophecies of the preceding chapter. Guyomar is a disguised form of "Guigemar for Guihomarc[h]us."² He is here introduced (p. 316) for the first time, but he reappears later in the story (p. 507 *sqq.*).

3. The account of Nascien (pp. 326, 327) borrows hints from the Grail legend.³

4. Merlin's enchantments are of a piece with those in the previous battles. The pretty little scene where Gonnore arms her lover Arthur (pp. 322, 323) is probably the invention of the romancer; as is also the scene where King Leodegan falls on his knee before his steward Cleodalis, and asks pardon for the wrongs he has committed against him.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The chapter opens with the enchantments of Guynebans (pp. 361-363), which are essentially the same as those of Merlin⁴ (p. 309). Here, as elsewhere, the romancer returns several times upon his tracks.

¹ Cf. also Warton's *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, sec. xv.

² Rhys. *Studies*, p. 394.

³ Cf. *ibid.* pp. 320-322; Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, Index I.

⁴ Cf. P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. 199. These marvels do not differ widely from those which an old man recounts to Lancelot after he has left the Château des Mares and gone to the Forêt Perdue (*ibid.* v. 311).

2. A considerable part of the chapter is devoted to the invented details of battles; but the finding of the treasure (p. 370), and the meeting of Arthur with Gawain and the children (p. 371 *sqq.*), may go back to a somewhat older account. Of course, there is nothing especially striking in any of these incidents; but Gawain is the theme of such a multitude of traditions, some of which are certainly Celtic, that we make no improbable supposition in thinking that the tradition is in this case older than the romance.

CHAPTER XXII.

This chapter appears to contain little else than mere padding. There is the same familiar fighting, there are the usual enchantments by Merlin, the same fiery dragon (pp. 393, 406), but new motives are conspicuously absent. The introduction of the Romans anticipates the more striking account in chap. xxxii., which follows with considerable variation Geoffrey of Monmouth's story of the battles of Arthur with the Romans.

CHAPTER XXIII.

This chapter contains three leading incidents—the dreams of King Ban and his wife; Merlin's visit to his love; and, lastly, the dream of Julius Caesar, Emperor of Rome, with the adventures of Grisandol.

1. The motive of the first set of dreams is familiar enough to warrant us in regarding them as inventions of the redactor.

2. Merlin's visit to his love possesses the mysterious charm that appears everywhere in Celtic legend; and I cannot help believing that this incident is essentially of Celtic origin, though I can find no earlier version than in the *Merlin*.

3. The last incident appears to combine a variety of different elements. In the appearance of Merlin as a savage we have, perhaps, a lingering tradition originally relating to Myrddin the Bard. In the repeated laughs of Merlin we have reproduced in varied form motives appearing in chap. ii. Merlin's laugh when brought before the Emperor of Rome (p. 432)¹ parallels the third laugh of Merlin in the romance of *Arthur and Merlin*; only there it is Vortigern who takes the place of the Emperor, and the setting is different. We may compare, too, the somewhat similar incident in the *Vita Merlini* (ll. 253–294). Merlin is taken and bound. Suddenly he laughs as the queen passes through the hall, and the king picks a leaf out of her hair; but the bard refuses to tell why he has laughed unless he is set at liberty. Rodarchus orders it to be done. Then Merlin explains that the king is more faithful to the queen than she to him.²

One motive of the incident of the twelve disguised chamberlains appears in a modified form in the *Roman des Sept Sages*, but the hint was probably borrowed from the *Merlin*.³

¹ It is interesting to find Merlin giving a new account of his birth to the Emperor. His mother lost her way in the forest of "Brocheland," and a savage man came to her. She bore a child, who was baptized (p. 428).

² Cf. Uhland's ballad on *Merlin der Wilde*, in which a king's daughter is the guilty one, instead of the queen.

³ M. Gaston Paris (*Roman des Sept Sages de Rome*, Introd. pp. xxxvii., xxxviii.) remarks on this incident—"Quant au dénouement de ce long drame à tiroirs, le traducteur a cru le rendre plus intéressant et plus moral en ajoutant à la faute de l'impératrice envers son beau-fils un autre crime, son adultère habituel avec un *ribaud* habillé en femme. Le fonds de cette addition malencontreuse n'est pas d'ailleurs de son invention: il la prise dans le roman de *Merlin*, en l'adoucissant toutefois un peu; car ce n'est pas un seul *ribaud* que Merlin sait découvrir parmi les femmes de l'épouse de Jules-César, ce sont les douze chambrières de l'impératrice qui sont des hommes travestis." M. Paris adds in a footnote—"Voyez sur ce récit et les rapprochements auxquels il prête les articles de MM. Liebrecht et Benfey, *Orient und Occident*, t. i. p. 341, etc. Cette histoire a passé, sous forme de nouvelle, dans le recueil de Nicolas de Troyes, le *Grand Parangon des nouvelles nouvelles*, où elle est la cxxiv^e du second volume, le seul conservé. Mabille ne la pas admise dans le choix qu'il a publié dans la Bibliothèque elzévirienne (1869); mais

CHAPTER XXIV.

All the incidents of this chapter appear to be invented; but the names recur elsewhere than in the *Merlin*.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. The central incident of this chapter is the marriage of Arthur with Gonnore. There is little to add to what has been already remarked. The original hint is, of course, taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth (ix. 9). In Geoffrey's account Arthur marries Guanhamara after he has subdued the Saxons, and he is not crowned till after all his conquests that occur before the war with the Romans.

2. As an instance of the habit of the romancers to make a motive go as far as possible, we may note that in the tournament at Toraise, after Arthur's marriage, Gawain lays about him with a spar of oak, and stops only when Merlin tells him he has done enough (p. 461). In the tournament at Logres, Gawain repeats the same performance with an apple-tree club (p. 493).¹

3. The story of the false Gonnore is in its details the invention of the romancer, but some of the material is doubtless not due to him. We find that the trouble which

il l'avait imprimée dans une première publication, parue à Bruxelles et Paris in 1862; elle y porte le n° lxii. : c'est un extrait textuel du roman." Cf. also P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. 44; Dunlop's *Hist. of Fiction* (1888), i. 459-461; Meyer, *Indogermanische Mythen*, i. 153, 154. A. Vesselovsky has attempted to show that "the whole legend of Merlin is based upon the apocryphal history of Solomon" * and Martolf, but the case cannot be said to be made out, although there are undoubted parallels at more than one point.

* See Dunlop's *Hist. of Fiction* (1888), i. p. 457.

¹ Cf. P. Paris, *Romans*, ii. 256. Cf. also the story of Eldol, Geoffrey's *Hist.* vi. 16, and *Havelok*, ll. 1968, 1969—

"Havelok grop þe dore-tre,
And [at] a dint he slow hem þre."

the false Gonnore made for the Queen is related in *Lancelot*,¹ where is recounted the banishment of Gonnore² and the story of Bertelak. The putting of Britain under an interdict, as well as the malady of the false Gonnore, is touched upon (iv. 191). How old the story is, may not be easy to determine, but it seems to be in its essentials older than the *Book of Arthur*.

CHAPTER XXVI.

In this chapter there appears to be very little but invention. But at the very beginning (pp. 470, 471) is the banishment of Bertelak, just referred to; and on p. 484 is the admirable portrait of Dagenet the Fool (pp. 483, 484), who seems to be an old type. One may easily suspect that the romancer was drawing this character from life.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. The references at the beginning of this chapter to the Holy Grail may be left for explanation to those who have traced the origin of that legend.

2. The leading theme of the chapter is the mission of King Loth and his four sons to the rebel kings.³ In Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 337 the account runs parallel with our version as far as p. 509, l. 7. After that point the French version that is followed by the English translator seems to be almost entirely independent of the version in MS. 337. We may suppose that the later redactor drew freely upon his imagination for details, though he possibly had an older account to

¹ For convenient reference see the Analysis by P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, iv. p. 97 *sqq.* and pp. 148–175.

² *Ibid.* iv. p. 147.

³ We may note that in our version the message of Loth to King Clarion is delivered through Mynoras. This feature does not appear in some of the French MSS. Cf. P. Paris, *Romans*, ii. 275.

guide him in the general course of the story. To follow out the details is quite beyond my purpose.

3. In the references to Pelles and his son (p. 520 *sqq.*) we are again taken into the Grail cycle.¹

4. For an account of Morgain the reader is referred to chap. xix.

CHAPTERS XXVIII, XXIX.

1. These chapters are filled almost entirely with invented details, playing upon material much older than our romance. Gawain—the Walgan of Geoffrey of Monmouth—here assumes especial prominence, and this he keeps till the close of the romance.

2. The mysterious rubbish uttered by Merlin to Blase (p. 563) affords a not too distant parallel to Merlin's prophecies in Geoffrey's *Historia*, book vii.; while the ideal which Merlin sets up for the knight who is to achieve a great work—that he be chaste and the best knight in the world—is the leading motive of the *Quest of the Holy Grail*.

3. The account of Elizer, son of King Pelles of Lytenoys, and “nevewe to the kynge pellenor and to the kynge Alain” (p. 583), takes us again into the Grail cycle.²

CHAPTER XXX.

The adventure of Ban and Bors at the castle of Agravadain (again taken up in chap. xxxiii. pp. 671–675), while hardly fit for a drawing-room story, is certainly related in most decorous style. The exact source is doubtful, though in the mediation of Merlin, in the use of enchantment, and in the innocence of the maiden, there is at least a reminder of

¹ Cf. Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, chap. xii.; Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, Index, i.; P. Paris, *Romans*, iii. 295, 296.

² On the confusion of the genealogies see P. Paris, *Romans*, ii. 278.

the amour of Uter with Ygerne. In certain slight particulars there is a parallel to this incident in the *Chevalier au Lyon* of Chrestien de Troyes. Very possibly the incident in the *Book of Arthur* is borrowed from the *Lancelot*, for we read (p. 610, l. 24) that the "maiden hadde conceyved a sone, of whom launcelot after hadde grete ioye and honour for the bounte and Chiualrie that was in him." We may note, too, that in the *Book of Agravain*, towards the end of the *Lancelot*, we have a somewhat similar incident, though with widely different details. Lancelot is overcome by a philtre, and passes the night with Helene, daughter of King Pelles, supposing her to be the queen Guenever. The old Brisane, governess of the princess, is the go-between, and the child afterwards born is Galahad.¹

CHAPTER XXXI.

Nothing in this chapter calls for especial attention, except the story of King Rion, which has been already discussed (chap. xiv.). Merlin's various disguises really introduce no new motive, though the account of Merlin as a harper (p. 615) is one of the most beautiful bits of description in the entire romance (cf. p. 294).

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. On the vision of Flualis, P. Paris remarks² that it contains nothing Welsh or Breton. The "arrangers" found the story, he thinks, in some special *lai*, and united it as well as they could with the main recital. There is no evidence

¹ Cf. also Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 146; Malory, xi. 2; and P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, v. 309, 324, 325. Cf. an article on the Scottish romance of Roswall and Lillian in *Engl. Studien*, xvii. p. 352, where a somewhat similar story is told as a South Slavonic legend.

² *Romans*, ii. 329.

that the story was treated in a *lai*, though there can be no question that the vision is not the invention of the romancer.

2. Merlin's visit to Nimiane is another touch of the Celtic legend, which we find reappearing every now and then throughout the romance. What Merlin teaches Nimiane may be compared with what he teaches Morgain le Fee.

3. The interesting story of the maiden and the dwarf is not improbably older than the time of the composition of the *Book of Arthur*, but I cannot point out the original source.

4. The general course of the war with the Romans is evidently suggested by Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* (ix. 15 to x. 13), though there are differences enough. It is not certain, however, that the redactor went directly to the Latin. Wace's *Brut* (l. 10,999) adds to Geoffrey's account the fact that, after the Emperor's letter is read, Arthur protects the messengers from the rage of the Britons. The same incident recurs in the English version (p. 640). On the other hand, the speeches by Hoel and Augusel, though reproduced by Wace, are here omitted, while Cadur's is given.

5. Arthur's dream may be compared with that recounted by Geoffrey (x. 2).

6. The fight with the Giant of Mount St. Michel is much the same in Geoffrey (x. 3) and in the romance (pp. 645-649). Bedver accompanies Arthur in each case. The maiden is in each version the niece of Hoel. The romancer, then, borrowed the story more or less directly from Geoffrey, but Geoffrey is hardly to be regarded as the original inventor. Paulin Paris suggests¹ that the exact designation of the locality would seem to make credible a Breton origin for the legend; but that, on the other hand, the outlines of the story are in some respects similar to those of the legend of Cacus,² who was killed by Hercules—

¹ *Romans*, ii. 350, 351.

² Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, viii. 194-275; Ovid, *Fasti*, B. i.

(1) Cacus and the giant (in Geoffrey) both come from Spain.

(2) The flames that Cacus breathes correspond to the fires on the mountain.

(3) The bellowing of cattle shows where Cacus is; the cries of the nurse discover the giant.

(4) Both live at the top of a mountain.

(5) Both are blinded by a stroke of their enemy.

Not impossibly the somewhat forced resemblances just noted indicate a closer relationship of the two legends than appears to me probable. M. Paris also calls attention to M. Breal's study of the mythological origin of Cacus, and the possibility that an analogous tradition could have penetrated into several stories. The Celts, like the Etruscans, could have their giant, the scourge of the country, from which a hero would deliver them.¹

7. In Geoffrey's *Historia* (x. 11) and in the romance, Walgan (Gawain) performs prodigies of valour, and at last kills the Emperor Lucius (*Merlin*, p. 663). Arthur sends the Emperor's body to Rome, with the taunt that such was the tribute that the Britons paid.²

CHAPTER XXXIII.

This final chapter contains a variety of incidents drawn from various sources.

1. The first incident is the very singular fight which King Arthur has with the great cat of the "Lac de Losane." Mr. Phillimore has suggested to me a possible Celtic source, but I must leave the investigation in that field to him and other Celtic specialists.

Through the courtesy of M. Paul Meyer, Director of the École des Chartes in Paris, my attention was directed to a

¹ Cf. also Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 340.

² Geoffrey, *Hist.* x. 13; *Merlin*, p. 664.

short paper on this incident by Prof. F. Novati, of Milan, who very kindly sent me a copy.¹ The following is a translation:—

“In the *Merlin* we are told how King Arthur, after having conquered the Romans, instead of pushing on as far as Rome and renewing the glory of Berlinus and Brennus, followed the counsel of the prophet, and turned his attention towards freeing Gaul from a monster which spread terror in all the country about Lake Losanne.² This monster, this demon, was in fact nothing more than a simple cat, but the battle which the King sustained against him turned out to be more difficult and fierce than the battle with the giant ravisher of the niece of Hoel, Count of Brittany.³

“The battle of Arthur against the cat is described not only in the prose *Mertin*, but also in other texts. Thus, as G. Paris⁴ has lately shown, it is referred to in a fragment of a German poem of the twelfth century, evidently drawn from a French source, which the editor has called *Manuel und Amande*,⁵ from the name of the chief characters. The poet, after eulogizing warmly and in detail the valour of Arthur, apparently goes on to narrate his death, and tells us how the occasion of it had been a monster, which was a fish and at the same time had the form of a cat.⁶ I say *apparently*, because the poem is quite obscure, and some verses are lacking.

“This same legend of the death of the valiant British sovereign in consequence of a struggle with a fish-cat (*gatto-pesce*) is

¹ Originally printed in the Proceedings of the Reale Accademia dei Lincei (Estratto dal vol. iv. 1^o sem., serie 4^a, Rendiconti-Seduta del 20 maggio, 1888).

² P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, ii. p. 358 sqq.

³ *Ibid.* p. 362.

⁴ *Les rom. en vers de la T. R.*, Paris, 1887, pp. 219, 220.

⁵ Osw. Zingerle, *Manuel und Amande, Bruchstücke eines Artusromans*, in *Zeitsch. für deutsch. Alth.*, N.F., xiv. p. 304, v. 151 sqq.

⁶ “Daz sie iz fvr war wizen,
Ein visch wurde vf gerizzen,
Daz der kunie sere engalt,
Als ein katze gestalt.”—v. 155 sqq.

mentioned secondly by a Norman poet, who, however, animated by strong sympathy for England, is indignant at the story, and repudiates it as a fable invented by the French to throw ridicule on the beloved hero of Britain. The verses of André de Coutances have likewise been referred to by Paris, but they are worthy of being quoted entire—

‘Il ont dit que riens n’a valu,
Et donc à Arflet n’a chalu
Que boté fu par Capalu
Li reis Artu en la palu ;

Et que le chat l’ocist de guerre,
Puis passa outre en Engleterre,
E ne fu pas lenz de conquerre,
Ainz porta corone en la terre,

E fu sire de la contrée.
Où ont itel fable trovée ?
Mençonge est, Dex le sot, provée
Onc greignor ne fu encontrée.’¹

“Paris seems inclined to believe that Capalu is the name of the portentous cat. If such be the case, he concludes, we have here the monster of the same name which appears in the *Bataille Loquifer*, and which has precisely the head of a cat, the feet of a dragon, the body of a horse, and the tail of a lion.²

“This identification of the cat of Losanne with Capalu, or Chapalu, which, however, Paris does not insist on strongly, raises in my opinion difficulties which are, or which seem to me to be, insurmountable. I believe, indeed, that André de Coutances, in the verses which I have quoted, alludes not

¹ A. Jubinal, *Nouv. Rec. de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux, etc.*, t. ii. pp. 2, 3. *Le Roman des Français* is the name of this little poem, composed about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

² Cf. *Hist. Littér. de la Fr.* t. xxii. p. 537 ; Nyrop-Gorra, *St. dell’ Ep. Franc.* p. 143.

to one but to two stories, which if they were not invented by the French, as he seems to believe, were transformed and altered by them so as to ridicule the inhabitants of England by abasing Arthur. We have to do, then, with two adventures of Arthur, entirely independent of each other; with two battles undertaken against two different monsters, battles which had, however, the same disastrous results for the sovereign of Britain, since in the struggle with Chapalu he was worsted and was drowned in a marsh, and in that with the cat he lost his life. And that this is really the state of affairs, will become evident when we come to verify the difference between *Chapalu* and the cat of Losanne.

“If, as Paris saw clearly, the former is to be identified with the Chapalu of the *Bataille Loquifer*, it belongs to the category of fantastic monsters which result from the gathering together of members taken from various animals—to the family, that is, at the head of which is the chimaera. But the Cat of Losanne is something quite different. It is neither more nor less than a cat, but a cat which has attained dimensions far beyond those of ordinary cats, and is endowed with an extraordinary strength and a frightful ferocity. But how and why? We find this how and why described in the most satisfactory manner in a passage of Tristan de Nanteuil, in which the poet is pleased to explain to his hearers the superhuman strength which his hero possessed, and that not less wondrous strength with which the hind was endowed that had nourished him with her milk—

‘Nourris furent d’un lait qui fut de tel maistrie,
D’une seraine fut, sy com l’istoirie crie.
Il est de tel vertu et de tel seignorie
Que se beste en a beu elle devient fournye,
Si grande et si poissant, nel tenés [à folye],
Que nul ne dure à lui, tant ait chevalerie.

Artus le nous aprouve, qui taut ot baronnye,
 Car au temps qu'i regna, pour voir le vous affie,
 Se combata au chat qu'alecta en sa vie
 Du let d'une seraine qui en mer fut peschie;
 Mès le chat devint tel, ne vous mentiray mye,
 Que nuls homs ne duroit en la soye partie
 Qu'i ne meist affin, à duel et à hachie.
 Artus le conquesta par sa bachelerie,
 Mais ains l'acheta cher, sy con l'istoire crye.'¹

"This passage from *Tristan de Nanteuil* is, then, of great interest for the solution of our little problem. It enables us, in fact, to dispel every doubt concerning the nature of the animal under whose claws perished the most valiant of kings, if we believe the legend preserved by the author of *Manuel und Amande*² and indignantly repudiated by André de Coutances. The multi-form *Chapalu* of the *Bataille Loquifer* has no connection with this monstrous cat, which a fisherman has thoughtlessly nourished with the milk of a siren. In the second place the author of *Tristan* calls our attention to the fact that the primitive legend of Arthur and the Cat is quite different from that narrated in the *Merlin*, where the appearance of the demon cat is a visitation of the wrath of God, who wishes to punish a fisherman who had failed to

¹ P. Meyer, *Notice sur le roman de Tristan de Nanteuil* in *Jahrb. für Rom. und Engl. Liter.* ix. p. 11; and *cf.* p. 8, where the poet narrates at length how a siren suckled Tristan at sea, who on account of this nourishment became great as *un cheval de Chartage*. The idea of making Tristan and the hind drink the milk of the siren must have been suggested to the author by reading a romance of the Arthurian cycle, in which it was told that Arthur had come to blows with the cat, but had been able to conquer him. From this source he must also have drawn what he narrates of the first bloody deeds perpetrated by the hind on the fisherman who had received Tristan and on his family. The diabolical cat does the same thing in the *Merlin*. (P. Paris, *op. cit.* p. 360.)

² The ambiguous words of the German poet, who does not know whether the cat is a true cat or a fish resembling a cat, induce us to believe that in his source the event was narrated obscurely or too concisely.

fulfil his vow—a sufficiently heavy penalty for a rather light offence!¹

“That a British or French fisherman should find a siren in his nets will not surprise anyone who remembers how the classic temptresses of Ulysses had preserved their habit of alluring seamen, even in the Middle Ages. Gervase of Tilbury declares that they often appeared in the British Sea.² But neither Gervase nor other writers consulted by me say that the milk of the sirens had such prodigious virtue as is attributed to them in the story of the cat and of the hind who nursed Tristan. Perhaps others better versed than I in Bestiaries will succeed in finding some reference to the subject.”

✓ 2. If we pass over the continuation of the stories of Agravadain and Flualis, we come to the wonderfully poetic legend of the magic imprisonment of Merlin.³ The groundwork of this legend is probably Celtic, though we cannot

¹ “How the idea arose of making Losanne and the Mountain of the Lake the hiding-place of the cat, is unknown to me.”—F. NOVATI.

² Cf. F. Liebrecht, *Des Gervas. von Tilbury Otia Imperialia*, p. 31.

³ For a discussion of Malory's version see Sommer's *Studies on the Sources of the Morte Darthur*, iii. 127, 128.

As pointed out in the discussion of Malory's *Morte Darthur* (p. lxx., ante), the version there given differs from ours. The heading of book iv. chap. 1 reads—“How merlyn was affotted & dooted on one of the ladyes of the lake / and how he was shytte in a rocke vnder a stone and there deyed capitulo primo.” Malory calls her “Nyneue.”

In the romance of *Ysaie le Triste* the fairies “announced that they frequently resorted to the bush which confined the magician Merlin, with whom they had lately enjoyed a full conversation on the merits of different knights, and other important affairs of chivalry.”—Dunlop, *Hist. of Fiction* (1888), i. pp. 213, 214.

“We are told in the romance of Lancelot du Lac, that Merlin was confined by his mistress in the forest of Darnant, ‘qui marchoit a la mer de Cornouailles et a la mer de Sorelloys.’”—*Ibid.* i. p. 239.

In the *Ancient Scottish Prophecies* we learn that—

“Meruelous Merling is wasted away

With a wicked woman, woe might shee be ;

For shee hath closed him in a Craige on Cornwel cost.”

First printed 1503. Reprinted for Ballantyne Club, 1833, and by F. Michel, *Vita Merlini* (p. 80), 1837.

point definitely to an actual Celtic source. We find in a late Triad¹ a story of Merlin entering into the Glass House in Bardsey with his nine bards, bearing with them the thirteen treasures of Britain, and never being heard of afterwards.² We may compare, too, the passages in Plutarch (quoted in Rhys's *Studies*, p. 368): "Moreover, there is there [around Britain], they said, an island in which Chronus is imprisoned with Briareus, keeping guard over him as he sleeps; for, as they put it, sleep is the bond forged for Chronus." Nimiane's persistent teasing finds its parallel in the story of Samson and Delilah, but we can easily make too much of such resemblances.³

3. The remainder of the chapter doubtless rests in part upon older recitals; but in its present form the conclusion is the work of the redactors. As already noted, the conclusion of the romance is differently given in Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 98 (which appends the Prophecies), and in the printed edition of 1498. The material of the romance was very flexible in the hands of the remodellers. Very probably they would have been more puzzled than we to give an account of their sources. No doubt the conclusion was modified by the *Lancelot*, which is frequently placed in the manuscripts directly after the *Merlin*.

¹ See p. c., *ante*.

² Rhys, *Studies*, p. 354.

³ Brunetto Latino, in his *Li Livres dou Trésor* (pub. by Chabaille, Paris, 1862), mentions prophecies of Merlin, and he evidently knew Geoffrey of Monmouth. Aristotle, he says, was betrayed by woman's wiles, like Merlin. Quoted in *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pædagogik*, vol. xcii. pp. 283 and 290.

X.

THE LITERARY VALUE OF THE *MERLIN*.

WE have seen that the English *Merlin* is nothing but a close and almost servile translation of the French *Merlin ordinaire*. Consequently, the only thing for which the unknown maker of the English version can be held responsible is the quality of his translation. The real criticism of the *Merlin* as a work of literary art must be directed to the French original.

Our investigation of the manuscripts and of the sources has shown that the French *Merlin* is made up of a variety of originally unrelated parts, of very unequal merit. To estimate the *Merlin* accurately, we should, therefore, have to disentangle out of the congeries of romances the several elements, and look at them separately. If we deal with the completed romance, we simply have to consider the work as it left the hands of the compilers and arrangers. The defects lie on the surface. The romance is a model of nearly all the faults of construction so lavishly exhibited in most of the mediaeval prose romances. According to nineteenth-century notions, the story is intolerably long and prolix. We are treated to far too many incidents of the same sort. We yawn in the midst of the confused and painfully circumstantial battles, as we learn for the hundredth time that Arthur, or Gawain, or Loth, slit some one to the teeth, and are credibly assured that there were shouts "and stour and fluß grete crakke, and noyse ther was of brekyng of speres, and stif strokes of swerdes vpon helmes." Of course, elements much the same almost necessarily entered into all descriptions of mediaeval battles, but that is scarcely an excuse for spreading the account over scores of pages. In the *Merlin* as we now have it, perspective and proportion

are entirely disregarded. The story is not an organic whole, in which a germinal motive is developed with logical sequence, and made to control the action of the collective mass: it is rather a loose and inartistic combination of fragments essentially unrelated. Many of the episodes might be dropped altogether, without causing the slightest break in the narrative. Some of these episodes, we must admit, are in themselves interesting, but they stand in no organic relation to the romance as a whole. In other words, there is little or no plot in our sense of that term. The *Merlin* proper—which occupies the first seventh of the romance—is, indeed, simple and reasonably definite in its aim. The beginning is dramatic and impressive, and the conclusion has a poetic beauty felt by every reader. We lose sight of Merlin before the coronation of Arthur; but we may suppose—if we assume the prose *Perceval* to be based on the work of Robert de Borron—that the author imagined he had given sufficient prominence to Merlin by introducing him again in the *Perceval* immediately after the coronation. What Robert had further to tell he narrated in the modest limits which he assigned to the *Perceval*, the original continuation of the versified romance of *Merlin*. When, however, the original continuation was discarded by the later prose romancers, loose rein was given to invention and unintelligent combination.

The framework borrowed from Geoffrey of Monmouth was itself loose enough to admit of any amount of insertion and omission. Naturally enough, we are puzzled to decide who is really the hero of the last six hundred pages. Merlin is plainly the centre of interest in the first hundred pages; but after that point we lose sight of Merlin altogether, except at comparatively rare intervals. He is the *deus ex machina* who descends to extricate some one whom the romancer would not willingly let die, but he is by no means the character to whom our attention is steadily directed. Our interest is

demanded for Arthur and his friends, for Gawain and his circle, for King Loth and his sons, and numerous other characters.

No principle of subordination or of proportion of parts appears to have guided the romancers. The story runs on according to its own sweet will, or, rather, according to the sweet will of the various literary blunderers who put their hands to the work. As far as we can see, it might run on for ever by the easy process of multiplying the battles and borrowing incidents wherever found unclaimed. There are, of course, passages of rare beauty from the mysterious legend of Merlin, which in a certain nameless charm are scarcely surpassed in the whole range of mediaeval romance. But these are buried under a mass of rubbish as formless and unattractive as rubbish can well be, even in a mediaeval romance. We need not, however, imagine that the romancers were seriously distressed at the thought that their additions to the story might be incongruous. The artistic sense in most of the mediaeval story-tellers was sadly awry. They seem to have regarded it as a literary crime to leave the most trivial detail to the imagination of the reader. We may admit freely the beauty of all the passages that anyone wishes to select, but we shall have to confess that we at last weary a little of the endless and desultory babbling of a story-teller, who, to borrow Trollope's phrase, writes because he has to tell a story rather than because he has a story to tell. The materials of the *Merlin* might have been wrought into a tragedy of wonderful power and beauty; but the lack of artistic grouping allows the fragments to sweep along confusedly, like blocks of drift-ice in a river. All are moving in one general direction, but they are not bound together by any laws of connection.

An almost necessary consequence of this looseness of plot is the abruptness of transition. The favourite formula is—

"But now resteth to speke of hem at this time and telleth of King Arthur," or Gonnore, or Gawain, or anyone else that the whim of the romancer suggests. Paulin Paris commended this feature as indicating progress in the art of narration, but I question whether most readers will share his pleasure.

It follows from what has been urged, that we must lay aside all hope of discovering in the *Merlin* any underlying moral purpose. The story is not made to prove any doctrine of religion, or morals, or politics. All of the characters are assumed to be good Catholics, unless they are specifically mentioned as heathen or Saracens. Their morals are tolerably decent, according to the standards of the time; and occasionally we even get an incidental bit of moral suggestion. But the fact which most strikes a careful reader is, that the character of Merlin has not altogether improved in the slipshod process of development followed in the romance. The dignity of the boy-prophet, as he summons the trembling counsellors and expounds easily what had baffled the clerks, compels a certain sort of admiration. Even when he participates in the plot which results in the birth of Arthur, we look upon him as a grave and judicious adviser. But after the coronation of Arthur, though Merlin still plays the rôle of sage and prophet, and figures in more than one scene full of a strange beauty, we cannot but feel that he is too often degraded to the level of the mountebank and the juggler.

As we read the romance we cannot but be impressed with the fact that most of the characters are unskilfully drawn. The old romancers seem to have been able to imagine but one trait of character at a time, and they display a signal inability to follow out a complicated analysis. The natural result is a remarkable similarity and conventionality in the figures that crowd the page. Instead of delineating the characters by a combination of fine touches, the romancers lay on the colours in broad lines, with little or no attempt at artistic

discrimination. The characters are not developed as in Shakspeare's plays and in the best modern novels, but are presented about as complete at the beginning of the romance as at the end. Some characters almost appear to have been invented for the express purpose of giving sufficient exercise in the use of the superlative.

That this method of treatment is painfully superficial and external, needs no proof; but it is the method of the *Merlin*. It is, indeed, a striking fact that, although the romance contains much that is mysterious, it contains little that is really profound. The story is a singular mixture of the plain and simple and of the dark and mysterious. The knights and ladies discuss little except love and chivalry and war, and the passing questions of the day. They seem to have troubled themselves scarcely at all with such great problems of life as meet us in the novels of George Eliot, and there is little reason why they should. Theirs was an age of faith, and they did not have to grope in darkness and doubt. Their passions were the simple elementary passions of love, hate, jealousy. Their virtues were the simple virtues of bravery, sincerity, courtesy, generosity. We are almost led to think, therefore, because we are told so much about these men and women, and their characters are apparently so transparent, that we know them; but we never succeed in lifting the veil that hides their inner lives. We catch glimpses now and then of a background of mystery in the strange life of Merlin—most of all when we see the magic spell stealing upon him as gently as music breathes across a bank of violets—but even then we are not allowed to gaze into the depths of the great magician's heart; and we close the book with the feeling that between us and the men and women of the romance is a great gulf fixed, which we must cross before we can know them as they are.

We have sufficiently dealt with the more serious faults in the *Merlin*. We may now bestow a word upon the literary

style of the romancers who pieced together the story. Here, too, their work is faulty enough. They have not yet learned how to write a neat and well-balanced prose. Their sentences lack unity; their pronouns have a bewildering vagueness of reference; their paragraphs lack movement and artistic balance. The connection is of the loosest sort, and is helped out by an excessive use of the conjunction *and*. Yet the style at times has a grace and harmony, as well as an air of distinction, not unworthy of the aristocratic circle for which the romance was intended. Even the amorous adventures are related in a tone of high breeding that relieves the artistic conscience, if not the moral sense. Some of the descriptions are charmingly poetic, and are ablaze with light and colour. There is, indeed, a touch of conventionality in many of the descriptions of natural scenery, but even here the mediaeval *naïveté* lends a freshness and beauty that are always engaging. Vivacity is secured by frequent dialogue. Then, too, the air of verisimilitude is almost perfect. Detail is heaped upon detail, until the realistic effect is irresistible. We may feel that the art is defective, but we must admit that art itself cannot make the narrative seem more real.

We may find still other excuses for the *Merlin*. We have been testing the romance by the literary standards of the nineteenth century. If, however, we judge it by the literary standards of seven centuries ago, we ought perhaps to soften our criticism of more than one passage that now seems insufferably tedious. In those days of few books most readers were doubtless glad to have the story drawn out as far as possible. Even the accounts of the battles, which no one now reads except the editor, the printer, and the proof-reader, may have been among the most valued portions of the work. We may thus develop a spirit of charitable judgment otherwise quite beyond us. And yet, in our most charitable moments we may hesitate to believe that the *Merlin* was accepted as

a finished specimen of literary art even in the Middle Ages : an age that possessed the work of Chrestien de Troyes and Walter Map was not so devoid of literary sense as to be unaware of the more glaring defects of such a composite romance as the *Merlin*.

Considered as a picture of chivalry the *Merlin* has for us a permanent value. It gives us more than one vivid glimpse of the every-day life of the period to which it belongs. The deeds of Arthur and his knights are transferred to the time of chivalry, and illuminated with all the light and colour of that picturesque age. If we count this of small importance, we can take some satisfaction that in the *Merlin* we have a book of the deepest interest to the Europe of six or seven centuries ago, and that as we read we can imagine more clearly the ideals of an age profoundly important in the development of our modern civilization.

As regards the work of the English translator, we have, perhaps, sufficiently touched upon that in our study of the manuscripts. Most of his translation is a mechanical jog-trot that follows every turn of the original. He freely uses French terms, and transfers French constructions, and even entire French sentences, to the English page. His sentences are in the main the sentences of the original, with all their faults of confusion and overcrowding. Yet the style has numerous distinct excellences. The diction is often direct and vigorous, and invariably escapes the turgid inflation so characteristic of English prose a little more than a century later. The period to which the translation belongs was singularly barren in works of creative imagination, and could not very consistently have made unfavourable reflections upon the unknown scholar who toiled through the heavy task. His achievement is hardly worthy to be placed beside the masterpiece of Malory ; but it has an interest all its own, and it may well be valued as a not insignificant monument of old English prose.

XI.

The English manuscript from which the prose romance is printed, is described in the "Advertisement" to Part i. of the *Merlin* (E.E.T.S. Lond. 1865). A fragment of another version is contained in a single folio leaf of a fifteenth-century paper manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The passage corresponds to p. 315, l. 15 to p. 317, l. 24. Kölbing gives the variants, and decides that the Oxford fragment cannot be a copy of the Cambridge MS.¹

I find also in the Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS. (802: 4), Oxford, the following notice of a manuscript of *Merlin* contained "In a collection of Apocryphal tracts, genealogical and heraldic collections, astrological observations, and miscellaneous; by Simon Forman, M.D.": — "The first 32 chapters of a Romance of the life of Merlin, beginning thus: 'The Parliament and consultation of the Devils, and their decree about the begetting of Merlin, about the year of Christ 445.'" (Fo. 66-82.) The last is thus entitled: "Cap. 32. How Merlin told the Hermit who was his father, and entreated him to write this book of his life and others of his works that should follow, and how the Hermit Blase did conjure him by the name of God, being much afearred of him."² (Fo. 81b.) "Forman designed to write Cap. 33, but left this copy unfinished, and seven blank leaves follow." (*Catal.* p. 443).

¹ *Altenglische Bibl.* iv. p. xxi.

² I have modernized the spelling, as I suspect that I did not verify my transcript at the time I made it.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

It may be proper to observe that pages 1 to CL have been in print since the summer of 1892. Hence the changes that have been made in those pages are only such as could be made without too great a disturbance of the text. In the remainder of the book, notice has been taken of the more important recent literature on the Merlin legend. This appears chiefly in Section VIII.

I take this opportunity to express my renewed thanks to Mr. H. L. D. Ward for his great kindness in going through the proof-sheets and making several valuable suggestions.

p. XIII. 1893. Zimmer, H.—Nennius Vindictus, Berlin. A masterly work.

p. XIII. 1893. Ward, H. L. D.—Lailoken (or Merlin Silvester), *Romania*, 1893, pp. 504–526.—This article I have been able to use in Section VIII. as it was passing through the press.

p. XIII. 1894. Richter, G.—Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textkritik des mittelenenglischen Prosaromans von Merlin, Erste Hälfte. (Diss.) Altenburg, 1894. Reprinted in *Englische Studien*, xx. pp. 347–377.—The author attempts a critical reconstruction of the English text of our romance by the aid of the French version. The work is so carefully done that one can only regret that it rests for the most part upon a late print of the French text (1528), rather than upon the MSS.

p. XIII. 1894. Sommer, H. O.—Le Roman de Merlin. London.—This edition of the French *Roman de Merlin* is a reproduction in ordinary type of the British Museum MS. Add. 10,292. This book was not accessible to me until after my entire discussion was in print and the “revise” had been returned to the printers. The editor describes the MS. fully, gives its history, and prints a table indicating the relation of the Arthurian MSS. in the British Museum to MSS. Add. 10,292–10,294. His discussion of the text is very brief, and touches only the salient points connected with its development. On p. xxvi., note, he calls attention to a MS. of *Merlin* not mentioned in Ward’s *Catalogue of Romances*. This is Add. 32,125 in the British Museum, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century. It contains the *Saint Graal* (“complete save as to one leaf”) and the *Merlin*. Sommer remarks that this MS. “is as valuable and interesting as No. 747 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, but the latter is better written.”

p. XIII. 1894. Lloyd, J. E.—Myrddin Wyllt in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. xl. pp. 13, 14.

p. XIII. 1894. MacCallum, M. W.—Tennyson’s Idylls of the King and Arthurian Story from the Sixteenth Century. New York. A popularly-written book touching on several matters relating to the use of the Merlin legend in literature.

p. XIII. 1894. Kingsford, C. L.—Merlin Ambrosius or Myrddin Emrys in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. xxxvii. pp. 285–288.—This article mentions a long life of Merlin in Leland's *Commentarii de Scriptoribus*, pp. 42–48, and a paper by M. Darbois de Jubainville on “Merlin est-il un personnage réel?” in the *Revue des questions historiques*, v. 559–568.

p. XIII. 1895. Wechsler, Edward.—Über die verschiedenen Redaktionen des Robert von Borron zugeschriebenen Graal-Lancelot-Cyclus. Halle a S. pp. 64.—This is an important contribution to the study of the relations of the groups of romances to one another, but it comes too late for me to make use of it. The reader should note the favourable review of this paper by Gaston Paris in the *Romania* for July, 1895, pp. 472–475.

p. XLV. note 1. For i. 86 read p. xevi.

p. XLVII. note 3. For Völmöller read Vollmöller.

p. LI. Lamartine tells a story in his sketch of Jeanne d'Arc (chapter viii.), of her being influenced by a prophecy attributed to Merlin, that the kingdom would be saved by a young, chaste maiden.

p. LI. Paul de Musset, in his life of Alfred de Musset, p. 56, tells us of the interest Alfred took in the Merlin story.

p. LI. On the Provençal fragments, see also Gröber's *Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, Bd. ii. Abth. 2, p. 68, which refers to the *Revue des l. r.*, 22, 105–116; 237–242.

p. LII. For an excellent discussion of the *Conte del Brait*, see Wechsler's paper on the Graal-Lancelot-Cyclus, pp. 37–51.

p. LIII. For the Portuguese *Merlin*, see Gröber's *Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, Bd. ii. Abth. 2, pp. 213, 214.

p. LIII. note 5. For to read *zu*.

p. LIII. The best account of *Merlijn* is in W. J. A. Jonckbloet's *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, Groningen, 1884, i. pp. 200–229.

p. LIV. In 1892 appeared a novel by Paul Heyse entitled *Merlin*. The story is not a reproduction of the old legend, but is essentially a nineteenth-century novel with here and there a motive, or at least a hint, drawn from the mediaeval romance. Cf. a paper in *The Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1893.

p. LIV. note 3. Goldmark's opera appeared in 1886.

p. LVIII. l. 9. As an interesting proof of Merlin's fame as a prophet, we may note that Defoe, in his account of the great plague in London in 1665, says that fortune-tellers and prophets greatly flourished at that time, and that they displayed the head of Merlin as a sign.

p. LXXIII. l. 27. The opinion of Merlin held by the antiquary Leland, who busied himself much with the Arthurian legend, is worth quoting:—“Sunt ibi tamen, si quis penitus inspiciat, talia, qualia magno desiderantur antiquae cognitionis incommodo, & quae à Gulielmo lecta, potius quàm intellecta, nullum prae se tulerunt comodum. Rursus apponam & aliud eiusdem honorificū scilicet, non modò de historiae interprete, verū etiam de Arturio ipso testimonium. Liqueat à mendacibus esse conficta, quaecunque de Arturio, & Merlino ad pascendum minus prudentium curiositatem homo ille scribendo vulgavit. Vt sexcenties obganniat: fuit quidem Merlinus vir in rerum naturalium cognitione, & praecipuè in Mathesi vel ad miraculum vsque eruditus: quo nomine Principibus eius aetatis meritò gratissimus erat longèq; alius, quàm vt se putaret subijciendum iudicio alicuius cucullati, & desidii monachi. Sed Arturiū, & Merlinum, illum fortiozem, hunc eruditiozem, quàm vt plebis vel dicacitatem, vel importunitatem curent, omittam. Illud, quod monachus

monacho etiam mortuo inuidet mihi iniquissimum videtur."—*Assertio incolytissimi Arturij*, p. 356. London, 1544.

p. LXXIV. l. 6. See an interesting page or two on Caermarthen in Prothero's *Life and Letters of Dean Stanley*, ii. pp. 351, 352.

p. LXXVI. l. 9. See the remarks on this play by Halliwell-Phillipps in his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, p. 193.

p. LXXVII. Blackmore's *King Arthur* (1697) is an enlargement, in twelve books, of the *Prince Arthur*.

p. LXXVIII. Bartlett's concordance to Shakespeare notes several references to Merlin.

In the catalogue of a London bookseller (1894) I note the following title : "Merlinus Anglicus Junior, The English Merlin revived, or his prediction upon the affaires of the English Commonwealth. 1644. 4to."

Maccallum, in his *Tennyson's Idylls and Arthurian Story*, pp. 161-165, calls attention to Fielding's *Tragedy of Tragedies, or the Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great* (1730), a burlesque piece in which Merlin is introduced here and there.

Among other eighteenth-century references to Merlin may be noted that in Warton's poem on the *Grave of King Arthur* (1777).

p. LXXXIII. Bishop Heber made some use of the Merlin legend in his unfinished *Masque of Guendolen*.

Wordsworth refers briefly to Merlin in one of his sonnets and in his *Artegal and Elidure*.

Bulwer introduces Merlin into his heroic poem *King Arthur* (1849), and remarks in the preface : "Merlin . . . is here represented less as the wizard of popular legend, than as the seer gifted with miraculous powers for the service and ultimate victory of Christianity."

Emerson wrote two short poems entitled *Merlin*, but they scarcely do more than suggest the name of the hero.

Professor John Veitch has made use of Merlin in his poems entitled, *Mertin and Other Poems*, 1889. These I have not seen.

p. LXXXV. l. 15. My remarks on Nennius were in print before Zimmer's *Nennius Vindicatus* appeared. His book, it is needless to observe, marks a new epoch in the study of Nennius; but for the purpose of our general discussion, the main point is the one which I have emphasized—the priority by a considerable time of the *Hist. Britonum* of Nennius over the *Hist. Reg. Brit.* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Zimmer assigns the *Historia Britonum* proper to about the close of the eighth century. See p. 66 seq.

p. LXXXV. l. 19. Zimmer remarks, p. 282 : "Die sogenannte eigentliche *Historia Brittonum* (7-56) ist als Geschichtsquelle absolut werthlos."

p. LXXXIX. Zimmer's date for Geoffrey's *Hist. Reg. Brit.* is 1132-1135. Cf. *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 278.

p. xcvi. l. 8. For the Mabinogion, see Rhys's *Studies*, chap. i.

p. cxxv. See F. Lot's *Études sur la Provenance du Cycle Arthurien in the Romania*, 1895-96. M. Lot's articles are directed against Zimmer's theory concerning the origin of the Arthurian romances, and conclude as follows : "Après comme avant les travaux du savant celtiste de Greifswald, il paraît évident que l'influence des Celtes insulaires a été beaucoup plus considérable, et même vraiment prépondérante, dans la transmission des éléments du cycle arthurien."

See, on the other hand, Zimmer's article in *Zeitschrift für franz. Sprache und Lit.*, xiii. 230 *seq.* (Beiträge zur Namenforschung in den altranz. Arthurepen); Pütz in *Z. f. f. Spr. u. Lit.*, xiv. 161 *seq.* (Zur Gesch. der Entwicklung der Artursage).

p. CLXXXIII. See a paper by Kellner in *Englische Studien*, xx. 1-24, on "Abwechselung und Tautologie," in which he discusses this marked feature of mediaeval prose style.

p. CLXXXVII. note 3. Rhys brings the name Merlin into connection with Moridunum (Caermarthen). He remarks that the form *Merlin* corresponds to the form *Moridūnos*, i.e. of moridunum or the sea-fort. *Hibbert Lect.*, p. 160.

p. CCVI. l. 1. A poem of 504 lines (Lambeth MS. 853, about 1430 A.D.) is called *Develis Parliament*, and describes a scene similar to that in our romance, but with no mention of Merlin.

p. CCVI. l. 12. Leland, in a paper on *Etrusco-Roman Remains*, published in report of Internat. Folk-Lore Congress for 1891, remarks (p. 192) on the widespread recognition of Dusio in Italian country districts.

p. CCVII. l. 2. Skeat has a good note on Antichrist in *Piers Plowman*, vol. iv. sec. 1, p. 442 (E.E.T.S.).

p. CCVII. l. 8. For further references on the intercourse of Devils with women, see the Life of St. Michael in the *Early South Eng. Legendary*, p. 306 (E.E.T.S.), and the *Morte Arthure*, l. 612 (E.E.T.S.). For incubi, see Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Camb.* ch. v.; Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I. pp. xxxviii.-xli.; *Melusine* (E.E.T.S.), p. 383; Skeat's *Chaucer*, v. 315. For parallels to Merlin's birth, see Nutt's *Problems of Heroic Legend* in report of Internat. Folk-Lore Congress for 1891 (p. 122), and Child's *Ballads* (large ed.), i. 63, note. Cf. also—

"There ys a gyant of gret Renowne,
He dystrowythe bothe sete and towyn
And aȝ þat eyr) he may;
And as the boke of Rome dothe teȝ,
He wase get of the deweȝ of heȝ,
As hys moder on slepe lay."

Torrent of Portyngale, 921-926 (E.E.T.S.).

p. CCVII. l. 12. Parallels to Merlin's precocity are found in the story of Hermes in the Homeric Hymns, and in Child's *Ballads* (large ed.), viii. 479, ix. 226.

p. CCVII. l. 18. I might have pointed out the contradiction in the *Merlin*, p. 16, where the boy saves his mother from being *burnt*. On this punishment, Child remarks, *Ballads* (large ed.), iii. 113: "The regular penalty for incontinence in an unmarried woman, if we are to trust the authority of romances, is burning." See also vi. 508, where C. gives a variety of references from ballads.

p. CCXIV. On the dragon-banner, see also Zimmer's *Nennius Vindictus*, p. 286, note, where the Roman banner is commented upon, and the significance of *pen dragon* explained.

In the *Chanson de Roland*, l. 3265, there is a dragon-banner in the army of the pagans who are arrayed against Charlemagne. In the romance of *Octavian*, l. 1695 (South Eng. version), the Saracens have one.

p. CCXXIV. Spenser makes use of the story of the beards, F. Q., Bd. vi. c. 1, st. 14 *seq.*, and applies it to Crudor.

In the Norse *Saga Diðriks Konungs af Bern*, c. 12, King Samson orders Elsing, Jarl of Bern, to send him, among other things, a dog-collar of gold and a leash made of his own beard.

p. CCXXVII. The game of chess (referred to on p. 362 of the *Merlin*) was a common diversion in the Middle Ages. See Child's *Ballads* (large ed.), viii. 454.

p. CCXXIX. Meyer, in his *Indogermanische Mythen*, i. 153, 154, urges the Oriental origin of the Merlin legend, or, at least, after mentioning the pranks of that lively little demon Ashmedai, and bringing them into relation to the Gandharve legends of Indian mythology, he passes to discuss "die aus Indien stammende alt-französische Merlinsage . . . in welcher der wilde Mann Merlin, der erst ungebärdig Speise und Trank umwirft, dann aber nach reichlichem Genuss von Honig, Milch, Warmbier, und Braten einschläft, vom Seneschal des Kaisers gebunden wird und diesem nun die Untreue seiner Frau offenbart, etc." Comparison should also be made with the similar incident in the story of Lailoken, "Part ii. : King Meldred and Lailoken," published in the *Romania* for 1893, pp. 522-525.

p. CCXXX. Gawain's exploits with the club may be compared with those of Gamelyn with the same weapon. Cf. Skeat's *Chaucer*, iii. 400. See also Scherer's *Gesch. d. deutschen Lit.* p. 183.

p. CCXXXV. In Rhys's Preface to Malory's *Morte Darthur*, pp. xxv., xxviii., xxix., I find the following remarks on a savage cat of Celtic tradition :—"In an obscure 'poem consisting of a dialogue between Arthur and Gwylwyd Gavaelwawr,' occurs at the end of the fragment the following passage, in which Kei is represented as fighting with a great cat :—

Worthy Kei went to Mona
To destroy lions.
His shield was small
Against Palug's Cat.
When people shall ask
'Who slew Palug's Cat?'
Nine score . . .
Used to fall for her food.
Nine score leaders
Used to . . .

The manuscript is imperfect, and it breaks off just where one should have heard more about Cath Palug, or 'Palug's Cat,' a monster, said in the Red Book Triads to have been reared by the Sons of Palug, in Anglesey."

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COLLATION OF THE PRINTED *MERLIN* OF THE
E.E.T.S. WITH THE MS. IN THE UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE, BY ALFRED ROGERS.¹

Page	Line	For	Read	Page	Line	For	Read
1	3	other	others.	5	20	have	haue.
1	3	plesier	plesiars.	5	25	hir	hire.
1	4	feer	feers.	5	25	wise	wyse.
1	4	to-gedir	to-gedirs.	5	32	lyvinge	lyvyng.
1	16	othir	othirs.	5	35	doughter	doughters.
1	17	their[feire?] sem- semblant	their sem- blaunt [and ignore the note].	6	2	maner	maners.
1	17	greved	greued.	6	8	labour	labours.
2	5	powre	powre.	6	22	women	wemen.
2	16	suffer	suffere.	6	30	her	here.
2	18	power	powere.	6	33	othir	other.
2	19	be-raffte	bereffte.	6	33	youre	youre.
2	21	our power	ours powers.	6	36	now	neuer.
2	22	maner	manere.	7	1	way	wey
2	27	our	oure.	7	14	yef	yet.
2	34	ben	bene.	7	14	hir	hire.
3	1	sithe	suche.	7	17	sayde	seyde.
3	6	have	haue	7	18	your	youre.
3	7	power	powere.	7	27	manere	maners.
3	10	their	theirs.	7	27	hire	hire.
3	12	enquire	engin.	7	28	hire	hire.
3	16	their	theirs.	7	footnote	is repeated twice	is repeated.
3	20	doughters	doughteres.	8	1	hir	hire.
3	22	hir	hire.	8	6	have	haue.
3	25	maner	manere.	8	13	oon	oo.
3	27	mannes	mannes.	8	24	upon	vpon.
3	28	their	theirs.	8	25	which	whiche.
3	29	their	theirs.	8	32	her	here.
4	1	gretter	gretters.	9	4	servyse	seruyse.
4	1	wrother	wrothers.	9	7	hir	hire.
4	18	desier	desiere.	9	24	hir	her.
4	20	her	here.	9	27	clothed	clothed.
4	21	her	here.	9	30	hir	hire.
4	24	manere	manere.	10	4	here	here.
4	31	mans werke	maner werkis	10	8	after	after.
5	2	neuer	neuers.	10	10	maner	manere.
5	8	The man	That man.	10	15	w[orlde]	worlde
5	10	hir fader	hire faders.	10	28	[haue]	haue
5	14	her	here.	10	33, 34	diffoulde	diffould.
5	18	their	theirs.	11	3	[this]	this.
5	19	hir	hire.	11	7	hir	hire.
				11	27	Jhesu	Ihesu.
				11	30	slepyng	slepyng.

¹ Kölbing (*Altenglische Bibl.* iv. pp. xix., xx.) gives a collation of the first chapter of the *Merlin* of the E.E.T.S. with the MS. If he had referred to the edition of 1875 he would have found several of his corrections anticipated.—W.E.M.

Page	Line	For	Read	Page	Line	For	Read
12	15	fiendes, and axeden	fiendes axe- den ['and' is crossed out].	17	17	son	sone.
				17	20	neuer	neuere.
				17	23	neuer	neuere.
				17	31	[arm]	pue [and ignore the footnote].
12	27	neuer	neuere.				[ignore the note].
12	27	women	wemen.	18	3	examyned	
12	31	confessour	confessoure.	18	18	whom	who.
12	36	neuer	neuere.	18	28	shall	shalt.
12	36	after	aftere.	19	10	all	alle.
13	3	syker	sykere.	19	15	guylte	gylte.
13	7	feer	feere.	19	19	clayned	claymed.
13	8	for	fore.	20	17	layes	layest
13	13	good	gode.	20	18	Thy[n]ke	thynke.
13	15	hir	hirs.	20	24	youre	youre.
13	16	hir	hire.	22	15	here	here.
13	17	after	aftere.	23	2	elayn	Elayn.
13	18	her	here.	24	14	lyfte hym	lyfte hym is
13	22	neuer	neuere.	24	23	socour	socoure.
13	23	woman	Note the MS. has wonan.	24	23	returned	returnd.
				24	29	barons	barouns.
13	26	hir	hire.	24	29	longer	lenger.
13	30	hir	hire.	25	1	youre	youre.
13	30	wher .	where	25	1	words	wordes.
13	31	ouer hir	ouere hire.	26	18	hym	lym.
13	31	hir	hire.	27	14	straunge	strange.
13	35	hir	hire.	27	19	tour	tour.
14	1	goo	geo.	27	20	maner	manere.
14	5	tour	tour.	28	2	stonde ¹ Do me	stonde. it is do me [and ignore the note].
14	13	tour	tour.				
14	17	repentaunce	repentaunce.	28	4	sir	sire.
14	17	modir	modire.	28	6	labour	laboure.
14	20	ther	there.	28	16	tour	tour.
14	21	arte	art.	28	18	labour	laboure.
14	24	repentaunce	repentaunce.	28	24	another	another.
14	24	moder	modere.	28	27	mater	matere.
14	25	her	here.	29	8	tour	tour.
14	28	were	w[er]e.	29	22	knew	knewe.
14	30	moder	modere.	30	2	to-geder	to-gedere.
14	32	feer	feere.	31	9	tour	tour.
15	3	tour	tour.	31	10	hour	houre.
15	4	after	aftere.	31	21	manere	manere.
15	4	fader	fadere.	31	24	tour	tour.
15	6	moder	modere.	32	11	disease	disese.
15	7	othir	othire.	32	17	whiche	whene.
15	10	whan	whane.	32	19	[s]ef	ef
15	11	lengar	lengare.	32	20	the werke	thi werke
15	17	hir	hire.	32	30	Arthur	Arthure.
15	18	ther	there.	33	35	the ¹	tho [and ignore the note].
15	19	her	here.				
15	20	suffir	suffire.	34	31	her	here.
15	20	ther	there.	35	9	sir	sire.
15	25	neuer	neuere.	36	16	hier	hiere.
15	27	hir	hire.				
15	31	neuer	neuere.				
16	16	ought not not	ought not.				
16	23	Merlin	Merlyn.				
17	1	come	comen.				

Page	Line	For	Read	Page	Line	For	Read
36	17	ther! the	ther ther the [and ignore the note].	61	8	when	whan
36	28	no do	ne do.	63	13	had	hadde.
37	7	said	seida.	64	20	theyr	theyrs.
37	34	vnder	vndere.	64	27	resceve	receyve
38	3	Vortiger	Vortigere.	66	21	traytour	traytoure.
38	3	dragoñs	dragouns.	66	21	semblaunce	semblaunce.
38	4	other	othere.	67	36	Be-war	Bewars.
38	7	other	others	69	30	baroñs	barouns.
38	9	dragoñs	dragouns.	70	20	barons	barouns.
38	16	other	othere.	70	21	barons	barouns.
38	23	demañdest	demaundest.	72	14	nede	mede.
38	31	greter	gretere.	72	26	told	tolde.
38	35	dragoñs	dragouns.	72	31	este	efte.
39	11	dragoñs	dragouns.	73	9	lawghinge	lawghynge.
39	36	don	don.	73	13	kyng	kinge.
40	3	dragoñs	dragouns.	74	5	oo[n]	oo
40	4	reade	reade.	74	21	performe	pe[n]forme.
40	15	their	theirs.	76	9	your baroñs	your barouns
40	32	yeue	yeue.	77	27	couenaunte ²	comenauntis [and ignore the note].
40	34	dragons	dragouns.	78	8	baroñs	barouns.
41	3	their	theirs.	78	21	seide he	seide that he.
41	10	heir	heire.	78	26	baroñs	barouns.
42	8	their	theirs.	78	29	baroñs	barouns.
42	9	power	powers.	79	3	baroñs	barouns.
44	18	say	sey.	80	2	baroñs	barouns.
45	35	kyng	kyng.	80	20	heyer.	eyer[corrected from heyer].
46	6	sir	sire.	80	21	hour	houre.
46	34	a-queynted	aqueyntid.	81	21	baroñs	barouns.
47	21	her	hier.	81	34	their	theirs.
48	24	you	yow.	81	35	seide	seiden.
49	19	heir	heire.	82	23	baroñs	barouns.
50	25	their	theirs.	83	8	baroñs	barouns.
50	34	great	grete.	83	17	come	conne.
50	36	bileve to	bilevein[cor- rected from 'to'].]	83	33	baroñs	barouns.
52	28	semblaunt	semblaunt.	84	5	somme	somme.
53	8	neke	nekke.	84	12	baroñs	barouns.
53	26	other	othere.	84	15	baroñs	barouns.
54	35	be-gynnyng	be-gynnyng	85	20	baroñs	barouns.
55	20	theire	theirs.	86	5	o[on]	o
55	22	theire	theirs.	86	14	wher-in	where-in
56	11	felishap	feliship.	87	17	a[nd]	a
57	13	quynsynne	[the MS. has quynsyme].	88	14	knight	knyght.
58	9	sedem	seiden.	88	22	be a thyng	be thyng.
58	14	couenaunt ¹	comenaunt [and ignore the note].	89	7	mannes	mannes.
58	14	labour	laboure.	90	2	woman	weman.
58	15	ben	ben.	90	footnote	The words 'soones as' are repeated	The words 'soone as' occur after the words 'sone as.'
59	11	demonstraunce	demonstraunce	91	14	mannes	mannes.
59	34	honour	honours.	91	35	baroñs	barouns.
60	3	thinge	thyng.	91	36	baroñs	barouns.
61	2	they	thei	93	5	oo[n]	oo

Page	Line	For	Read	Page	Line	For	Read
94	12	tresour	tresoure.	137	10	shorte	short.
94	15	advise	advyse	137	11	woued	wued.
94	32	they	thei	138	18	sholder	sholdere.
94	33	rede	yede.	138	11	boteller	bottelere.
95	1	baroñs	barouns.	138	24	deliuer	deliuere.
95	1	heir	heire.	138	26	their	theire.
95	19	baroñs	barouns.	140	8	archebisshop	archebishop.
95	22	baroñs	barouns.	141	11	their	theire.
96	5	gouernoure	gouernours.	141	18	doughter	doughtere.
96	15	all	alle.	141	19	valour	valoure.
98	32	require	requirè.	143	6	lenger	lengere.
99	16	honour	honours.	143	8	that they	that ther.
100	31	their	theire.	143	20	o[on] worde	o worde.
101	2	other	othere.	145	32	his	hys.
101	10	towne	town.	146	10	their	theire.
102	9	engender	engendere.	146	17	through	thourgh.
102	31	vilenis	vileins.	148	12	be-war of	bewar of
102	34	performe	pe[r]forme.			the ¹	them of the
104	footnote.	Add after the word 'MS.' 'but crossed through.'					[and ignore the note].
106	7	this	the.	149	10	I-comē	I-comen.
106	20	theire	theire.	149	31	soper	sopere.
107	1	vestmentis	vestmentz.	151	9	baner	banere.
107	13	vestmentis	vestmentz	153	19	ther	there.
		riouall.	roiall.	154	16	baner	banere.
108	14	honoure	honoure.	156	20	cleped the roy	cleped roy
108	18	perveied	purveied.	158	19	vigerously	vigerously.
108	19	presentis	presentz.	160	17	us	vs.
109	28	is this that	is that.	162	26	kynges	kynges.
110	22	tour	toure.	165	1	ther was	ther nas.
110	26	a-noynted	a-noyntid.	167	11	a[nd]	a
111	5	engendered	engendred.	169	32	times	tymes.
111	13	in his keynges	in keynges.	170	27	embraced	embraced.
113	5	their	theire.	171	4	heyr	heyre.
113	11	their	theire.	174	3	lond	londe.
113	18	seriantis	seriantz.	174	11	That beste	The beste.
113	23	out	oute.	174	15	socour	socoure.
115	2	fro	fro.	176	35	socour	socoure.
116	36	There	ther.	177	17	bachelor	bachelere.
119	13	astonyd	astonyed.	179	12	a[nd]	a
119	26	commons	comouns.	179	21	myster	mystere.
119	31	discounfite[d]	discounfited.	179	22	and ther the	and the
120	12	Neuertheless	neuertheles.			kynges	kynges.
120	29	castelles	castellis.	179	31	wife	wif.
122	3	that	thet.	180	4	barouns	barouns.
124	2	a[s]	as.	180	17	squyer	squyere.
124	26	a[t]	at.	180	19	covetted	coveited.
125	2	both	bothe.	181	11	y[e] be	y be.
126	30	your	your.	185	8	City	Cite.
126	32	imprisonment	imprisonment	186	3, 4	Emperour	Emperoure.
127	1	vylenis	vyleins.	187	20	the xj	tho xj
127	6	Sir	Sire.	191	13	Gaharet	Gaheret.
134	16	boteler	botelere.	193	13	soone as that	soone at that.
134	17	encourtir	encourtire.	195	14	ther was	ther nas.
134	32	stour	stoure.	195	31	of Jeshu criste	to Ihesu criste
136	17	socour	socoure.	196	28	lost	lost.
136	23	delyuer	delyuere.	197	13	theire	theire.

Page	Line	For	Read	Page	Line	For	Read
197	16	forayoures	forrayoures.	252	21	alle the	alle tho.
198	22	asonder	asondere.	253	30	vengeaunce	vengeaunce.
200	29	stour	stours.	254	11	Br[angu]e	Bra[n]gu]e.
200	30	socoure	socours.	256	19	a[t]	a
201	14	powder	powdere.	258	12	oo[n]	oo.
201	15	a-nother	another.	260	6	gon to	gon into.
201	18	made	maden.	260	28	silueir	siluir.
202	4	thei hym	thei in hym.	260	29	theire	theire.
202	20	discounfited	discoumfit.	262	19	ansuered	ansuerde.
203	19	maner	manere.	263	note	fellowles	felowles.
204	12	nothyng	nothyng.	264	14	mischief	m[i]schief.
204	27	feire and welle	feire and wel be.	269	21	come	conne
206	20	com Geauntes	com the Geauntes.	269	31	repress	repreff.
210	30	euer	eure.	270	17	and well	and we.
212	8	forest	forrest.	270	32	that thei were	that were.
212	11	blois	blis.	271	8	othere	othere.
212	13	leopardys	lampadys.	271	10	a[nd]	a
212	14	Christofer	Christofere.	272	16	fier	fiere.
217	17	Chalis	Chialis.	274	28	there	ther.
212	22	xxxix	the xxxix.	276	5	were	weren.
212	22	xl	the xl.	278	6	Arundell	Arondell.
212	31	troweth	trowth.	282	10	castell Randoll	castell of Randoll.
213	23	had	hadde.	283	18	hundre	hundre.
214	18	fellowes	felowes.	284	28	Jeshu	Ihesu.
215	34	stour	stours.	287	33	ligrans	li grans.
217	20	this	thise.	288	6	socour	socoure.
219	12	socour	socoure.	290	22	socour	socoure.
219	30	marvelouse	mervelouse.	291	31	socour	socoure.
219	35	doughters	doughters.	292	22	Estranis	Estrains.
221	22	helpe neuer	helpe me neuer.	293	2	squyes	squyes.
221	34	your	your.	293	26	comynge	comyng.
225	29	hir	hire.	294	14	slaughtere	slaughter.
227	6	precious	precious.	295	33	life	lif.
228	27	Jeshu	Ihesu.	296	4	tha[n]	tha.
229	33	an	fin.	296	20	receyued	resceyued.
231	13	of the saisnes	of saisnes.	296	27	snewen	suewen.
236	10	Tradilyuant	Tradilyuaunt	299	9	smote	Note. The MS. has some.
236	21	fier	fiere.	299	18	hire	hire.
239	16	alle	all.	301	25	swore	swor.
241	21	Ffeire	feire.	301	28	thei dide	thei seide.
242	21	ther voys	clier voys.	303	10	his	hys.
243	23	a[nd]	a	303	25	mighty	myghty.
243	26	be gode	be a gode.	305	25	is the trouthe	is trouthe.
244	14	nexte the	nexte the.	306	5	puyssant	puyssaunt.
244	22	lette	lete.	309	31	acerne	acerue.
244	34	lose	losse.	309	34	briogne	brioque.
245	33	plente	pleinte.	310	2	cerne	cerue.
246	14	were	were [and ignore the note].	310	33	couenaunt	comenaunt [and ignore the note].
248	10	spred	sprad.	311	11	sechyng	seching.
248	12	kynngnenans	kynquenans.	313	32	Bregnehan	Bregnehan.
248	22	gret	grete.	313	34	their	theire.
250	17	kyng	kyng.	314	1	Nimiam	Nimiane.
				314	2	Briogne	Brioque.

Page	Line	For	Read	Page	Line	For	Read
315	4	Antonyes	Antonyes.	378	30	her-after	here after.
317	12	the fyve	tho fyve	381	10	briogne	brioque.
317	16	honour	honours.	381	17	Briogne	brioque.
317	31	soch	soche.	381	21	garnysshed	garnysshed.
317	33	shull	shall.	381	25	Briogne	brioque.
318	2	out me	out mo.	381	31	Then	Than.
318	19	tentely	tentely.	382	15	shull	shall.
319	20	appareilled	apparailed.	382	22	dissevered	disseuered.
319	31	courtesie	courteise.	382	29	delyver	delyuer.
325	3	proweise	prowesse.	382	31	vouchesafe	vouchesaf.
325	27	the shafte	tho shafte.	382	32	dissevered	disseuered.
326	29	wher-of	where-of.	383	11	dissevered	disseuered.
326	30	here-after	here-after.	383	21	have	haue.
326	35	nd seide	and seide.	383	23	succour	succoure.
327	36	the v	tho v.	383	29	tecche	teche.
328	27	smyte	smyten.	383	29	shall	shull.
328	36	com	come.	384	8	got	got.
331	5	vengeaunce	vengaunce.	384	19	stiwarde	steward.
332	33	gret	grete.	384	19	dissevered	disseuered.
334	9	I-shu	Ihesu.	384	30	banere	baner.
336	6	ne myster	no myster.	385	16, 17	embrowded	enbrowded.
337	8	othere	other.	385	17	dyvers	dyuers
339	1	hym-selfe	hymself.	385	32	dissevered	disseuered.
339	26	bounte	bountee.	387	24	pe[p]le	pe[p]le.
340	4	Vlcan I-forged	Vlcanus forged.	388	4	Seigramor	Siegramor.
342	11	Brauremes	Biauremes.	390	5	there	there.
344	20	the xiiij	tho xiiij.	390	23	[deed or]	[deed] or
346	20	despite	dispite.	391	7	[and at the last it]	[and at the last] it.
346	27	strife	strif.	392	4	maners	maner.
347	21	skaberke	ska[be]rke.	392	20	fflor	fflore.
347	26	a-uenture	aventure.	393	6	heire	heire.
348	35	and a-noon	but a-noon.	393	29	sangh	saugh.
349	3	norissned	norissnid.	393	31	upon	vpon.
352	20	hem so arayed	hem arayed.	394	20	king	kinge.
354	4	of the two	of two.	396	24	hym	hem.
354	7	longere	lengere.	397	35	full	full.
354	31	forfeted	forteted.	398	18	thei	thai.
355	34	assailed	assailed.	399	22, 23	vnderstode	vndirstode.
357	4	lete	lete.	399	32	him	hym.
362	9	couenaunts ²	comenauntes [and ignore the note].	400	5	a[nd]	a
362	27	Gynebans	Gynebans.	400	7	bricke	brioske.
362	34	coniursion	coniurison.	400	20	my baners	iiij baners.
363	6	sones	sone.	401	17	mortall	and mortall.
366	36	Amaunt	Amaunt.	402	4	Antonye	Antony.
367	11	astoynd	astonyed.	402	19	dicounfite ²	discounfite
367	17	her-after	here-after.			theym	the theym [and ignore the note].
367	32	yef he hadde	yef it hadde.	402	22	were	wer.
372	3	somme	somme.	402	31	Antonye	Antony.
372	4	deffended	diffended.	403	14, 15	some-what	somwhat.
373	29	segramor	segramore.	405	18	valours	valour.
376	5	hem	ham.	406	30	dide	did.
377	27	enter	enters.	408	10	maistres	maistries.
377	32	a[nd]	a	408	14	sharpe	sharp.
378	28	he gan	began.	408	21	way	wey.

Page	Line	For	Read	Page	Line	For	Read
409	14	maistres	maistries.	455	1	life	lif.
413	22	lordshippe	lordship.	455	18	next	nexte.
413	33	upon	vpon.	456	8	alle	all.
414	1	lordshippe	lordship.	458	15	how well it	how it.
415	17	prayour	pravoure.	459	20	overthrewe	ouerthrewe.
416	7	shull	shall.	463	12	wife	wif.
416	10	comfort	counfort.	463	28	a-perceyued	aparcceyved.
416	17	shall reste	shull reste.	466	10	disceyued	disceyved.
416	27	seid	seide.	466	19	enderdited	enterdited.
417	7	mighty	myghty.	467	2	for the	fro the.
417	12	shall	shull.	467	33	a-baished	abaished.
418	30	vilonye	vylonye.	468	4	worshippe	worship.
420	18	Emperour	Eemperour.	468	11	manere	manere.
420	28	most	moste.	468	25	iourneyes	iourneyes.
420	29	the dredde	she dredde.	469	4	to hande	in hande.
421	4	semblaunce	semblaunce.	470	28	wher-as	whereas.
422	3	sholde he do	sholde be do.	471	12	necessarie	nessessarie.
422	11	come	comen.	471	23	hundre	hundre.
422	31	gate	yate.	472	5	worshippe	worship.
423	14	noon sey	noon cowde	472	17	Amnistian	Annistian.
			sey.	473	14	hundre	hundre.
424	11	grett	grete.	473	17	hundre	hundre.
424	13	theire	their.	473	32	hundre	hundre.
424	29	be-heilde	behielde.	475	2	hundre	hundre.
426	26	seruise	servise.	475	15	hadde	had.
428	6	I telle	I well telle.	477	4	caitife	caitif.
429	32	Emperour	Emperoure.	478	5	come	comen.
429	34	come	conne.	478	11	shippe	ship.
432	6	Emperour	Emperoure.	479	15	on	in.
433	17	thowe	thow.	479	26	and in this	and [in] this.
434	31	eny	ony.	479	36	recovered	recovered.
435	15	seide Emperour	seide the	480	3	every	euery.
			Emperour.	480	23	archebisshoppe	archebisshop.
435	32	shall	shull.	480	24	wife	wif.
435	34	us	vs.	482	10	life	lif.
438	18	book	booke.	482	28	worshippe	worship.
438	25	nyght	nygh[t].	482	30	us	vs.
438	27	knyght	knygh[t].	485	6	qui	qui.
439	4	brenbas	brenbras.	489	22	us	vs.
439	32	myght	nyght.	491	14	Galiscowde	Galascowde.
440	22	hedde	heede.	494	11	suerde	swerde.
441	4	surprised	supprised.	494	27	come	com.
441	5	Hardogabrans	Hardogra-	495	6	com	come.
			brans.	496	16	ther ¹ the	ther ther the
442	22	theire	theire.			knyghtes	knyghtes
442	33	puyssant	puyssaunt.				[and ignore
444	7	and toke	and to toke.				the note].
444	16	departed	departen.	498	20	felowes	felewes.
445	31	Scotlonde	Scotlond.	499	23	dyuerse	dyuerse.*
449	33	welle	well	499	28	send	sende.
452	6	shippe	ship.	500	5	have	haue.
452	10	shippe	ship.	501	18	com	come.
452	22	ther	thei.	501	33	a[nd]	a
452	26	shippe	shipp.	502	21	Ieshu	Ihesu.
453	31	Archebisshoppe	Archebisshop	502	25	Bisshoppe	Bisshop.
453	35	Archebisshoppe	Archebisshop	502	26	Ieshu	Ihesu.
453	36	Amnistian	Annistan.				

* Spelt dyuerse in Ms.

Page	Line	For	Read	Page	Line	For	Read
503	32	that the best	that the best	551	14	enemies	enmyes.
504	15	col[d]e	cole.	555	1	moche	moche.
505	30	performe	parforme.	556	1	valoure	valour.
505	35	welwellinge	welwillinge.	556	20	Northumbir-	Northumbir-
506	36	done	don.			londs	lond.
507	6	netther	neither.	556	32	shall	shull.
507	9	somme	somme.	557	29	sette	sente.
507	27	went	wente.	558	14	iocunde	iocounde.
508	31	aperceyued	aparceyved.	560	6	manere	maner.
509	26	Caranges	Caranges.	562	5	felowes	felowes.
511	13	upon	vpon.	564	7	houre	hour.
512	16	resceve	resceyve.	564	27	there	ther.
513	28	sire	sire.	565	11	hir	hire.
514	3	weepe	wepe.	566	24	the	the.
515	13	go we	gowe.	567	34	kyng	kynge.
515	35	the other	the tother.	568	18	returne to	returneforto.
516	11	kutte the	kutte of the.	568	23	our	oure.
516	16	Agrauain	Agravain.	569	3	they thought	they that
516	18	doun	down.				thought.
516	29	harme thei	harme that	569	17	Segramore	Segramor.
			thei.	569	20	sharpe	sharp.
517	17	gate	yate.	569	26	appareiled	apparailled.
518	30	doucrenefar	doutrenefar.	570	17	sharpe	sharp.
520	1	Aleon	Alain.	571	12	bledde	bledden.
521	2	discorde	discourde.	572	25	Segramore	Segramor.
521	4	hool	hooll.	573	7	tothere	tother.
521	33	Monagins	Monaquins.	574	9	surprised	supprised.
522	24	under	vnder.	574	16	own	owne.
523	2	a[t]	a	575	18, 19	hardogabran	hardogobran.
523	21	kute	kitte.	575	24	surprised	supprised.
524	36	wife	wif.	578	24	Jhesu	Ihesu.
526	30	brothere	brother.	578	32	hede [how]	hede how.
527	10	worshippe	worship.	579	6	worshippe	worship.
527	34	matter	mater.	579	10	many goode	many of
528	10	socoure	socour.				goode.
528	18	asseilled	assailed.	580	27	good	goode.
528	19	socoure	socour.	580	36	oquarell	o quarell.
529	13	swore	swor.	581	10	with these	with the these.
532	35	ground	grounde.	582	14	surprised	supprised.
533	23	stroke yeve	stroke cowde	583	9	renomee	renome.
			yeve.	583	14	destroye	destroye.
533	30	handes	hondes.	583	24	the yonge	this yonge.
534	6	bridell	bridill.	584	23	savioure	saviour.
535	9	the tweyne	tho tweyne.	584	24	honoure	honour.
537	7	thou	thow.	584	31	Elizer	Elyzer.
538	25	wel	well.	585	18	alle	all.
539	24	nether	nother.	586	36	shall	shull.
541	17	and he bowed	that he bowed.	587	6	batailes	bateiles.
541	35	vnderstode	vndirstode.	587	31	there	ther.
543	32	hede of	hede to.	587	32	and thei	that thei.
545	8	morowe to	morowe till.	588	14	sharp	sharp.
547	30	seruauntes	seruauntis.	589	20	Piguoras	Pignores.
548	27	Go we a-geins	Go ageins.	591	16	neweve	newew.
549	26	wh[ic]h	we.	592	4	hardogabrant	hardogobrant.
549	27	overtoke	overtoke.	592	20	honoure	honour.
549	28	euer	euer.	593	33	half	half.
549	29	houre	hour.	594	20	that	pat.

Page	Line	For	Read	Page	Line	For	Read
594	24	through	thourgh.	620	3	archebisshoppe	archebisshop.
596	11	wonder	wonder.	621	17	harpoure	harpour.
596	21	dede	dide.	621	24	othere	other.
597	9	there	ther.	621	25	up	vp.
597	13	there	ther.	622	18	harpoure	harpour.
598	27	shull haue	shull have.	623	35	here	here.
599	18	sharpe	sharp.	624	14	othere	other.
600	9	stoure	stour.	625	4	comynge	comyng.
600	23	remountede	remounted.	625	9	resceyued	resceyved.
600	30	bateile	bataile.	626	31	well	wele.
601	13	Gosenges	Gosengos.	627	9	kyng	kyng.
601	34	that herde	that hadde herde.	628	6	come	com.
				628	11	seith	seth.
602	5	wonderfull	worderfull.	628	26	which	whiche.
602	28	went	wente.	628	33	hondes	handes.
603	26	resceyued	resceyved.	629	26	vailante	vailaunt.
604	6, 7	departynge	departinge.	630	18	godde	god.
605	24	noire	noir.	630	32	grete	gret.
606	5	powere	power.	631	last	swyfte	swifte.
606	33	gates	yates.	632	9	all	alle.
607	3	othere	other.	633	7	life	lif.
607	4	dide helpe	dide hem helpe.	633	27	serpentes	serpentes.
				635	20	sharpe	sharp.
608	21	of hym	on hym.	636	12	leife	leif.
608	31	honours	honour.	636	16	spekere	speker.
609	23	surprised	supprised.	637	13	awmenere	awmener.
609	24	acheive	acheiue.	638	6	coloure	colour.
610	8	surprised	supprised.	638	29	knowe	knewe.
610	14	semblaunt	semblant.	639	17	Archebisshoppe	Archebisshop.
610	15	for	for.	639	26	formednesse	fonnaedness.
610	17	manere	maner.	639	34	doist	doist.
611	18	euer I	euer that I.	640	18	archebisshoppe	archebisshop.
612	last	all	alle.	640	36	bettere	better.
613	21	wife	wif.	641	16	Emperoure	Emperour.
613	26	honours	honour.	641	17	manere	maner.
613	29	honours	honour.	642	16	that he hadde	that hadde.
613	35	worshippe	worship.	642	27	honoure	honour.
613	36	curtesie	curteisie.	642	32	Emperoure	Emperour.
614	1	life	lif.	643	35	iiij ^{ml}	iiij ^{ml} .
614	6	Stephene	Stephene.	645	35	com	come.
614	11	iogeloure	iogelour.	646	13	brennynge	brennynge.
614	14	Arthure	Arthur.	646	19	life	lif.
614	16	Arthure	Arthur.	646	last	svffre	suffre.
615	18	streight	stright.	648	3	up	vp.
616	13	clamours	clamour.	648	12	tho	the.
616	28	your	your.	648	33	atame	[?] ataine.
617	6	cam	com.	649	10	chyne, than	chyne and than.
617	7	drofe	drof.				
617	21	thus	this.	649	21	grete was that	grete that.
617	34	swor	swer.	649	27	mounteyne	mounteyn.
618	1	lettere	letter.	650	3	when she	whens he.
618	6	hours	hour.	650	32	come	comen.
618	8	therefore	therfore.	651	16	vs manased	vs so manased
618	27	blusht	blusht.	651	24	Emperoure	Emperour.
619	7	harpoure	harpour.	652	24	and passed	that passed.
619	31	honours	honour.	652	28	it werse	it the werse.
619	32	as my	as is my.	652	29	swifte	swyfte.

Page	Line	For	Read	Page	Line	For	Read
653	8	that	than.	671	17	frendes	frendes.
653	12	awyfte	swift.	676	11	Ieshuralem	Iherusalem.
655	18	grete	gret.	676	16	renoome	renoun.
659	28	honours	honour.	676	26	had	hadde.
660	22	powestee	powstee.	677	15	un-ethe	vn-ethe.
660	25	cristein	cristin.	678	7	messagere	messenger.
660	29	and thei ride	and ride.	679	3	time	tyme.
662	15	softely	softly.	679	12	duerfe	duerf.
662	19	powere	power.	680	1	disturue	disturne.
662	34	thousande	thowsande.	681	9	bush	bush.
663	33	to my	of my.	681	14	cerne	cerue.
664	5	montaigne	mountaigne.	681	14	wymple	wynple.
664	7	manere	maner.	681	16	cerne	cerue.
665	6	I telle	I wele telle.	685	16	liters	liter.
665	25	there	ther.	685	35	your	your.
666	2	undirstode	vndirstode.	686	17	othere	other.
666	4	vengeaunce	vengaunce.	687	27	honours	honour.
666	last	in the cates	in cates.	689	3	seid Ewein	seide Sir Ewein.
667	19	hym	hy[m].	689	17	that	pat.
668	20	my-self	mysilf.	690	7	most	moste.
668	23	ye haue	[these words are repeated in MS.]	691	21	sleeves	sleues.
669	28	sergeauntes	sergauntes.	693	28	be	by.
670	3	yet sholde	yet thei sholde.	694	21	be-teche	be-teche.
670	6	sharp	sharp.	695	12	lordshippe	lordship.
670	last	douhter	doughter.	695	17	socoure	socour.
				696	19	and countirfet	thatcountirfet.

Merlin.

PART III.

36

HERTFORD:

Printed by STEPHEN AUSTIN.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WITH the present Part this Romance is finished, and the Adventures of Merlin brought to a Conclusion. The unique Manuscript from which it is printed is imperfect at the end, but it has been completed by a translation from the original French MS. in the library of the British Museum (Add. MS., No. 10292), for which I am indebted to Mr. FURNIVALL.

The Titles, Preface, Glossary, and Index will form a Fourth Part, and will appear in the course of the present year.

H. B. W.

JANUARY, 1869.





“THE NORTH”
in the Sixth Century
OR
ARTHURIAN SCOTLAND
to illustrate

MR STUART GLENNIE'S
Journeys.

Railways
Roman Roads
Modern Names within Parenthesis
Mr Glennie's route indicated by red line

Scale of English Miles
0 5 10 15 20

ARTHURIAN LOCALITIES ;

THEIR HISTORICAL ORIGIN, CHIEF COUNTRY, AND FINGALIAN RELATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—THE OLD ARTHUR-LAND.

ONE of the many indications of that synthetic, and reconstructive, rather than analytic, and destructive, tendency which marks this second half of the nineteenth century is the fact that historical scholars are beginning to look on popular legends and romances, not certainly with the uncritical credulity of the days before Niebuhr, but with the belief of finding in them such records of historical events as will well repay the trouble of investigating them.¹ It seems desirable, therefore, in this introductory chapter, in order at once to indicate the point of view of this Essay, to set-forth, in the first place, the general relation which it seeks to establish between Mediæval Romance and Pre-mediæval History. I shall, then, in the second section, bring before the reader the chief traditional Arthurian Localities of Southern Scotland, Western England, and

¹ See, for instance, DYER, *History of the City of Rome. Introduction.*

North-Western France. After such a survey of the Old Arthur-land, I shall, in the third section, state the question which I propose in this Essay more particularly to consider, point-out its interest, and explain the method by which I hope to attain a definitive answer. And, in conclusion, I shall state the general subjects of the succeeding chapters.

SECTION (I).

The Relation of Mediæval Romance to Pre-mediæval History.

The age of the Arthurian, and other great Cycles of Romance, is that which, in the opinion of both the great thinkers who have chiefly influenced the intellectual development of Modern Europe,—in the opinion both of Hegel and of Comte,²—began in the eleventh, and culminated in the thirteenth century. For, about that century, it is,—as has been conclusively shown by the researches of later scholars verifying and confirming philosophical speculation,³—that the distinctively Christian, or Catholico-Feudal organization of society attains its highest perfection; that the Crusades afford their brightest examples of heroism, and chivalric magnanimity; that Art achieves its most original, most variedly beautiful, and majestic triumphs; and that Literature presents, in the Romances, at once the highest, and most popular Ideals of the Age. And thus culminating in the thirteenth century, the Mediæval Age may, as a great historic period, be defined as the five centuries from the eleventh to the fifteenth, inclusive. With the sixteenth century begins our

² "J'aime surtout qu'il (Hegel) ait vu que le monde n'a été vraiment chrétien qu'au onzième siècle." *Lettre d'A. Comte à M. d'Eichthal* in LITTÉRÉ, *Auguste Comte et la Philosophie Positive*, p. 157.

³ See, for instance, LE CLERC et RENAN, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. XXIV. *Quatorzième Siècle* (1862)—"Le XIe siècle avait été témoin, en philosophie, en poésie, en architecture, d'une renaissance comme l'humanité en compte peu dans ses longs souvenirs. Le XIIe et le XIIIe siècle avaient développé ce germe fécond, le XIVe et le XVe siècle en avaient vu la décadence." RENAN, *L'Art du Moyen Age et les Causes de sa Décadence*, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, t. XL. p. 203 (1862).

present Modern or Transition Age; a period marked, not as was the Mediæval Age, by the general acceptance of an established system of thought, and of government; but a period distinguished by the manifestly progressing destruction of all the political forms, and intellectual foundations of the social system of the Age preceding it, and a no less certain, though perhaps less manifest preparation of a new and higher system of social organization.

But for a thousand years before the opening of the Mediæval Age, Christianity had been working in the European world, completing the destruction of the antique system of thought and of society, and laying the foundations of a new world-system. The first half of this millenium I would distinguish as the Imperial Age. For it is the age of the Roman Empire of the East and West. It is the age also of the Apostles, the Fathers, and the Martyrs of Christianity. And the latter five hundred years of this first millenium of the Christian era I would distinguish as the Barbarian, or Pre-mediæval Age. The Roman Empire no longer extends its sway over Northern and Western Europe; and the various tribes of barbarians,—Celtic and Teutonic,—are engaged in perpetual conflicts,—miserable and disheartening when looked at in their details, but, regarded as a whole, found to be in their great issues conflicts that laid the foundations of the nationalities of a New Europe.⁴ For, by the end of this age, there has been constituted in France the first of the Romanic or Neo-Latin nationalities; in England, a preponderatingly Teutonic; and, in Scotland, a predominantly Celtic nationality.⁵ And

⁴ Compare OZANAM, *Civilization au Cinquième Siècle* t. II. p. 315 et seq.

⁵ As a writer of such authority as Mommsen has said "Solche Eigenschaften guter Soldaten und schlechter Bürger erklären die geschichtliche Thatsache, dass die Kelten alle Staaten erschüttert und keinen gegründet haben," (*Römische Geschichte* B. II., K. IV., b. I., s. 329, *English Translation*, v. I., p. 359), one would not be justified in thus speaking of the consolidation of the tribes of North Britain into a predominantly Celtic nationality without, at least, briefly referring to one's proofs. These are to be found in the unquestionable facts, firstly, that, both in number, and in extent of territory occupied, Celts,—Cymry, Picts and Scots, or Gael,—were the chief basis of the Scottish nationality; secondly, that it was by one of the

as this Pre-mediæval Age was occupied by the elemental wars of the tribes ultimately consolidated in these three national unities ; so, the Mediæval Age was filled with the contests of these nations with each other, and with the rising nationalities around them. But, on taking a wide view of European history, we shall see these Mediæval wars preparing, as all conflict does, in fact, prepare, a higher unity. And, as the name of Scotland is first heard towards the close of the Pre-mediæval wars of the tribes of North Britain ; so, the idea of Europe emerges from the Mediæval conflict of the races of this Asiatic promontory.

Now that which, I trust, will be found the most clearly established, as it is the most general view in this Essay maintained, is

Celtic tribes, the Scots, namely, or Gael, that, not only all the other Celtic elements of the population, but the Saxon element also, was, towards the end of the Pre-mediæval age, united under one monarch, whose dynasty, or the heirs of whose dynasty, lost their sovereignty only with the fall of the Stuarts, and the substitution of the present German Family ; and, thirdly, that, in the opinion of the most competent authorities, not only were the tribes of North Britain thus united into the Scottish nationality by a Celtic race ; not only, that is, have we here, at least, an exception to what Mommsen declares thus absolutely to be an historical fact, "that the Celts have shaken all states and have founded none," but the language of Scotland, both in the Highlands and Lowlands, except a narrow strip of sea-coast, was, at least till the reign of Malcolm Caenmore (1058-1093), and the opening of the Mediæval Age, Gaelic. See INNES, *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, pp. 85-6 ; compare also ROBERTSON, *Scotland under Her Early Kings*, vol. I., pp. 125. et seq. and v. II., pp. 142-3, and p. 374 ; and TITLER, *History of Scotland*, v. II., p. 188, et seq. That, during the Mediæval Age, a Teutonic dialect, allied to the English, took the place of Norman-French, and of Gaelic, at the Court, and further extended itself in the Lowlands, was due to many causes. Among these, may, for instance, be named, the marriage of Malcolm Caenmore with the sister of Edgar Atheling, and the encouragement thence given to the settlement in Scotland of Saxon refugees from the Norman conquest ; the policy of the Scottish monarchs generally in encouraging the settlement both of Saxons and Normans, as allies against their own turbulent subjects ; and the naturally preponderating influence of the inhabitants of sea-coasts. See note 16 *infra* p. xliii*. And yet to this hour one may, in a day's journey from such a vast centre of an English-speaking population as Glasgow, find the simplest English question answered with "No English !" Celts have, therefore, once, at least, succeeded in *founding*, though not in long maintaining, a state with a purely Celtic organization and language. But have Saxons founded or long maintained a State with a purely Teutonic organization ? These current generalizations about the Celts will seldom bear being strictly examined. See ROBERTSON, as above, *Appendix B. The Celt and the Teuton*, v. II. p. 197 et seq.

that in the Romances of the Mediæval Age, and more particularly in those of the Arthurian Cycle, there is not only a mythological element, as I hope in another Essay fully to show ; but that there is a very important historical element ; a record, legendary indeed, and hardly to be deciphered for its extraordinary flourishes, but still a record of certain real, and not purely fictitious characters, incidents, and conflicts of the Premediæval Age. And if this should be established, we shall certainly have a result which will reward the labour of this investigation of Arthurian localities ; a result not only for the general Mediæval history of European literature ; but for the Pre-mediæval history of that particular region in which our researches may localize the events from which the historic element of the Arthurian Romances is derived. Of no slight historic interest can it be to show that Arthur and Merlin are neither purely mythic personages, nor mere poetic creations ; but that the legends and traditions that the Mediæval *trouveres* and *troubadours* wrought-out into their magnificent romances, were records of actual Pre-mediæval personages, whose characters and histories had forcibly impressed the popular imagination ; and that the country where the heroic Arthur fought, and the forests where the wild Merlin wandered, can be now, on no doubtful evidence, pointed-out. The one, no doubt, was but a leader of barbarians, and the other but a barbarian compound of madman and poet, of prophet and bard. But it is these very circumstances that give their characters an historic interest in relation to their Mediæval idealisation.

And not only shall we thus see the Mediæval connected with the Pre-mediæval Age in the relation between the Romantic Ideals of the one, and the Traditional Heroes of the other ; but, in showing that the Mediæval Romances had an historic element, and that the age and country of those characters who lived-again in the Romantic Ideals, can be now assigned ; we shall connect also with that Pre-

medieval, our present Modern Age. For there are many indications, not only in the needs of the time, and in the characteristic advantages of the Arthurian Mythology; but in the actual fact of the use already made of it by so many modern poets; * that the Mediæval Romances of King Arthur will be the chief formal material of the New Poesy. To show, therefore, that these Mediæval Romances had in them a definite historical element, is to give that New Poesy also an historic basis; to discover for its characters and incidents "a local habitation;" and to connect by a new bond the Present, not only with the Mediæval, but with the Pre-mediæval Age.

Another, a still higher, a moral interest this investigation seems also to me to have; and I trust that, before entering upon it, I may be pardoned for alluding for a moment to these higher, these moral aspects of our subject. Let me but desire my readers to reflect how the establishment of such a relation, as will here occupy us, between Mediæval Romance and Pre-mediæval history, brings home the great idea of the continuity of human development; how it shows the traditions of the barbarian conflicts of one age taken up by the next, and used as the formal material of the creations of a magnificent poesy; how it shows the rude lives of an earlier period living again in the ideal heroes of succeeding ages; how it shows that, though the tribes of whom these traditions are the historic memorials, were conquered, absorbed and extinguished as separate political organizations, yet they died not; how it shows that, in the succession of Humanital, as in the sequence of Natural phenomena, there is, in fact, no such thing as Death; that there is but Decease only, and Transformation. And thus it is but a great historic truth mythically expressed, that legend of Merlin's prophecies from his Tomb. "Lady," replied Merlin, "the flesh upon me will be rotten

* I need here only recall Mr. Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, Mr. Arnold's *Tristram and Iseult*, Mr. Morris's *Defence of Guinevere*, Edgar Quinet's epic *Merlin*, and Richard Wagner's "Poèmes d'Opera," *Lohengrin*, and *Tristan et Iseult*.

before a month shall have past; but my spirit will not be wanting to all those who shall come here.”¹

“Vive la voce; e come chiara emerge,
Udir potrai da la marmorea tomba;
Che le passate e le future cose,
A chi gli domandò sempre rispose.”²

SECTION (II).

The Arthurian Localities of Southern Scotland, Western England, and North-Western France.

Let us now proceed to our preliminary survey of the traditional Arthur-land. Localities with Arthurian names, or Arthurian traditions attached to them, are to be found, in greater or less abundance, in Scotland, in Wales, Somersetshire, and Cornwall, and in Brittany. In Scotland, there is still pointed out in the churchyard of Meigle, on the borders of Perthshire and Forfarshire, an ancient sculptured stone said to mark “Ganore’s Grave,” or the tomb of Guenivere. Arthur’s Seat still connects Edinburgh with the mythic hero’s fame. And at Drummelziar on the Tweed is still to be seen the perennial thorn that has not yet ceased, in an offshoot at least, to bloom over the grave of Merlin. How many more Arthurian localities are to be found in Scotland will, in the third chapter of this essay, be shown in detail. Postponing, then, any further notice of the Arthurian localities of Southern Scotland, I shall at once proceed to those of Western England.

In North Wales, between Mold and Ruthin, near Colomendy Lodge, in Flintshire, is Maen Arthur, a stone which, in popular fancy, bears an impression of the hoof of the hero’s steed. Between Mold and Denbigh is Moel Arthur, an ancient British fort, defended by two ditches of great depth. Near Denbigh, “there is, in the Paroch of *Llansannan* in the Side of a Stony Hille, a Place wher there be 24 Holes or Places in a Roundel for Men to sitte in, but sum lesse, and some bigger, cutte oute of

¹ *Prophecies de Merlin*, F. 76.

² *ARIOSTO, Orlando Furioso*, c. III. s. 11.

the mayne Rok by Mannes Hand; and there Children and Young Men cumming to seke their Catelle use to sitte & play. Sum caulle it *the Rounde Table*. Kiddes use ther communely to play & skip from Sete to Sete.”⁹ The remains of what would appear to have been a Roman Camp overlooking Redwharf Bay, or Traeth Coch, in Anglesea, is locally called Burdd Arthur, or Arthur’s Round Table. Also in Anglesey, in the grounds of Llwydiarth, a seat of the Lloyd family, is a famous Maen Chwff, or rocking stone, called Arthur’s Quoit. In Caernarvonshire, to the south of Snowdon, “overlooking the lower end of Llyn y Ddinas, is Dinas Emrys, a singular isolated rock, clothed on all sides with wood, containing on the summit some faint remains of a building defended by ramparts,” with which a legend of Merlin and Vortigern is connected:—

“And from the top of Brith, so high and wondrous steep,
Where Dinas Emris stood, shewed where the serpents fought,
The White that tore the Red; from whence the prophet wrought
The Briton’s sad decay then shortly to ensue.”¹⁰

In this same county, at Llyn Geirionydd, as also at Aberystwith, and other localities on the Cardiganshire coast, Taliessin, another of the four great bards of the sixth century, is said to have been found on the shore, like Moses in the bulrushes, by Gwyddno Garanhir.¹¹ And, on the south of Caernarvon Bay, is Nant Gwrtheryn, the Hollow of Vortigern, a precipitous ravine by the sea, said to have been the last resting place of the usurper,—so, at least, he is represented in the *Romance of Merlin*,¹²—when he fled to escape the rage of his subjects on finding themselves betrayed to the Saxons. In Merionethshire, there is a river with the Arthurian name of Camlan flowing into the Eden. And the Church of Llanover, near the Bala Lake in this county, is said to have been the burial place of

⁹ LELAND, *Itinerary*, v. V. pp. 62, 63.

¹⁰ DRAYTON, *Poly-Olbion, Song the Tenth. Works*, v. III. p. 843.

¹¹ GUEST (Lady Charlotte), *The Mabinogion*, v. III. p. 360.

¹² Chapters II. and III. (Early English Text Society).

one of the four most famous bards of the Arthurian Age, Llywarch Hen, or Llywarch, the Aged. To the address of this bard to his Crutch Mr. Arnold refers in illustration of "the Titanism of the Celt, his passionate, turbulent, indomitable reaction against the despotism of fact."¹³

"O my Crutch! is it not the first day of May? The furrows, are they not shining? The young corn, is it not springing? Ah! the sight of thy handle makes me wroth."

In South Wales, near the turnpike road from Reynoldstone to Swansea, on the north slope of Cefn Bryn, there is the famous cromlech called Arthur's Stone. About five miles to the south of Brecon on the Usk, rise the twin peaks of the Beacons called Arthur's Chair. On an eminence adjoining the park of Mocras Court, in Brecknockshire, is a large and peculiar kind of British cromlech, called Arthur's Table. And at the once famous city, now the decayed village, of Caerleon upon Usk,—the *Iscā Silurum* of Antoninus, where the second Augustan Legion was, during a long period, in garrison,—are the remains of a Roman Amphitheatre, in a bank of earth heaped up in an oval form sixteen feet high, and now also called Arthur's Round Table. Some four miles from Caermarthen, itself said to be derived, but quite erroneously,¹⁴ from Caer Merddin, the city of Merlin, is Merlin's Grove, and Hill. And on the bank of the Towy, within the domain of Dynevor Park, Spenser has placed the cave of Merlin :—

"There the wise Merlin, whilom wont, they say,
To make his wonne low underneath the ground,
In a deep delve far from the view of day,
That of no living wight he might be found,
When so he counselled with his sprites around.

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¹³ *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, p. 155. See also *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 326.

¹⁴ NASH, *Merlin the Enchanter and Merlin the Bard*, p. x. Caer Myrdin, or Merddin is a Welsh corruption of the Roman *Mari-dunum*, "Sea-town." Compare SELDEN's Note on the Fourth Song of Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, Works, v. II. p. 746, and v. III. p. 852.

It is a hideous, hollow, cave-like bay,
 Under a rock that has a little space
 From the swift Tyvi, tumbling down apace
 Amongst the woody hills of Dynevowr." ¹⁵

In Somersetshire, may first be mentioned Bath, the *Aquæ Solis* or *Sulis* of the Romans. But the reasons against here localizing the Arthurian Battle of Badon Hill mentioned by Nennius are well stated by Mr. Guest,¹⁶ though, as will be seen hereafter, I cannot agree with his suggestion, "Why may not the Mons Badonicus be the Badbury of Dorsetshire?"¹⁷ Between Castle Cary and Yeovil, on the escarpment of the oolite, abutting on the plain which extends to Ilchester, is Cadbury, "a hill of a mile compass at the top, four trenches encircling it, and twixt every of them an earthen wall; the content of it, within about twenty acres full of ruins and reliques of old buildings. . . . 'Dii boni (saith Leland) quot hic profundissimarum fossarum? quot hic egestæ terræ valla? quæ demum præcipitia? atque ut paucis finiam, videtur mihi quidem esse et Artis et Naturæ miraculum.' Antique report makes this one of Arthur's places of his Round Table."¹⁸ Cadbury is mentioned in old records under the name of Camelot, a name still perpetuated in the adjoining villages of Queen's Camel and West Camel. In the fourth ditch is a spring called King Arthur's Well. And the relics found in the fortress prove it to have been occupied by the Romans, though, as we have seen, tradition assigns its origin to King Arthur, who, in the opinion of Camden, probably fought a battle with the Saxons in this neighbourhood. The other famous Arthurian locality of Somersetshire is Glastonbury, which, once encircled by the arms of the Brue, or Brent, formed the Roman Insula Avalonia, or Isle of Avalon.

¹⁵ "*Færie Queens*," iii. 3. Compare also DRAYTON, *Poly-Olbion, Song the Fifth Works*, v. II. pp. 756-7.

¹⁶ *Early English Settlements in South Britain*, p. 35.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 38.

¹⁸ SELDEN, Note on Drayton's *Poly-Olbion, Works*, v. II. p. 724.

"O three times famous Isle, where is that place that might
 Be with thyself compared for glory and delight,
 Whilst Glastenbury stood ? exalted to that pride,
 Whose monastery seemed all other to deride.

.
 To whom didst thou commit that monument to keep
 When not Great Arthur's tomb, nor holy Joseph's grave,
 From sacrilege had power their holy bones to save ?" ¹⁹

Selden's annotation on this passage seems worth giving, at least in part. "Henry the Second in his expedition towards Ireland entertained by the way in Wales with bardish songs, wherein he heard it affirmed that in Glastenbury (made almost an isle by the river's embracements) Arthur was buried betwixt two pillars, gave commandment to Henry of Blois, then abbot, to make search for the corps, which was found in a wooden coffin (Girald saith oaken, Leland thinks alder), some sixteen foot deep; but after they had digged nine foot, they found a stone on whose lower side was fixt a leaden cross (crosses fixt upon the tombs of old Christians were in all places ordinary) with his name inscribed, and the letter side of it turned to the stone. He was then honoured with a sumptuous monument, and afterwards the sculls of him and his wife Guinever were taken out (to remain as separate relics and spectacles) by Edward Longshanks and Eleanor Worthily famous was the Abbey also from Joseph of Arimathea (that *Ευσχήμων Βουλγητης*, as S. Mark calls him) here buried, etc."²⁰ But, notwithstanding the inscription on the leaden cross, "Hic jacet sepultus inclytus rex Arthurus in insula Avalonia;" or as it is otherwise more epigrammatically given, "Hic jacet Arthurus, Rex quondam, Rexque futurus;"—

"His Epitaph recordeth so certaine
 Here lieth K. Arthur that shall raigne againe;—" ²¹

it is hardly necessary to add that there is almost every reason to

¹⁹ DRAYTON, *Poly-Olbion, Song the Third, Works*, v. II. p. 712.

²⁰ *Ibid.* v. II. p. 722.

²¹ LIDGATE, *Boccace Lib. VIII. Cnp. 24*.

believe that this extraordinary "find" could have been nothing but a pious fraud, *in majorem monasterii gloriam*.²³

In Cornwall (*Cornu Galliæ*), Camelford and Tintagel have a pre-eminence in Arthurian tradition similar to that maintained by Cadbury and Glastonbury in Somersetshire. Not far from Camelford is a little entrenchment, known as Arthur's Hall. On the Camel or Alan (*Crum hayle*, crooked river) the final battle is said to have been fought between Arthur and his rebellious nephew, or rather, bastard son, Mordred.

"Let Camel of her course & curious windings boast,
 . . . her proper course that loosely doth neglect,
 As frantic, ever since her British Arthur's blood,
 By Mordred's murderous hand was mingled with her flood." ²³

Between Camelford and Launceston, on Wilsey Downs, is Warbelow Barrow, an ancient fortification of considerable size, in the centre of which is a large mound, popularly called King Arthur's Grave. At Slaughter Bridge, between Camelford and Tintagel, on the Bristol Channel, a stone, with the hero's name on it, is pointed out. Tintagel, though in the romances of Sir Tristrem it is made the Castle of King Mark, is the reputed birthplace and residence of Arthur.²⁴ Some of the rock basins in the slate of the promontory are fantastically called King Arthur's Cups and Saucers; and south of Tintagel, near St. Colomb, is the eminence of Castle an Dinas, or the earth-fort, crowned with an elliptical doubly entrenched camp of six acres, which tradition affirms to have been the hunting-seat of King Arthur, who, according to the legends, chased the wild deer on the Tregon Moors. Some miles north of Liskeard are several rocky tors, one group of which is called King Arthur's Bed (*Beth*, i.e., Grave?). Lyonesse, the possession of Sir Tristrem, is said

²³ See, however, Mr. Pearson's note, *infra*, p. clii*.

²³ DRAYTON, *Poly-Olbion, Song the First, Works*, v. II. p. 660.

²⁴ An account of a recent visit to it is given by the author of *John Halifax in Good Words* for January, 1867; *In King Arthur's Land; a Week's Study of Cornish Life*. Jennifer (*Guenivere*?) is mentioned as a common name.

to have been that submerged tract of slate by which the Scilly Isles, the outlying members of that series of granitic highlands which extends through Cornwall to Dartmoor, were traditionally united to the mainland; and two of the most eastern isles of this little archipelago are distinguished by the names of Great, and Little Arthur.

Crossing the Channel, we find in Little Britain, or Brittany, another district boasting itself to be the cradle of romance. In the Cornuailles and Leonais, two of its ancient divisions, we have another Cornwall and Lyonesse. In the latter, is situated Kerduel, where Arthur is said to have held his Court. A short distance off the coast is the island of Aiguilon or Avalon, where, as in the *Insula Avalonia* of Glastonbury, he is said to have been buried. And near this also is Mount St. Michael, with its legend of the hero's rescue of the fair Helena, the niece of Hoel, from the hateful embraces of the giant.

“ . . . great Rython's self he slew in his repair
Who ravish'd Howell's niece, young Hellena the fair;
And for a trophy brought the giant's coat away,
Made of the beards of kings.”²⁵

“On the banks of the Elorn are still pointed out the sites of the castles and forts of Launcelot du Lac, and of La Blonde Yseult. In the Morbihan, the next Celtic division to that of Cornuailles, is shown the Forest of Broceliande, where Merlin ‘drees his weird;’ and there also is the consecrated fountain of Balanton, which is still believed to possess miraculous properties. There also may be found Caradoc and Madoc, and other names peculiar to the ancient legends of British History.”²⁶

SECTION (III).

The Question proposed, its Interest, and the Method of its Solution.

Thus we find Arthurian localities in all the five districts, in modern times known as Southern Scotland, Wales, Somersetshire,

²⁵ DRAYTON, *Poly-Olbion, Song the Fourth, Works*, v. II. p. 735.

²⁶ FORBES-LESLIE, *The Early Races of Scotland and their Monuments*, v. I. p. 12.

Cornwall, and Brittany. And hence the first result of a general inquiry into Arthurian topography is the outlining of a continuous region from the Grampians, in Scotland, to the Loire, in France, distinguished by localities with Arthurian names, or Arthurian traditions attached to them. This region may be briefly described as including what is now the south of Scotland, the west of England, and the northwest of France.²⁷ And the question which I propose in this Essay mainly to consider, and, if possible, definitively to answer, is:—Which of these three divisions of the old Arthur-land, that of Scotland, of England, or of France, was the original birth-land of Arthurian tradition?

To show the importance of this question, and to excite an interest in its solution, I trust that the following brief remarks will be sufficient. In the first place, then, it opens up to the philosophic historian the general question of the origin of traditional topographies; a question which has not only not been, as yet, so far as I am aware, treated scientifically, except with respect to some of the Syrian localities of Christian tradition; but which is connected in its general bearings with all those other questions of origin which so directly affect the validity of popular religious beliefs. But, farther, it is an inquiry, the result of which will be to draw back the veil from ancient centuries of the history of mankind, and to connect, with still existing monuments, long past events of that struggle for existence, which, of all others, must chiefly interest us of the human race.

But, besides these general results, the inquiry on which we would now enter, ought, at length, to present us with the local historical

²⁷ Arthurian traditions, it must, however, be noted, attach also to some places beyond the limits of the region thus described, and rather in the south, than the west of England. For instance,

“And for great Arthur's seat, her Winchester prefers,

Whose old Round Table yet she vaunteth to be hers;”

sings Drayton in the Second Song of the *Poly-Olbion*, so often above quoted (*Works*, v. II. p. 691).

basis of that vast cycle of Romance the large place of which in the history of European literature, and the great influence of which on the development of modern civilization, is now more or less fully acknowledged. Yet, further, if I am right in the conclusion that the two chief elements determining the form of the Mediæval Arthurian Romances are to be found in historical events of the Premediæval Age, and in Celtic myths, which may be traced back to the earliest forms of speech distinctive of the Indo-European Races,²⁸ this inquiry will appear as the necessary preliminary to the investigation of the Arthurian branch of a mythology which is second in interest only to that which has gathered round the historical facts of Christian tradition. And yet, further, if, as seems probable, not only from their special characteristics, but from the use increasingly made of them, the Arthurian Romances are destined to become the chief formal material of European poesy; such an inquiry as the following should, in determining the original locality of Arthurian tradition, fix also the site of a new classic land, in which, as of old, in Greece, the creations of poesy in all its different forms, may have a common "local habitation," and gain all the advantages, thus only given, of vivid realization in the popular fancy.

For those to whom the force of these considerations in illustration of the importance of the question above proposed, and the interest of its solution, may not be at once apparent, let me add, what may to some antiquarians be the most stimulating circumstances of all, the facts, simply, that this question has been eagerly discussed; that the answer here given, though it has been suggested, cannot be held to have been hitherto proved;²⁹ and that

²⁸ In the same way as the linguistic origin of the Classic myths has been explained by modern philology. See MAX MÜLLER, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, and *Chips from a German Workshop*.

²⁹ Chalmers remarks that "the valourous Arthur of History and the redoubtable Arthur of Romance has supplied the topography of North Britain with such signi-

the method of proof which has been followed is new, inasmuch

significant names, as seem to imply, either that the influence of the real Arthur was felt, or the remembrance of the fictitious Arthur was preserved, for many ages after the Pendragon had fallen by the insidious stroke of treachery from the kindred hand of Mordred." *Caledonia*, v. I. p. 244. Sir Walter Scott, in a note on his *Vision of Don Roderick*, Introduction, s. iv., observes that "much of the ancient poetry preserved in Wales refers less to the history of the Principality to which that name is now limited, than to events which happened in the north-west of England, and south-west of Scotland, where the Britons for a long time made a stand against the Saxons." And he further refers to the connection of Aneurin, Llywarch Hen, and Merlin with Scotland rather than with Wales. Compare also his introduction to *Sir Tristram*, pp. xxxiv-viii.; and to *Thomas the Rhymer*, Part II. in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1842 was, however, the first, I believe, distinctly to maintain that "the seat of Arthur's power was . . . adjacent to the Saxon settlement of Lothian;" and that "in connection with that settlement his victories are recorded by Nennius." And he adds that the mistake of assigning to Arthur a kingdom in the south-western extremity of the island "was possibly confirmed by the casual similarity of name between Arthur's real subjects in the north, and those assumed for him in the Cornish promontory, the former bearing the designation of Damnii, the latter of Dumnonii" v. XVII. p. 486. But the incompleteness of the evidence advanced in support of this conclusion was probably the reason of its attracting but little attention. Mr. Nash also asserts, but does not even attempt to prove a theory similar to that in this essay maintained. "The original locality," he says, "of the traditions which have furnished the groundwork of these world-renowned romances (of King Arthur) is probably the Cumbrian region taken in its widest extent from the Firths of Forth and Clyde southward and westward along the borders of the Northumbrian kingdom, in which the famous exploits of the British Cymric struggle with the Northumbrian Angles became the theme of a native minstrelsy, transplanted into Brittany by the refugees from the Saxon conquest, and moulded into the romances with which we have been made acquainted by the Norman trouveres." *Merlin the Enchanter and Merlin the Bard*, p. iv. And Mr. Burton at least admits that, "if any reality could be extracted from the Arthurian histories, Scotland would have its full share, since much of the narrative comes northward of the present border." *History of Scotland*, v. I. pp. 174-7. On the other hand, however, Dr. Guest identifies Arthur with Owen Finddu, the son of Aurelius Ambrosius, and places him in the south-west of England; remarking that his being called the son of Uter arose from Geoffrey of Monmouth's having mistaken the meaning of the term applied to him by Nennius, *map uter*, "the terrible boy, because he was cruel from his childhood." *Welsh and English Rule in Somersetshire after the Capture of Bath*, A.D. 577. *Archæological Journal*, 1859, p. 123 et seq. And Mr. Pearson also makes Arthur sovereign of a territory in the south-west of England of which Camelot, or Cadbury, in Somersetshire, was the capital. *Early and Middle Ages of England*, v. I. p. 56-8. See also *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, v. I. pp. 401-4; and *infra* p. . . And Col. Forbes-Leslie, without appearing to have a suspicion that Scotland may be the true birthland of Arthurian tradition, says: "I do not presume to give an opinion on the rival claims of Wales, Cornwall, and Armorica, to the domicile of King Arthur and his Paladins, and Merlin with his magical powers." *Early Races of Scotland and their Monuments*, v. I. p. 167 (1866).

as it is an adaptation of physical methods to antiquarian researches.

That method has consisted, first, in examining the results of the modern scientific criticism of Celtic history, political, and literary, in as far as these results more particularly bear on the definite localization of events which may have been the origin of those traditions which, in our investigation of Arthurian topography, we have found to be so widely diffused. Our deduction from these critical results has been that it was in Southern Scotland, and neither in Western England, nor in North-western France that the Arthurian traditions, still attached to so much of the topography of all these districts, originated. This deduction, however, standing alone, could hardly in any case, and especially considering the scantiness of the materials on which it is founded, be received as satisfactory scientific proof of the historical origin of Arthurian localities. And hence the necessity of an inductive verification of our deductive theory. How was such a verification to be gained?

By the second step of the method which has guided these researches. This was founded on the postulate, or assumption, that, except special reasons could be shown to the contrary, that district in which the Arthurian traditions had their local historical origin would be found to be the chief country of Arthurian localities. I therefore noted, in the course of a great many perambulations of the region thus critically indicated, all the localities there to be found with Arthurian names, or Arthurian traditions attached to them. The general result of these journeys was a determination of that district of Southern Scotland and the English Border, in which the Arthurian traditions had, according to our critical theory, had their local origin, as, to this day, the chief country of Arthurian localities. This, on the principle above stated, I seemed justified in regarding as the required inductive verification. And thus it is in the fact of the accordance of the deduction from the results of literary and

historical criticism, with the induction from the results of topographical investigation, that the main proof of the thesis in this essay maintained, namely, that Scotland is the original seat of Arthurian tradition, consists.

But our conclusions both as to the historical origin and the chief country of the Arthurian localities, having been found to be thus accordant and mutually confirmatory in their indication of Southern Scotland, it did not appear that our investigation would be scientifically complete without an examination of the relations of the Scottish Arthurian topography to that Fingalian topography which has been long known to be possessed by Scotland, as well as Ireland. Nor will, I trust, this third step in our investigation of Arthurian localities be thought other than a necessary part of our discussion of Arthurian localities, if, instructed by the results of that most powerful of modern scientific instruments, the Comparative Method, one has been led to see how necessary is the study of the Fingalian Myths in the scientific investigation of the Arthurian Romances; if one considers the importance of the fact that the local relations, discovered in Scotland, of Arthurian to Fingalian tradition, are nowhere else to be found; and if, especially, I am successful in showing in these unique relations a confirmation of the theory here maintained as to the original birthland of the traditions of King Arthur.

Having thus, in this first, or introductory chapter, set-forth the general relation which I seek to establish between Mediæval Romance and Pre-mediæval History; having briefly noted the chief traditional localities of the Old Arthur-land, considered as a continuous European region; and having stated the method by which I propose to determine the special district in which Arthurian traditions originated, the subjects of the succeeding chapters will be as follows. In the next, or second chapter, those results of the

criticism of Cymric history will be detailed, from which the deduction, as to the origin of Arthurian localities, is drawn. In the third chapter, a summary account will be given of the very numerous perambulations of the Arthurian district of Scotland, from the result of which arises the verificative induction as to the chief country of Arthurian localities. In the fourth chapter it will be shown how variously suggestive, and confirmatory of the conclusions of the foregoing chapters, are those Fingalian relations of the Arthurian topography of Scotland, presented by the examination of Pictish memorials. And, fifthly, I shall, in conclusion, briefly advert to considerations that should seem to give more than merely antiquarian interest to this discovery of the true, or original country of Arthurian tradition.

Let me now, then, endeavour to show that that part of those far Islands of the West where terminated, until their new exodus in the present age,³⁰ and where were reunited, at length, the two great northern and southern streams of Celtic migration from the Asian birthland of the Aryan tribes;—that part of the Old Arthur-land in which the Pre-mediæval events which are the chief historical bases of the Arthurian Romances of the Mediæval *trouveres* and *troubadours* actually occurred, and where the tradition of these events has to this day the most numerous topographical monuments;—is that district of the largest of the British Isles which, bounded on the north by the chain of the Grampians, and on the south by the Tyne and the Derwent, was formerly known as *Y Gogledd*, or “the North,” and which I would distinguish as Arthurian Scotland.³¹

³⁰ See BURY (Lord), *Exodus of the Western Nations*.

³¹ This term is thus used to include part of what is now England. But, I think, justifiably: not only because it is a more convenient, though, perhaps, less exact term than “Southern Scotland and the English Border;” but because the dominion of the early Scottish kings extended, though precariously, beyond the present border; and because Cumberland and Northumberland were not finally annexed to the Crown of England till the third of Henry II. See HINDE, *On the Early History of Cumberland*, in *The Archaeological Journal*, 1859, p. 217 et seq.

Let me, now,—but without any assumption, in so obscure a matter, of absolutely proving my case,—bring forward in due order those results of critical and topographical research which appear to me to support each other in the conclusion that Southern Scotland and the English Border is the true historical region of the Old Arthur-land.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF ARTHURIAN LOCALITIES AS DEDUCED FROM THE CRITICISM OF CYMRIC HISTORY.

IN attempting to answer the question before us as to the birth-land of Arthurian tradition, I shall, in this chapter, briefly state those results of a critical examination of Cymric history, political and literary, from which we seem justified in concluding—first, that the Arthur of the earliest historical sources, and of the earliest bardic poems, was a leader of the northern Cymry, and, hence, that the North was the cradle of Arthurian story; secondly, that, in the history of the northern Cymry, there were conditions inimical to the importation and preservation of Arthurian traditions, supposing they did *not* originate in the North in an historical Arthur; and thirdly, that, on the other hand, in the history of the southern Cymry, there were conditions in the highest degree favourable to the importation of Arthurian traditions, supposing they *had* in the North, their historical origin. It is but just to add that I shall found these conclusions principally on the results of the admirable Celtic researches of Mr. Skene.¹

SECTION (I).

Direct Indications of the North as the Historical Birthland of Arthurian Tradition.

First, then, let me state those critical results which directly

¹ Chiefly as contained in his Introductions, or Prefaces, to *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, *The Book of the Dean of Lismore*, and *The Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*.

indicate the North as the birthland of Arthurian tradition. This I shall do in the order of the questions that logically arise in an investigation of Cymric history. The first of these is as to the number and character of the earliest authentic sources of such history? Besides the old Roman and Saxon authorities, these sources are but three in number—first, the *Historia* and *Epistola* of Gildas which, from internal evidence, appears to have been composed in the year 560; secondly, the works which go under the name of Nennius, of which the first would appear to have been written in the seventh century, soon after the *Origines* of Isidore of Seville who died in 636, and the others in the succeeding centuries, down to 1072; thirdly, the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, of which the oldest, the Laws of Howel dda, are of the tenth century.

We have next to inquire what, so far as we can gather it from these ancient historical sources, was the distribution of the Cymric population in the sixth century, the earliest of which we find native historians? And we thence discover that, instead of the Cymry being, as commonly supposed, confined to Wales and Cornwall, with the Picts and Scots occupying the country to the north of the wall between the Tyne and the Solway; the Cymry possess the whole of the country from the Dee and the Humber to the Firths of Forth and Clyde, except the east coast from the Tyne to the Esk, where the Saxons are gradually encroaching, and the district of Galloway on the north of the Solway, between the Nith and Loch Ryan, where the Picts still maintain themselves. But while we are thus shown the Cymric population extending much further north than we have hitherto generally believed, we find also that, instead of Wales being exclusively occupied by Cymry, its western seaboard is in the possession of the Gwyddyl, or Gael, (Scots from Ireland?) a line drawn from Conway, on the north, to Swansea on the south, separating the two (Celtic) races of the

Gwyddyl and the Cymry, on the west and on the east.³ Further, as to the distribution of the Cymry in this early period, it seems here necessary only to add that the Bretons of Armorica were of this race;⁴ as also should seem to have been the Belgæ of Holland, Belgium, Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy, by this time, however, for the most part absorbed by a Teutonic population.⁴ Thus, as the first important result of our historical criticism, we find that the region in which, as has, in the foregoing chapter been shown, Arthurian localities are now to be found, is co-extensive with that occupied in the sixth century by the Cymric race.

On what part of this extensive territory did the events recorded by the earliest historians of the Cymry take place? The answer given by Mr. Skene, as the result of his examination of the above-mentioned sources, and particularly of the *Historia Britonum*, the earliest of the works collected under the name of Nennius, is—that these earliest recorded events occurred in the north of this Cymric territory, in those petty states or kingdoms of Strathclyde and Cumbria, which now form the south of Scotland and the English Border. And the Arthur of Nennius, the only historic Arthur, thus appears as the *dux bellorum* or *Guledig* of these northern Cymric states in a prolonged, but victorious conflict with the Saxons of the Bernician kingdom of the eastern coast, and the Picts from the other side of the Forth, in the sixth century. For the detailed proof of this very important conclusion, I shall here only refer to Mr. Skene's recent work; to those papers in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1842, above referred to (p. xvii^o. n. 21), which, maintaining a similar theory, first, I believe, suggested to Mr. Skene the course of research, of which we have the ripe fruit in the *Four Ancient Books*; and to the Appendix to this Essay.

³ *Four Ancient Books* v. I. p. 43. See also JONES (Archdeacon), *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*.

³ SOUVESTRE, *Les Derniers Bretons*, v. I. p. 144.

⁴ NICHOLS' *Pedigree of the English*, p. 40.

The early distribution of the Cymric race, and the place of the earliest events recorded by its historians, being thus determined, the way is cleared for an answer to the next question that naturally arises in pursuing this investigation, namely,—to what district, and to what age, does the most ancient Cymric literature, the body of poems attributed to Bards of the sixth century, really belong, and how does Arthur appear in them? For it is evident that, if these poems are genuine, they must reflect the history of that period; and hence, that their accordance with the ascertained distribution, and facts of the history of the Cymric race in the sixth century, must be taken as the test of the age commonly assigned to them. And “if we find that they do not re-echo to any extent the fictitious narrative of the events of the fifth and sixth centuries as represented in the *Bruts*, but rather the leading facts of the early history of the Cymry, as we have been able to deduce them from the older authorities, it will be a strong reason for concluding that they belong themselves to an earlier age.”⁵ Such are the grounds on which Mr. Skene proceeds in controverting the conclusions of that negative school of criticism represented by Mr. Stephens⁶ and Mr. Nash,⁷ and which was the natural reaction from the extravagances of the mythologic school of Owen Pughe, and Edward Williams, and, more particularly, of Davies,⁸ and of Herbert.⁹

Mr. Skene thus states the result of his examination of these poems. First, as to the district of the ancient Cymric territory to which they belong: “Of a large proportion of the historical poems, the scenery and events lie in the north; the warriors whose deeds they celebrate were ‘*Gwyr y Gogledd*,’ or Men of the North; they are attributed to Bards (*Merlin, Taliessin, Aneurin*,

⁵ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 225.

⁶ *Literature of the Kymry*.

⁷ *Taliessin, or the Bards and Druids of Britain*.

⁸ *The Mythology of the British Druids*.

⁹ *Britannia after the Romans*, and *The Neo-Druidic Heresy*.

and Llywarch Hen,) connected with the north; and are, in point of fact, the literature of the Cymric inhabitants of Cumbria before that kingdom was subjugated by the Saxon king,"¹⁰ Edmund of Wessex, and by him ceded to the Gaelic king, Malcolm, king of Scots, in 946. Secondly, as to the true age of these poems attributed to Bards of the sixth century, Mr. Skene, while considering that the oldest of them may have their foundation in the national lays of Bards, who lived amid the conflicts of contending races in that century, does not "place these poems in their earliest consistent shape further back than the seventh century;" when "the sudden rise of the Cymric population to power under Cadwallawn, and the burst of national enthusiasm and excited hope, found vent in poetry."¹¹ Lastly, how do these earliest Cymric poems mention Arthur, and where do they place him? "Out of so large a body of poems, there are only five which mention him at all, and then it is the historical Arthur, the Guledig, to whom the defence of the wall was entrusted, and who fights the twelve battles in the north, and finally perishes at Camlan."¹² And Mr. Skene very justly advances this fact in confirmation of the high antiquity which, controverting the conclusions of Mr. Stephens and Mr. Nash, he assigns to these poems. "If they occupied a place, as is supposed, in Welsh literature, subsequent to the introduction of the Arthurian Romances, we should expect these poems to be saturated with king Arthur, his knights, and their adventures. But it is not so."¹³ The fact is, on the contrary, as above-stated. These results, therefore, of the critical examination of Cymric history, political and literary, lead directly to the positive conclusion that the historical Arthur having been a leader of the northern Cymry, the original birthland of the Arthurian traditions was the region which now forms Southern Scotland, and the English Border.

¹⁰ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 242.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 243.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 226-7.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 226.

SECTION (II).

Historical Conditions inimical to the Importation into the North of Arthurian Tradition.

But, for the sake of further assurance, let us suppose that the Arthurian traditions of Scotland did not originate there in an historical Arthur; and so, inquire whether the History of the Northern Cymry presents us with conditions favourable, or inimical, to the importation of such traditions, and their topographical preservation, if thus derived, and not original. What the general conditions are that favour, or oppose, the introduction of traditions and traditional topographies from countries in which they have had an actual basis in historical facts, I will not here venture to state. The defining of such conditions belongs, indeed, fundamentally, to a science not yet constituted, a Psychology, not of men considered individually, but collectively. Here it will be sufficient briefly to point-out the chief historical facts connected with the northern Cymry; and then ask, whether there are, or not, in these facts, such conditions as our present historical, and psychological knowledge would make appear inimical to the derivation from Wales, or elsewhere, of the Arthurian traditional topography of Southern Scotland.

Of these facts, the first to be noted is, that the petty Cymric kingdoms of the north were finally absorbed in the greater kingdom, not only of a kindred Celtic race, but of a race with which the Cymry had never been, except temporarily or occasionally, at war; and a race, moreover, which had, like the Cymry themselves, been the champions of Christianity against Paganism during the whole of these now dim, but once passion-lit Pre-mediæval Centuries. The region which, in the tenth century, began to be known as Scotland¹⁴ was, in the sixth century, after the withdrawal of the

¹⁴ First so called in that part of the *Saxon Chronicle* composed about 975. *Scotia* is used first with its modern meaning by *Marianus Scotus* in the eleventh century.

Romans, occupied by the four nations, or rather tribes, of the Cymry, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons; the three first, of Celtic, the last, of Teutonic race. With the Picts on the north, and the Saxons on the east, the Cymry were in constant warfare; and had either the Saxons or the Picts finally succeeded in consolidating these various tribes in a new nationality, there would be evident psychological grounds for the hypothesis that the Arthurian traditions of Scotland were not the legendary records of historical events which had there occurred, but of events which had elsewhere happened, and of which the traditions had been imported to console a conquered race under a foreign and hated yoke. But neither by the Picts, nor by the Angles, with whom they had been for centuries at war, were the Cymry of the north finally absorbed; but by the Scots, a brother of whose king they had themselves voluntarily elected to the throne in 918, previously to their being regularly incorporated into the Scottish nationality after the Treaty of 946, between Malcolm II. and their Saxon foe, Edmund of Wessex.

But in these Pre-mediæval Centuries, ecclesiastical is even more important than political history. The history of Christianity is then, indeed, what the history of Philosophy and of Science has become since the upbreak of the Catholico-feudal system of the Mediæval Age; that which alone, making transparent the spirit animating the outward forms of political changes, reveals to us their deepest causes. For not only had Churchmen, in these ancient centuries, a predominant influence in accomplishing, or retarding, political revolutions; but with a native Church was indissolubly connected the national language and literature. How, then, do the chief facts of the ecclesiastical history of the northern Cymric States bear on the question before us? Now we find that the Christianity of Scotland was derived from two different sources. Directly from Rome came the Missions to the Cymry and Angles

of the south; while those to the Scots and Picts of the north, emanated from the Irish Church of St. Patrick. This latter Church was distinctively monastic in its organization; and hence arose an opposition between the two Christian Churches of North Britain, which could not, in that Pre-mediæval Age, but have the most important political, and other effects. For us, it is sufficient here to note that it was the Irish, or Columban Church of the Scots that ultimately acquired the supremacy; a supremacy marked by the foundation, in the year 736, of the Church of S. Andrew; and the general adoption of S. Andrew, instead of—as when the Church of the Cymry (and Angles) had the ascendancy—S. Peter, as the patron saint of the kingdom.¹⁵ And hence we see that, in the victory of the opponent Church with its Gaelic language and literature, the way was already, in the eighth century, prepared, not only for that political incorporation of the northern Cymric States in the kingdom of the Scots which took place in the tenth century, but for that complete absorption of the Cymric by the Gaelic race, indicated by such a speedy disappearance of the language of the former that, at the opening of the Mediæval Age, in the eleventh century, we find the various tribes of North Britain consolidated into a Gaelic-speaking kingdom.¹⁶

¹⁵ Compare SKENE, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, pp. clxx.-iv., INNES, *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, ch. i. etc., and BURTON, *History of Scotland*, v. l. chs. vii. and viii.

¹⁶ "To account for the prevalence of a Teutonic speech throughout the southern and eastern lowlands of Northern Scotland, the existence of a Teutonic people in this quarter before the twelfth century is often vaguely assumed as a fact, without specifying either their origin, or the time of their settlement. . . . But if the main body of the population of Scotland proper then spoke the Teutonic dialect which has lasted till the present day, how is it to be explained that to speak *Scoties* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was to talk *Gaelic*? If two distinct dialects of an origin so different had existed beyond the Forth in the days of Huntingdon, how could he have written about the extinction of the Pictish people and their language, when the dialect which was not Scottish would have assuredly been regarded as Pictish? Above all, Bede, who has left on record a Pictish word, unquestionably of *Celtic* origin, was aware of no essential difference of race between the northern and southern Picts, or indeed of any people of Teutonic origin in Britain, besides the Angles, Jutes, and

Still other facts there are, however, which seem to make incredible any other derivation of Scottish Arthurian topography than from an historical leader of the northern Cymry. For the conquering Scots were no illiterate horde of barbarians. On the contrary, "Anglo-saxon literature had not begun to spread when that of the Scots was supreme. . . . And by the Scots writers, whether of Dalriada or Ireland, the Saxons are spoken of without any affectation as barbarians, just as they would have been spoken of by the Romans. From the other side even, in Bede's own patriotic narrative, the sense of inferiority is distinctly apparent. Indeed he traces one of the greatest contributions towards their civilization which the Saxons received, directly to Iona." And, what still more directly bears on the present question, the Scots had a traditional and poetic literature of their own, which must certainly have greatly opposed the introduction, after their incorporation of the Cymry, of Cymric poetry and tradition, and must, also, have been a condition highly unfavourable to the preservation of such tradition,

Saxons. But did this Teutonic speaking colony arrive at a later period after the union of the Picts and Scots under the line of Kintyre? If so, it must have been of Scandinavian origin. But history, which has preserved the remembrance of the Scandinavian settlements on the northern mainland, and throughout the western islands, is totally silent about any such colonization in the southern and eastern lowlands of ancient Alban. Where history is silent, topography sometimes reveals the secrets of the past. But the map may be searched in vain for any such traces in the northern lowlands of a band of colonists so numerous and so important, as to retain this dialect, which they never stamped upon the face of the country, and to perpetuate it as one of the original sources of the Lowland Scotch spoken at the present day. The existence of such a population in such a quarter is as apocryphal as the mythical Scottish conquest. . . . The English was stamped a nationality upon the descendants of the various races subject to the Rex Scotorum, and as the use of (Gaelic, and) Norman-French died away, and the ' quaint Inglis ' of Southern Scotland and the civic population became the language of the king and his nobility, spreading gradually over the whole of those lowland districts which had long formed the heart of ancient *Alban*, the Gaelic tongue, rather than the Gaelic race, was at length confined to the mountains, and the names of *Scot* and *Scotland* were adopted as national and generic terms from the language which had now become the national speech. Henceforward to speak *Scotice* was to talk in the Lowland tongue."—ROBERTSON, *Scotland under Her Early Kings*, Appendix I. *Picts and Scots*, pp. 374-5 and p. 369.

¹⁷ BURTON, *History of Scotland*, v. I. p. 332.

had it had, either before or after such incorporation, any other than a native, historical origin. But, to the third Chapter, in which I shall have to treat of the relation of the Fingalian to the Arthurian topography of Scotland, I shall defer any further notice of the Ossianic poetry of the Scots.

Suppose, then, that Y Gogledd, The North, or what we now call southern Scotland, was *not* the historical birthland of the Arthurian traditions, how came they there? Are there not, in the above stated facts, conditions in the highest degree inimical to the introduction of these traditions from without? Topographically rooted, popular traditions are phenomena that must have no slight causes. What causes do we find in the history of the North that are sufficient to explain its Arthurian topography, otherwise than as originating in the life and the wars of a native and historical Arthur? Mr. Pearson, indeed, maintains that the historical Arthur was sovereign of a territory in the southwest of England, of which Camelot or Cadbury, in Somersetshire was the capital; and, admitting how numerous are the Arthurian localities of Scotland, asks, "now assuming Arthur's history to become first extensively popular in the twelfth century, who are most likely to take it up, and identify it with localities in their own neighbourhood? The Saxons or Saxonized settlers in Devon, or the Welsh and Picts of Galloway? Surely the latter. Which history can best be interpolated with strange facts? the history of the conquered and civilized western counties, or that of districts which long maintained their barbarous independence? Again, the latter."¹⁸ But to this it appears sufficient to reply that the Cymry of the North were not only not in a state of "barbarous independence" in the twelfth century; but that, as above shown, they were unresistingly incorporated in the monarchy of the Scots in the tenth century; and that a Church and language opposed to their own had become supreme in Scotland in the eighth

¹⁸ *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, v., I. p. 403. See also Mr. Pearson's note, *infra*, p. cxlix*.

century.¹⁹ If, therefore, Arthurian traditions are admitted to be thus numerous in Scotland, how can we account for their origin there on any reasonable hypothesis of importation?

In the fact, then, of the Pre-mediæval absorption of the northern Cymry by a kindred race, with whom they had never been at war; in the fact of the loss of their native language succeeding the subjection of their native church; and in the fact of the conquering Scots having a traditional and poetic literature of their own; there were conditions that seem to make it impossible to explain the existence of Arthurian localities in Scotland on any other theory than that to which we have been led by the critical examination of the earliest historical sources, and earliest bardic poems of the Cymry; namely, that these localities were, in the North, not the creations of a fond fancy acting on a transplanted tradition, but the genuine records of a native, historical hero.

SECTION (III).

Historical Conditions favourable to the Importation into the South of Arthurian Tradition.

Very different was the history of the Cymric kingdoms of what afterwards became the West of England, and the North-west of France. These, after a resistance, enduring with various fortune, for many centuries, were ultimately overpowered by a foreign, and chiefly Teutonic, race; against whom it was, and is, their pride to maintain their native language; and to preserve, or invent, glorifying traditions. Not here, as in the North, were the Cymry absorbed by a kindred race.

Further, not only were there migrations from Strathclyde and Cumbria, which would carry the Arthurian traditions, suppose them to have had their historical origin in the North, into new southern homes, but it was from the northern region of Manau, or Manann

¹⁹ See also in answer to Mr. Pearson's objections to the theory maintained by Mr. Skene and myself, *infra*, p. cxlvii*.

that "Cunedda went with his sons, and gave a royal house to the Throne of Wales, in the person of Maelgwn and his descendants. And when this house failed in the person of Cynan Tyndathwy, there is every reason to believe that the same region gave a second royal house to Wales, in the person of Mervyn Frych ;"²⁰ and so, also, it should seem that one dynasty, at least, of the kings of Cornwall was descended from a northern family. And that there were large and frequent migrations from Cornwall to Brittany is well known.

And consider these critical results. "If the poems attributed to the bards of the sixth century really belong to that period,"—(we have seen that, in Mr. Skene's opinion, they cannot be carried further back in their earliest consistent shape, than the seventh century)—"there is an interval of several centuries during which such a literature either never existed, or has perished, till the twelfth century, from which period a mass of poetic literature existed in Wales, and has been preserved to us. Of the genuine character of that poetry there seems to be no doubt."²¹ As to the Cymric literature of Brittany, the *Poemes des Bards Bretons au Sixième Siècle*, of M. de la Villemarqué, can only for a moment mislead by its title. It is, in fact, but a French edition of those ancient Cymric poems which, as we have seen, belong, in Mr. Skene's opinion, to the northern kingdoms of Cumbria and Strathclyde, absorbed by the Scottish nationality. And considering how much the brilliant volumes of M. de la Villemarqué have done in elucidating and popularizing the whole cycle of Arthurian romance, it is with regret that one finds grave suspicion cast on his perfect honesty as a collector of Breton ballads; and objections, hitherto, I believe, unanswered raised against the genuineness of what have been given to the world as ancient Cymric poems of Brittany. But this being so, we are left with the Four Ancient Books of *Wales*, or rather, if Mr. Skene's criticism of them is accepted, of *Arthurian Scotland*, as presenting to

²⁰ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. pp. 93-4.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 19.

us the only genuine fragments of Cymric literature of the Pre-medieval Age.

Remark also the fact that it was with the loss of national independence that all the genuine Cymric literature, later than these Four Books, arose. With the defeat and death of Rhys ap Tewdwr, fighting against the Normans under Robert Fitzhamon, the kingdom of South Wales came to an end in 1090. And though native princes still ruled in North Wales till 1282, the death in that year of Llywelyn was followed by the subjugation of all Wales by King Edward the First. It was contemporaneously with these events that Welsh literature arose, and that the MSS. were written which we now possess of the ancient poems of the northern Cymry, by this time completely absorbed in the new nationality to which the conquering Celtic race of the Scots had given their name. In a literature composed under such circumstances, it is evident that the localization of Arthur in Wales²² can be of no independent force; nor can it, indeed, be regarded as anything more than such a localizing and magnifying of northern Cymric traditions, as was calculated to soothe a conquered race in their dejection, and to flatter them with new hope.

And, finally, observe that, throughout the whole of this southern region, the ground was most eminently prepared for the reception of Arthurian traditions. For, in the first place, there must, by the eleventh or twelfth centuries, have been many traditions of conquest, as of defeat, during the half-millennium of wars with the Saxons. There may, also, during these five hundred years, very probably have been southern leaders of the same name as the great northern Guledig of the sixth century; or leaders, such as Dr. Guest's Owen Finddu (?) (above p. xxvii*. n. 21) whose story

²² Nor even, when Arthur is placed by this later literature in Wales, does this necessarily mean the present Principality; for by writers of this age—Froissart for instance—the mountains of *Cumberland* were still called *Wales*.

could readily get confounded with that of Arthur. And, further, though the traditions of Arthur, Guenivere, and Lancelot, of Merlin the Bard, of Perceval, Gawayne, and Mordred, would appear to have had their historical origin among the Northern Cymry of what is now Southern Scotland; yet these, though the main, are not the only traditions on which the Arthurian Romance-cycle is founded; and Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany very possibly had the way prepared for the introduction from the North of the main Arthurian tradition, by the existence in each of them already of traditions with which the northern story might be readily connected. As to what, however, really were the native Arthurian traditions of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany respectively, I will not here venture to say more than that the tradition of Mark should seem to be the special contribution of Cornwall to the cycle of Arthurian romance. How similar the story of Mark is to the *domestic* tradition of Arthur need hardly be noted; except more clearly to show how readily explicable, on the theory here maintained, is the association in Cornish localities of the traditions of Mark and of Arthur.

Considering these facts—the conquest by a foreign race, but preservation of the language, of the Cymric kingdoms of the South; the Cymric migrations from, but not to, the North, and the northern descents of some of the southern dynasties; the Mediæval, and not Pre-mediæval, age of the whole of Cymric literature, except those earlier poems in which Arthur is but some half-dozen times mentioned, and then, as it should seem, as a leader of the Northern Cymry; the upburst of this Mediæval Cymric literature cotemporaneously with the last struggles for, and final loss of, national independence; and the general preparation of the southern kingdoms for the transplanting of Arthurian localities;—can we refuse to see conditions in the highest degree favourable to the importation from the North of the Arthurian traditions of the West of England and the North-west of France?

Such, then, are the theoretical considerations, arising from the latest results of the criticism of Cymric history and literature ; considerations that lead us both directly, and indirectly, to the conclusion that Southern Scotland and the English Border was the historical birthland of the main Arthurian traditions. For, not only does the direct criticism of the earliest historical records, and earliest bardic poems, lead to the conclusion that Arthur was an actual sixth-century leader of the northern Cymry ; but the further investigation of Cymric history presents to us conditions highly unfavourable in the North, and highly favourable in the South, to an hypothesis of the outward derivation of the Arthurian traditions of which, both in the North and in the South, we find topographical records. But, as I have above admitted, the materials for forming an assured critical conclusion on such a question as the present are too scanty, to make our theory independent of verification from some other line of research. How is this to be attempted ? By a thorough investigation of the Arthurian topography of the North. For if we should find that Arthurian localities are here more numerous than in any of the other regions of the Old Arthurland ; that these localities are not spread over Scotland, but are confined to the region which in the sixth, but not after the tenth century, was mainly peopled by a Welsh-speaking race ; that they are thickest just where the battles between the Cymry and their Saxon and Pictish foes must have been most frequent ; that the exceptions to the rule of Arthurian localities being found only where there was anciently a Cymric population, do but make the accordance between tradition and historical fact all the more striking ; and that, finally, with localities in the North, not Arthur only, but all the chief characters of Arthurian Romance, are connected ; I think it will have to be conceded that we have a very complete inductive verification of our theoretical conclusions from the criticism of Cymric History.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHIEF COUNTRY OF ARTHURIAN LOCALITIES, AS GENERALIZED
FROM AN EXPLORATION OF SOUTHERN SCOTLAND AND THE
ENGLISH BORDER.

LET me now proceed to give the generalized result of my exploration of the existing Arthurian Topography of the region indicated by the criticism of Cymric history as the birthland of Arthurian tradition, in a narrative of a single hypothetical journey in which a very great number of actual journeys through particular districts are connected, as in the route on the accompanying map. Let us suppose ourselves, then, to start from the Braes of Mar, at the foot of Ben-Muich-Dhui,¹ the central dome of that mountain range of the Grampians, which, as we shall find in the next chapter, separates Arthurian, from Fingalian Scotland. For, journeying, and it must be on foot, up Glen Cluny, and Glen Callater;—ascending the wild, and solitary heights at the head of Loch Callater to the plateau of the Kinlochan Forest;—passing along the eastern edge of the deep glen which runs up through this plateau, with hawks and eagles over head, and great herds of red deer in the woody pastures of the glen below;—and travelling through Upper and Lower Glen Isla; we shall, in a single day's journey,—but of some thirty or forty miles,—pass through scenery which will remain in our recollection as a grand background to that of Arthurian Scotland; and, coming down on the most north-eastern group of Arthurian localities, our route will be southwards, through the eastern part of the Arthurian region, and then up again, northwards, on its western side.

We shall thus explore successively three great divisions of Arthu-

¹ For a more detailed account of this grand central district of Scotland than is found in the ordinary Guide-Books, see BURTON'S *Cairngorm Mountains*, and TAYLOR'S *Braemar Highlands*; the former, for mountain climbing; and the latter, for traditional tales.

rian localities—an Eastern, a Southern, or Border, and a Western Division; and the very numerous localities of each of these divisions we shall find to lie in three naturally distinguished districts, giving us, thus, in “the North,” no less than nine distinct Districts of Arthurian Localities. And, further, we shall find these localities to be of three different classes, which may be distinguished as Traditional, Historical, and Poetical; the first, being localities which, in their names and the still living traditions attached to them, are Arthurian; the second, being identifications of places connected with the Arthurian story as it is found in the earliest historical sources; and the third, being identifications of places mentioned in those Four Ancient Books of Cymric Poetry which we have found to belong, in their subject-matter, to the Arthurian Age, meaning by that term, not merely the generation of Arthur, but the century which opens with his exploits. That, side by side with these identifications of historical and poetical sites, we should find a very great number of traditional localities, is evidently, in itself, and apart from other considerations, no slight proof of the correctness of these identifications.

SECTION (1).

The Eastern Division of Arthurian Scotland.

Lower Glen Isla lies between the main line of the Grampians and the lower range of hills, through the eastern end of which the road passes. Here we find ourselves with a wooded hill on the right, and, on the left, a steep, furze-covered hill, the last of the range in this direction, and with the remains of what has apparently been a formidable stronghold on its summit. It is Barry-hill (*Barra*, fortified hill), and the first Arthurian locality of what I would distinguish as *District I.—Strathmore*. I ascend its grassy sides, crossed by many a sheep-track, and am sorry its rabbit-inhabitants disturb themselves so much to get out of my way. Seated on the higher of

the two lines of entrenchment, and looking down on the great valley of Strathmore, stretching across to the seaward range of the Sidlaw Hills, and with the Isla winding through it, past the "bonnie house o' Airlie," I recall its Arthurian traditions. For innumerable legends agree in representing it as the Castle to which the Pictish king Mordred, having defeated King Arthur in a great battle, carried off as a prisoner his queen Quenivere, or, as she is locally named, Ganora, Vanora, or Wander.² This, however, it seems, she found by no means so unpleasant as she ought to have done. For "Vanora," says tradition, "held an unlawful intercourse with Mordred; and Arthur, when he received her again," did not act with the magnanimity of Mr. Tennyson's *flos regum*, but, "enraged at her infidelity, caused her to be torn to pieces by wild horses."³ As an old fellow, however, with whom I got into talk on the road near this, and who told me a legend I had not previously heard of the four places in this neighbourhood where the parts of Queen Vanora's dismembered body were buried, sagely remarked: "Thae auld histories are maistly lees, I'm thinkin'."

Her tomb (or principal tomb), "Ganore's Grave," lies but a few miles off. For "she was buried at Meigle, and a monument erected to perpetuate her infamy." Gray, who visited the place from Glammis Castle, notes: "Passed through Meigill, where is the tomb of Queen Wander, that was riven to death by stoned horses for nae gude that she did,—so the woman here told me, I assure you."⁴ And on examining the curious sculptured stones in Meigle churchyard,⁵ said to be the remains of this monument, we do actually find "two representations of wild beasts tearing a human body,—and one where the body seems tied, or close to chariot

² Called Wanore and Vanore in the *Scottish Romance of Lancelot of the Lake* of 1478 or 1490. See pp. 230 and 575. Edit. E.E.T. Soc.

³ *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, v. X. 118.

⁴ *Works* (1825) v. II. p. 274.

⁵ See STUART'S *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*.

wheels,—which may relate to Vanora, or may have given rise to the tradition.”⁶ This is otherwise described by Archdeacon Sinclair, of Glasgow, in a MS. of the year 1560, as, “Ane goddess in ane caert and twa hors drawand her.”⁷ But the scene of her last resting place, when I visited it, seemed suggestive of some less rude, some nobler version of her story. It was the close of autumn. Along the broad valley of Strathmore, ending northwards in the Howe of the Mearns, and sheltered from the sea by the Sidlaw Hills, with their many legends of Duncan, Macbeth,⁸ and Banquo, the farm-yards were closely stacked with the ingathered corn; the leaves, whirled by gentle breezes, were falling through the sunny air; and beneath the lofty range of the snow-capped Grampians, lay the dying year in the beauty of an ineffable repose.

Mordred thus appears, in Scottish tradition, as both the political *hostis*, or foe, and the domestic *inimicus*, or unfriend, of Arthur; but in Mediæval Romance he commonly occupies the former position only, while his traditional part, as the lover of Guenivere, is taken by Lancelot. The question then arises, can Lancelot, as well as Mordred, be localized in Scotland? Now M. de la Villemarqué very ingeniously identifies Lancelot, or L'Ancelet, with the Cymric chieftain Mael: “Les plus anciens manuscrits . . . portent souvent Ancelet . . . *Ancel*, en langue romane, signifie *servant*, et Ancelet est son diminutif . . . Si, par hasard, Ancelet était la traduction du nom d'un personnage gallois, dont l'histoire s'accorderait en tout point avec le roman? Eh bien, c'est ce que je crois avoir découvert on trouve, en effet dans les traditions celtiques, un chef dont le nom

⁶ *New Stat. Ac.* v. X. p. 234.

⁷ Quoted by CHALMERS (of Auldbar) *Sculptured Stones of Angus and Mearns*.

⁸ It would hardly be fair to Shakspeare's hero to omit noting that, in the general rehabilitation of traditional villains, which modern historians have done so much to accomplish, Macbeth has been found one of the greatest of Scotland's kings.—ROBERTSON, *Scotland under Her Early Kings*, v. I. p. 121-4. BURTON, *History of Scotland*, v. I. p. 370-7.

Mael (serviteur) répond exactement à celui d'*Ancelot*, et à qui les anciens bardes, les triades, les chroniques, les legends, et toutes les autorités armoricanes, galloises ou étrangères prêtent les mêmes traits, le même caractère, les mêmes mœurs, les mêmes aventures qu'au héros du roman français."⁹ And, if we accept this identification, then Lancelot, as well as Mordred, belongs to Scotland. For "le chef Mael, selon les bardes gallois, avait dans l'Ecosse des domaines où il la mena."¹⁰ But we may far more directly identify the country of Lancelot with a Scottish district, for he is uniformly spoken of in the Romances as the son of "le roy Ban de Benoic;" and in the Scottish *Lancelot* of 1478, this "Benoic" is at once identified for us in the lines—

"a knyght clepit Lancelot of ye Laik,
That sone of Bane was king of Albanak"—¹¹

Albanak, or Alban, being the well-known name applied to Scotland beyond the Firths of Forth and Clyde.¹² And that it was in the eastern part of that region that the kingdom of Lancelot's father was situated, we may presume from the fact of its having been "le roy Claudas de la terre d'Escosse" (the western kingdom of the Scots of Dalriada?) who "mena guerre contre le roy Ban de Benoic et le roy Boort de Ganues (or Gannes) tant quil les desherita de leurs terres."¹³ Thus, the Mael of tradition, and the Lancelot of romance, and the Mordred both of tradition and romance, are as closely connected in the scenes, as in the stories of their lives.

In very remarkable proximity to the Castle of Mordred, and the Grave of Guenivere, we find near Meigle, and in the parish of Cupar Angus, a standing stone called the Stone of Arthur; near it, again,

⁹ *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, pp. 58-9.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 64, citing *The Myryrian Archæology*, v. I. p. 176.

¹¹ Lines 201-2, p. 7, of the Edition of the E. E. Text Soc.

¹² *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, p. lxxv.

¹³ *Lancelot du Lac*, f. 1.

a gentleman's seat, called Arthur's Stone; and not far from it a farm called Arthur's Fold.¹⁴ And "a rock on the north side of the hill of Dunbarrow, in Dunnichen parish (in the adjoining county of Forfar), has long borne, in the tradition of the country, the distinguished name of Arthur's Seat."¹⁵ This parish, it may be noted, is further remarkable as the scene of that great defeat of the Saxon Ecfred, in 680, which permanently secured the country between the Tay and the Forth from the influences that would have made it part of England.¹⁶

And the Tay,—of which the old name was Tava, from the Gaelic *Tamh*, smooth, of which *Taw* is the Cymric equivalent,—is more than once mentioned in the *Four Ancient Books*, as, for instance, in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*:

"It is not the nearest Tawy I speak of to thee,
But the furthest Tawy."¹⁷

And the Scottish Tay, and not the river of that name in South Wales, seems to be also alluded to in the Dialogue between Merlin and his sister Ganiada in the *Red Book of Hergest*:

"Rydderch Hael, the feller of the foe,
Dealt his stabs among them,
On the day of bliss at the ford of Tawy."¹⁸

Between Perth on the Tay, and Stirling on the Forth, we find no Arthurian localities. But at the latter river, we enter on *District II.—Firth of Forth*. The banks of the Forth should seem to have been the scene of a dispute as to who should lead in crossing the river, of which a curious legend is preserved in the Venedotian code of the *Old Welsh Laws* (p. 50).¹⁹ And on

¹⁴ *New Stat. Ac.*, v. I. p. 506. PENNANT, *Second Tour in Scotland*, v. II. pp. 177–8. BELLENDEN'S *BOECE*, fo. lxxviii.

¹⁵ *New Stat. Ac.*, v. I. p. 419.

¹⁶ BURTON, *History of Scotland*, v. I. p. 313.

¹⁷ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 294.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 463.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* v. I. pp. 174–5.

the Links of Forth, Mr. Skene would find the site of Arthur's tenth battle, "in litore fluminis quod vocatur Treuruit." "There is much variety in the readings of this name, other MSS. reading it 'Trath truiroit;' but the original Cymric form is given us in two of the poems in the *Black Book*; it is in one *Trywruid*, and in the other *Tratheu Trywruid*. There is no known river bearing a name approaching to this. *Tratheu*, or shores, implies a sea-shore or sandy beach, and can only be applicable to a river having an estuary. An old description of Scotland, written in 1165 by one familiar with Welsh names, says that the river which divides the 'regna Anglorum et Scottorum et currit juxta oppidum de Strivelin' was 'Scottice vocata *Froch*, Britannice *Werid*.'"²⁰ This Welsh name for the Forth at Stirling has disappeared, but it closely resembles the last part of Nennius' name, and the difference between *wruid*, the last part of Nennius' name Try-wruid, and *Werid* is trifling. The original form must have been Gwruid or Gwerid, the G disappearing in combination."²¹ So far Mr. Skene. And it must be, at least, remarked that not only has no more probable site been found for this tenth battle, but that we have a strong confirmation of the above argument in favour of the Links of Forth, in the fact of Stirling being undoubtedly a traditional Arthurian locality.

For William of Worcester tells us that "Rex Arturus custodiebat le round table in Castro de Styrl yng, aliter Snowden West Castell."²² And Snowden, which is also the official title of one of the Scottish heralds, has no connection with the Welsh mountain of

²⁰ *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, p. 136. "It may seem strange," says Mr. Skene, "that I should assert that Gwryd and Forth are the same word. But *Gwr* in Welsh is represented by *Fear* in Irish, the old form of which was *For*, and final *d* in Welsh is in Irish *ch*, in Pictish *th*. The river which falls into the Dee, near Bala, in North Wales, is called Try-weryn, a very similar combination."

²¹ *Four Ancient Books*, v. II. pp. 56-7.

²² *Itinerary*, p. 311.

that name, but is simply the descriptive name of Stirling—*Snua-dun*, the fort, or fortified hill, on the river.²³

“Stirling’s tower
Of yore the name of Snowdoun claims,”

says Sir Walter Scott,²⁴ and, in a note, quotes Sir David Lindsay :

“Adew, fair Snawdoun, with thy towris hie,
Thy Chapell-royall, park, and *Tabyll Round* :
May, June, and July would I dwell in thee,
Were I a man, to hear the birdis sound,
Whilk doth agane thy royal rock rebound.”²⁵

The Table Rounde here mentioned, and which I found to be now more generally known as the King’s Knot, is a singular flat-surfaced mound within a series of enclosing embankments, which would appear to be of very great antiquity ; and where, “in a sport called ‘Knights of the Round Table,’ the Institutions of King Arthur were commemorated,”²⁶ at least, to the close of the Mediæval Age. How current, in Scotland, were Arthurian tales in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is witnessed-to by the poet I have just quoted, who, in his *Dreme*, speaks of having diverted James V. when young, “with antique storeis, and deidis martiall,”

“Of Hector, *Arthur*, and gentile Julius,
Of Alexander, and worthy Pompeius.”

But, indeed, such evidence is unnecessary, considering that we still possess Scottish Arthurian Romances of that period.²⁷

Near Larbert, and not far from where are now the Carron Iron-works, is, or rather was,—for it was destroyed many years ago by its barbarian proprietor,—what would appear to have been a Roman structure, but which, since the thirteenth century, at least, had been known as Arthur’s O’on (Oven). For in 1293, in the reign of

²³ CHALMERS, *Caledonia*, v. I. p. 245.

²⁴ *Lady of the Lake*, Canto VI. S. xxviii. ²⁵ *Complaynt of the Papinge*.

²⁶ *New Stat. Ac.*, v. VIII. p. 407, citing WILLIAM OF WORCESTER, BARBOUR, GOUGH’S, CAMDEN’S *Britannia*, and CHALMERS, *Caledonia*, v. I. p. 244–5.

²⁷ See IRVING, *History of Scottish Poetry*, Cha. II. and III. But his account of these Scottish Romances is incomplete.

Alexander III., William Gourley granted to the monks of Newbotle "*firmationem unius stagni ad opus molendini sui del Stanhus quod juxta *Furnum Arthuri*, infra Baronium de Dunypas est.*"²⁸

Proceeding up the Carron, which even Mr. Pearson identifies with the Carun Fluviuſ of Nennius,²⁹ we are struck with the appearance of two very ſingular conical hills, or mounds, in the park of Dunipace Houſe. Theſe Mr. Skene would make the ſite of Arthur's ſixth battle "*super flumen quod vocatur Bassas.*"³⁰ There is now no river of this name in Scotland; but, as Mr. Skene remarks, "the name Bass is alſo applied to a peculiar mound having the appearance of being artificial, which is formed near a river, though really formed by natural cauſes. There is one on the Ury river in Aberdeenshire, termed the Bass of Inverury, and there are two on the bank of the Carron, now called Dunipace, erroneouſly ſuppoſed to be formed from the Gaelic and Latin words *Duni pacis*, or hills of peace, but the old form of which was *Dunipais*, the latter ſyllable being no doubt the ſame word Bass. Directly oppoſite, the river Bonny flows into the Carron, and on this river I am diſpoſed to place the ſixth battle."³¹

But I venture to think that a perſonal inſpection of the ground would not only have convinced Mr. Skene that the Park of Dunipace was a very unlikely place for a great battle, but have ſhown him, on the oppoſite ſide of the Carron, almoſt directly oppoſite theſe mounds, and in the angle formed by the junction of the Bonny with the Carron, another, and vaſtly larger Bass; a moraine (?) with three of its ſides (thoſe towards the Bonny and Carron) as ſteep and ſharply defined at the edges as walls, and forming a natural ſtronghold, the broad flat ſummit of which, waving—

²⁸ *Charta Newbotle*, No. 239, cited by CHALMERS, *Caledonia*, v. I. p. 245.

²⁹ *Historical Maps—Britannia Cambrica*.

³⁰ "The printed text of the Vatican MS. of Nennius has *Lussas*, but this is a miſtake, the original MS. reads *Bassas*."—SKENE'S note.

³¹ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. pp. 53-4.

when I scaled it from the river side—in acres of clover, would scarce need defence except in the rear, where it slopes gradually to the south. This natural fortress must certainly have been the scene of many a conflict between Cymry, Picts and Saxons in the Arthurian Age; and all Mr. Skene's arguments would, as it appears to me, apply with ten-fold more force to this Bass than to those he has fixed on, as the site of the sixth battle of the Arthur of Nennius. From an old man, with whom I had some talk on the Bridge of Carron, I found that, in spæts, the river not unfrequently overflowed to the very base of this hill, and that it, and the farm to which it belongs, is called Roughmute. And many a rough moot, or council, has no doubt been held there.

After the old man left me, I suddenly remembered, as I looked over the bridge, and up the river, that the Carron was one of Ossian's favourite streams.

"I behold not the form of my son at Carun; nor the figure of Oscar in Cromas. The rustling winds have carried him far away, and the heart of his father is sad." ³²

And so, instead of proceeding on my way, I wandered up its southern banks for a mile or two, coming down to the bridge again on the other side. Moraines, or whatever else they may be geologically, there is, on this southern bank, such a number of "Basses,"—of beautiful knolls, with woody dells, and shadowy braes,—such Fairy Highlands, as I do not remember to have elsewhere seen. Well might the Doric Muse have been here inspired with these fine pastoral lines:—

"O bonnie are the greensward howes,
Whar through the birks the burnie rowes,
An' the bee bums, an' the ox lowes,
An' saft winds rustle,
An' shepherd lads, on sunny knowes,
Blaw the blithe whustle."

Then, on again towards the scene of the final battle between Arthur and Mordred; having some talk on the way with a bridge-

³² MACPHERSON, *The Poems of Ossian. The War of Caros.*

keeper whom I found beguiling the time with Brougham's "Discourse on the Study of Science." "However ignorant we may be," he modestly remarked, "we may benefit a little." Now, where is the site of the "Gweith Camlan in qua Arthur et Medraut coruere," to be more probably found than at the little town of Camelon where we now are? "It is surprising," says Mr. Skene, "that historians should have endeavoured to place this battle in the south, as the same traditions, which encircle it with so many fables, indicate very clearly who his antagonists were. Medraut or Modred was the son of that Llew to whom Arthur is said to have given Lothian, and who, as Lothus, king of the Picts, is invariably connected with this part of Scotland. His forces were Saxons, Picts, and Scots, the very races Arthur is said to have conquered in his Scottish campaigns. If it is to be viewed as a real battle at all, it assumes the appearance of an insurrection of the conquered districts, under Medraut, the son of that Llew to whom one of them was given."²³ Remark, further, not only that the site bears still the very same name as the battle; but that it is, as we have already in part seen, in the centre of a group of Arthurian localities; and further that, as history has shown, it is well fitted to be a great battle-field. For, in later historical times, two great battles have been fought at, or near Camelon; that of Falkirk, but a mile distant, in 1298, between the Scots and the English; and that of Falkirk-muir, in 1746, between the Hanoverian forces, under General Hawley, and the Highlanders, commanded by Prince Charles Stuart.

But twenty-one years before this final Arthurian battle of the year 537, namely, in 516, was fought that twelfth battle "in Monte Badonis," of Nennius, the "obsessio Montis Badonici," of Gildas, the site of which has given rise to so much discussion. "It has been supposed to have been near Bath, but the resemblance of names seems alone to have led to this tradition. Tradition equally

²³ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I., pp. 59-60.

points to the northern Saxons as the opponents, and in Ossa Cyllelaur,³⁴ who is always named as Arthur's antagonist, there is no doubt that a leader of Octa and Ebissa's Saxons is intended; while at this date no conflict between the Britons and the West Saxons could have taken place so far west as Bath. The scene of the battle near Bath was said to be on the Avon, which Layamon³⁵ mentions as flowing past Badon Hill. But on the Avon, not far from Linlithgow, is a very remarkable hill, of considerable size, the top of which is strongly fortified with double ramparts, and past which the Avon flows. This hill is called Bouden Hill. Sibbald says, in his *Account of Linlithgowshire*, in 1710, 'On the Buden Hill are to be seen the vestiges of an outer and inner camp. There is a great cairn of stones upon Lochcote Hills, over against Buden, and in the adjacent ground there have been found chests of stones, with bones in them, but it is uncertain when or with whom the fight was.' As this battle was the last of twelve which seem to have formed one series of campaigns, I venture," says Mr. Skene, "to identify Bouden Hill with the Mons Badonicus."³⁶

After enjoying the beautiful view from the top, with the Little Bouden and Cockleroy Hills on my right, as I looked north over the undulating country about Linlithgow, with its ancient royal palace on the lake, across to the fine estuary of the Forth, the shores of Fife and Clackmannan, and the Ochil Hills (Sliabnochel, or Ocelli Montes); I found, in talk with an old man of upwards of fourscore ("81 on the 21st of last July"), who was breaking stones on the roadside, what appeared to me an interesting confirmation of Mr. Skene's hypothesis, in a tradition of Arthur's presence here, at least,

³⁴ May there not be a reminiscence of this name in the Gallehault of the French, and the Galyot of the Scottish, Romance of *Lancelot*?

³⁵ "There sank to the bottom five and twenty hundred, so that all Avon's stream was bridged with steel."—*Brut*. Edit. MADDEN, v. II. p. 469.

³⁶ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. pp. 67-8.

if not also, of an Arthurian siege of Bouden Hill. After pointing out to me the "Fechtin' Fuir," about three-quarters of a mile below Bouden Hill, "from which they say that the Romans lifted their camp to gang to besiege Jerooslem;"³⁷ and telling me that on Cockleroy there was "a bit hollow on the tap, whaur twa or three men nicht lie, ca'd the Bed o' Wallace;" I asked him how the hill got so curious a name? "Ou," said he, chuckling, and taking a pinch from his snuff-mull, "They say it was because the king was cockled (cuckolded) there." "What king?" said I, "any of the Stuarts?" "Na, I never heard it was ony o' the Stuarts at the pailace doon by; but it's mentioned in history³⁸ that King Arthur's wife was na' faithfu', an maybe it was her that was ouer cosh (too intimate) wi' anither man on the tap there."

Then, on to Linlithgow, which appears in Mr. Pearson's *Index*³⁹ as the Llechlleutu of Aneurin, and thence down, some three miles, to the shore of the Firth and Caredin.

"Let the Caer of Eiddyn deplore
The dread and illustrious men clothed in splendid blue."⁴⁰

For this, as it would appear, was the site of the conflict which is the subject of the first part of that great poem of the "Gododin" which

³⁷ Would it be too much to consider this legend of a camp under Bouden as a memory of the Arthurian Obsessio Montis Badonici which had got attributed to the Romans; and this particularly, as there are many legends of Arthur's having gone to Jerusalem; as there is no considerable historical improbability in his actually having done so; and as, if he made an Eastern pilgrimage, it would probably have been after this twelfth victory, which gave the kingdom peace till the fatal battle of Camlan, in which Arthur fell, twenty-one years later. Very probably, had I asked the old man whether he did not mean that it was Arthur, and not the Romans, who "lifted" the camp, he would have assented. But one cannot get truth if one does not guard against the temptation to put such leading questions in support of one's theories.

³⁸ I found that such phrases as "auld histories," and "mentioned in history," did not mean, with these old men, written, but traditional history.

³⁹ *Historical Maps—Britannia Cambria.*

⁴⁰ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 413 and v. II. p. 394. See also v. I. p. 378 and v. II. p. 374.

"has attracted so much attention, from its striking character, its apparent historic value, and the general impression that, of all the poems, it has the greatest claims to be considered the genuine work of the (Arthurian) bard (Aneurin) in whose name it appears."⁴¹ After criticising the various theories, as to the site of this conflict, which have been put forward by Mr. Williams, M. de la Ville-marqué, Mr. Stephens, Mr. Nash, and Mr. Vere Irving, Mr. Skene thus proceeds :—

"It is plain from the poem that two districts, called respectively Gododin and Catraeth, met at or near a great rampart; that both were washed by the sea; and that in connection with the latter was a fort called 'Eyddin'. The name of Eyddin takes us at once to Lothian, where we have Dunedin or Edinburgh, and Caredin on the shore, called by Gildas 'antiquissima civitas Britonum.' That the Edin in (the former of?) these two names is the Eyddin of the poem is clear from a poem in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, where Edinburgh is called Mynydd Eiddin;" and in a poem in the *Book of Taliessin* there is the expression "Rhuing Dineiddyn ac Dineiddwg," where Dineiddyn can hardly be anything but Dunedin. At Caredin the Roman wall terminated. . . . And Caredin is not far from the river Avon, and parallel to it flows the river Carron, the two rivers enclosing a district at the west end of which is a great moor still called Slamannan; in old Gaelic "Sliabh Manand," the moor or plain of Manand. This is the "Campus Manand" of Tighernac, and the Avon and Carron are meant by the Hæfe and Caere of the *Saxon Chronicle*, and the Heue and Cere of *Henry of Huntingdon*. Now Gododin contained this district. For the *Guotodin* of the "Manau Guotodin," mentioned by Nennius as "regio in sinistrâli parte insulæ" (an expression equivalent in Welsh to 'y gogledd,' or the North), is plainly the same as the Gododin of Aneurin; and the Cymrio *Manau* of Gododin is, in its Gaelic form, *Manand*. Gododin was,

⁴¹ *Four Ancient Books*, v. II. p. 369.

therefore, equivalent to the north part of Lothian, and was washed by the Firth of Forth.⁴³ So much for the identification of Eyddin and Gododin. Now as to Catraeth. "The *Irish Annals* frequently mention a district called *Calathros*; as in *Tighernac* in 736, 'Bellum Cnuice Cairpre i Calathros uc etar linn du,' which latter place can be identified as Carriber on the Avon, near Linlithgow: Calathros, therefore, adjoined this district. Its Latin form was Calatria Now, in the address of Walter L'Espece at the battle of the Standard in 1130, as reported by Ailred Calatria is placed between Lothian and Scotland proper, north of the Firths. And Calatria is surely the Cymric Galtraeth,⁴⁴ which we know was the same place as Catraeth." All the requirements of the site seem, therefore, satisfied in that part of Scotland where Lothian meets Stirlingshire, in the two districts of Gododin and Catraeth, both washed by the sea of the Firth of Forth; and where the great Roman Wall terminates at Caredin, or the fort of Eidin."⁴⁵

"As to the date of the battle we are not without indications The combatants were, on the one side, the Britons and the Scots under Aidan; the enemy or 'Barbari' were the Pagan Saxons and the half-Pagan Picts of Manau Guotodin, called in the poem the 'bedin' or host of Gododin. And the identity of the battle of Catraeth with the 'bellum Miathorum' of Adomnan enables us to fix its date at 596. But the first part alone of the poem of the Gododin relates to this battle; the second part, or continuation, contains in it an allusion to the death

⁴³ This is also the opinion of Mr. Beale Poste; but Mr. Nash and Archdeacon Jones place Manau Guotodin in the district about Jedburgh, and extend it into Northumberland.

⁴⁴ For a further account of Calatria see *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots. Introduction*, p. lxxx.

⁴⁵ Catraeth is placed by Mr. Pearson "about Galashiels, or near Kelso, and not far from the Kale." *Historical Maps—Britannia Cambrica*. Compare also MADDEN, *Layamon's Brut*. v. III. p. 324.

⁴⁶ *Four Ancient Books*, v. II. p. 366-8.

of Dyfynwal Vrych, or Domnal Breck, which the bard (not Aneurin) saw from the heights of Adoyn. The date of this event is known to be in 542. The site is not difficult to fix. *Tighernac* calls it Strathcauin; the *Annals of Ulster*, Strathcairinn. The upper part of the vale of the Carron, through which the river, after rising in the Fintry Hills, flows, is called Strathcarron; but it also bore the name of Strathcawin. And in the Statistical Account of the parish of Fintry there is the following notice: 'At the foot of the rock which encircles the western brow of the Fintry Hills there is a considerable extent of table-land, and on the descent below this starts out a knoll, commonly known by the name of the *Dum or Down*, of a singular appearance. Its front is a perpendicular rock, fifty feet high. The western extremity of this rock is one solid mass.' This is surely the height of Adoyn."⁴⁶ And having here, at Caredin, viewed the site of the battle which is the subject of that first part of the Gododin, composed by Aneurin, we shall, in exploring the Lennox on our returning northern route, have an opportunity of visiting the scene of the battle celebrated by the later bard, who was the author of the second part of the poem.

I found that there had been recently discovered, near Caredin, a stone with an inscription in admirable preservation, of the Second Augustan Legion, on completing a certain distance of the wall under Antoninus Pius. And near this, at the eastern end of the wall, was that linguistically famous town "qui sermone Pictorum Peanfahel, lingua autem Anglorum Peneltun appellatur," as Bede⁴⁷ writes; and as Nennius⁴⁸ names it, "Penguaul, quæ villa Scottice Cenail dicitur." Passing through the dismally dirty town of Burrowstowness, I turned up towards Linlithgow again. While enjoying, towards the top of the steep ascent, the splendour of the sunset over the river, and estuary of the Forth,

⁴⁶ *Four Ancient Books*, v. II. pp. 369-70. Compare also v. I. pp. 177-8.

⁴⁷ *Historia Ecclesiæ*, l. c.

⁴⁸ *Historia Britonum*, § 23.

the Frenessicum, or Frisicum Mare, (Frisian Sea) of Nennius; the Frisian shore, where stood in the Arthurian Age that monastery of Culross in which the young Kentigern was placed under the discipline of St. Servanus; the sands on which, in a later age, Sir Patrick Spens was walking when he received the king's (Alexander III.) "braid letter,"—

"To Noroway, to Noroway,
To Noroway o'er the faem,
The king's daughter to Noroway,
It's thou maun tak her hame;"—

the royal Dunfermline in the Abbey of which, the chief Burial-place of the kings of Scotland, is the tomb of Robert the Bruce; and Loch Leven, with its romantic memories of Mary Queen of Scots, a fine-looking fellow, but of unmistakeably English aspect, came-up, with whom our common admiration of the glorious scene drew me into conversation. Walking on with him, he invited me into his house to have a cup of tea; and I found that he and his wife, a fair and hearty girl with a charming Northumbrian *burr*, one 'darrlin' in her arms, and another at her feet, as she bustled about, were one of many English families of the artisan class, now invited into, and peacefully settled in this district, where their ancestors had had to maintain themselves by such hard fighting. Their happy looking home, kindness, and hospitality, could not but bring into vivid contrast in my mind the present times, and those we may hope they are preparing, with those of that Pre-mediæval Arthurian age of which I had been thinking, and which had been so truly described by my last road-side acquaintance, the old stone-breaker of Bouden Hill, when he said, "I'm thinkin' that in thae days,—aye, it'll be mair nor a thoosan years ago,—there were hereawa jist vawrious wild tribes a' fechtin thro' ither."

* For the Durham MS. adds "quod inter nos Scotosque est;" and Jocelyn (*Vita Kentigerni*) terms the shore of Culross "Frisicum litus."

** As Kentigern's Life by Jocelyn in PINKERTON's *Vitæ Antiquissimorum Sanctorum* is very rare, I may refer to the compilation in BUTLER, *Lives of the Saints*, v. I. p. 139.

Irongath Hill on the east side of the river Avon near Linlithgow appears to be the Agathes of the *Book of Taliessin*.⁵¹ For the Avon is, in the *Gododin*, called the Aeron, and probably appears in the first part of the name "Iron." Sir R. Sibbald in his *History of Linlithgowshire* says "The tradition is current that there was a fight between the Romans and the natives under Argadus in this hill, and that it had its name from Argad;" which was the name of a son of Llywarch Hen.⁵² Journeying to Edinburgh, we pass Dalmeny, which appears to be identifiable with the Caer Govannon of the Red Book of Hergest.⁵³ For in an old list of the churches of Linlithgow, printed by Reiner, appears "Vicaria de Qumanyn;" and Dalmeny was formerly called Dumanyn.⁵⁴ Abercorn on the Firth, where was anciently a famous monastery, is the Abercornig of Gildas. Cramond or Caer Amond, which may be identified with Caer Vaudwy.⁵⁵

"Before Caer Vaudwy a host I saw
Shields were shattered and ribs broken."⁵⁶

And when we went with Arthur of anxious memory
Except seven, none returned from Caer Vaudwy."⁵⁷

Caer Sidi of the *Book of Taliessin*⁵⁸ would appear to have been upon an island, and is, according to Mr. Skene, probably the Urbs Judeu of Nennius,⁵⁹ and Bede's island city of Giudi, which we may with great probability place on Inchkeith, in the Firth of Forth.⁶⁰ And between six or seven miles from Edinburgh we find the famous Catstane, the inscription on which Sir James Simpson reads as recording the grave of Vecta, the grandfather of Hengist and Horsa.⁶¹

At Edinburgh we find the site of Arthur's eleventh battle, which was fought "in monte qui dicitur Agned,"—that is, Mynydd Agned,

⁵¹ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 337.

⁵² *Ibid.* v. II. p. 401.

⁵³ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 287.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* v. II. p. 452.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* v. II. p. 411 and 352.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 294.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 265.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 276.

⁵⁹ The Judeu, however, of Nennius, Mr. Pearson places in the Jedburgh district.

⁶⁰ *Four Ancient Books*, v. II. p. 408.

⁶¹ *On the Catstane, Kirkliston, etc.*, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, v. IV. p. 119 et seq.

the Painted Mount, which seems to be clearly identified with Edinburgh, the southern stronghold of the Picts;⁶² against whom, under the name of *Cathbregion*, "contra illos que nos Cathbregyon appellamus," and not against the Saxons, this eleventh battle would appear to have been fought. And it may be noted that the words which form the root of the epithets Cath Bregion and Brithwryr, are, "*Brith*, forming in the feminine *Braith*, Diversicolor, Maculosus, and *Brych*—the equivalent in Cymric of the Gaelic *Breac*—Macula. Both refer to the name Picti, or painted: and Agned probably comes from an obsolete word, *agneaw*, to paint, *agneaid*, painted."⁶³ In a poem referring to Arthur the Guledig, in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, we read—

"In Mynyd Eiddin
He contended with Cynvyn
By the hundred there they fell,
There they fell by the hundred,
Before the accomplished Bedwyr.
On the strands of Trywruid,"⁶⁴ etc.

Edinburgh, or rather its Castle, appears also under the name of *Castrum Puellarum*, in the Charters, and of the Castle of Maidens, and Dolorous Valley in the Romances. "Arthur's Seat," says Chalmers, in a note to which he had been incited by the remark of "a late inquirer," who had said that it was "a name of yesterday," "had that distinguished name before the publication of Camden's *Britannia* in 1585, as we may see in p. 478; and before the publication of Major in 1521, as appears in fol. 28; and even before the end of the 15th century, as Kennedy, in his flyting with Dunbar, mentions *Arthur Sate* or ony Hicher Hill."⁶⁵

Proceeding from Edinburgh towards Haddington, we may make an excursion to Trapender, formerly Dunpender, and more anciently Dunpeledur Law. Here is said to have been buried that Llew, or Lothus, in whose establishment by Arthur, as a (tributary?) king of

⁶² MADDEN, *Layamon's Brut*. v. III. pp. 315-6.

⁶³ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I., p. 84.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 263; cf. also p. 276.

⁶⁵ *Caledonia*, v. I., p. 245; and RAMSAY'S *Evergreen*, v. II., p. 65.

Lothian, the battle of Mynydd Agned seems to have resulted. On Dunpeledur also, as likewise on the three fortified rocks of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, at Dundonald, in Ayrshire, and Chilmacase, in Galloway, S. Monenna or Darerca of Kilsleibeculean, in Ulster, founded a church, and nunnery.⁶⁵ These foundations appear to synchronise with the re-establishment of the Christian Church in these districts by Arthur, who was pre-eminently a Christian hero fighting against pagan Saxons and apostate Picts. And it seems not improbable that Thenew, the daughter of King Lothus, was one of the virgins in the church in Dunpeledur. About the time of S. Monenna's death, however, in the year 518, this royal virgin had the misfortune to give birth to a fine boy, who afterwards became the apostolic missionary Kentigern, now more commonly remembered as S. Mungo.⁶⁷ And as her story of an immaculate conception did not meet with due credence among the barbarians; after an attempt to put her to death, in one legend on Dunpeledur (or Duncpender), in another on Kepduff, now Kilduff, she was cast adrift in a boat from Aberlady Bay.⁶⁸ And this romantic incident, putting us in mind of the similar story of Custance being sent adrift by the constable of Alla, King of Northumberland—

“ But in the same schip as he hire found,
Hire and hire yonge sone, and all hire gere,
He schulde put, and croude here fro the londe,
And charge hire, that sche never eft come there.
Hir litel child lay wepyng in hire arm,
And in hire arme sche lulleth it ful faste,
And unto heven hire eyghen up sche caste ”—⁶⁹

may be an inducement to visit the scene of it.

⁶⁵ Hence, perhaps, the name of *Castle of Maidens* applied to Edinburgh?

⁶⁷ Mungu is translated by Jocelyn “*Carus amicus*.” It is Welsh, and found thus: *Mwyn, clemens, urbanus, lenis*. Cu, in combination Gu, *Carus*. DAVIES, *Welsh Dictionary*.

⁶⁸ Compare *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. pp. 85-6, and the *Vita S. Kentigerni*, by JOCELYN in PINKERTON'S *Vita Antiquissimorum Sanctorum*.

⁶⁹ CHAUCER, *The Man of Law's Tale*.

In this district also, we must at least notice, if we do not think it worth while to visit, the sites which that writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1842, before mentioned,⁷⁰ fixed on as the probable scenes of Arthur's four battles on the Dubglas, or Duglas, and his sixth battle on the Bassas. The former battle he places on "the little river Dunglas, which has formed through successive ages the southern boundary of Lothian;" and, he continues, "When the Saxons were driven from their entrenchments on the Dunglas, their flight was directed", northwards; and, "forced again to face their foes beside the channel which separates the mainland from the remarkable isolated rock in the Frith of Forth, near the town of North Berwick, called the Bass, and which, by a trivial error, the historian designates 'the river Bassas,' the Saxons sustained a sixth defeat."⁷¹ The battles on the Du(b)glas "in regione Linnuis" we shall, however, before the end of our journey, find, I think, to have been more probably situated on the Douglas in the *Lennox*, than here on the Dunglas in *Lothian*. And a more probable site of the battle on the Bassas we have, I venture to think, already found on the Bonny, at Dunipais (or Dunipaice). Finally, on our way into the next Arthurian district we shall pass on the borders of the counties of Edinburgh and Peebles, the Moss of Maw mentioned in the *Book of Taliessin* as the Bush of Maw.⁷²

We enter now on the exploration of *District III.—Tweeddale*.—At Peebles on the Tweed, or Tywi of the *Four Ancient Books*,⁷³ we find one of the many wells, or fountains, dedicated to S. Mungo, the legend of whose birth we have just noticed. And we are here in the heart of the *Nemus Caledonis* whither Merlin is said, in the Latin *Vita Merlini*, to have fled after the battle of Arderyth, and where, according to the tradition re-

⁷⁰ Ch. I. p. xxxii.

⁷¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, v. XVII., N. S., 1842, p. 598.

⁷² *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 337, and v. II. p. 401.

⁷³ Vol. I. pp. 373, 432, 470 seq., 490 seq.; v. II. p. 337.

ported by Fordun,⁷⁴ he met Kentigern, and afterwards was slain by the shepherds of Meldredus, a regulus of the country on the banks of the Tweed, "prope oppidum Dunmeller." So, from the Broughton station I set out on foot for Merlin's Grave at Drummelzier, in which the name of Meldredus is preserved, according to Mr. Skene,⁷⁵ and that of Merlin according to M. de la Villemarqué.⁷⁶

" Questa è l'antiqua e memorabil grotta,
Ch'edificò Merlino, il savio Mago
Che forse ricordare odi tal' otta,
Dove ingannollo la Donna del Lago." ⁷⁷

Crossing to the south bank of the Tweed, and reaching the ancient parish church and kirkton, or hamlet, by the Pausayl (i.e. Willow) Burn, I was fortunate in making the acquaintance of the intelligent shoemaker of the place. From his account there seemed to be some doubt as to which of two localities here had the best traditional right to be called the Grave of Merlin. That now certainly the most picturesque, and maintained by the late Dr. Somerville, the minister of the parish, to be the true site of the tomb, is by an ancient thorn-tree, of which there is now a younger thriving offshoot (fair augury of a renewal of Merlin's fame), by the burnside, a little above its junction with the Tweed, and at the foot of the moraine, on which stands the kirk and manse. But it seems that, at the corner of what is now a corn-field, there used to be a cairn, called Merlin's Grave; and though the Pausayl does not at present meet the Tweed at this spot, yet it did so for a time, in consequence of a great spact or overflow of the river, when the Scottish James VI. became king of England, and so the prophecy was fulfilled that

" When Tweed and Pausayl meet at Merlin's grave,
Scotland and England one king shall have." ⁷⁸

For me, not only the weight of authority, but the perennial

⁷⁴ *Scotichronicon*, B. III. C. xxvi.

⁷⁵ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 54.

⁷⁶ *Myrdhin, ou L'Enchanteur Merlin*, p. 3.

⁷⁷ ARIOSTO, *Orlando Furioso*, C. III. S. 10.

⁷⁸ See CHAMBERS, *History of Peebleshire*, and PENNYCUICK, *History of Tweeddale*, p. 26.

thorn-tree decides the matter. For this is always introduced in the romantic fictions that represent his ladye-love, Viviana,⁷⁹ as imprisoning Merlin, not, in the earlier romances, at least, that she might basely triumph over him, but that he might be with her for evermore. And though, in its present disafforested state, the scenery of the here narrow valley of the Tweed, and its enclosing hills is somewhat disappointing; it cannot be looked on with indifference by any one who knows how, "la plus ancienne tradition romanesque a fait agir Merlin, comment elle a personnifié et idéalisé en lui le dévouement passionné à tout ce que la grande époque chevaleresque jugeait digne de son respect; je veux dire la religion, la patrie, la royauté, l'amour, l'amour pur, discret, délicat, la solitude à deux éternellement enchantée."⁸⁰ And well may the French *savant* in his history of the bard, his works, and influence, refuse to follow him,—“a travers les fantaisies des continuateurs et

⁷⁹ "It also seems evident," says the Rev. T. Price, "that it is to the Hwimleian, or Chwiffeian of Merlinus Silvestris," the historical Merlin of Scotland, "that we are to attribute the origin of the Viviane of the romances of Chivalry, and who acts so conspicuous a part in those compositions, although it is true there is not much resemblance betwixt the two names. But if we look into the poems of Merlin Sylvestris, we shall find that the female personage of this name, which by the French romances might easily be modified into Viviane, is repeatedly referred to by the bard in his vaticinations. It also seems probable, as Chwiffeian signifies a female who appears and disappears, and also as the word bears some resemblance in sound to Sybilla, that the bard, by a confusion of terms and ideas, not uncommon in early writers, coined this name as an appellation for some imaginary character, and thus furnished the original of Viviane." *Literary Remains*, v. I. p. 144. This Merlin also had a twin-sister Gwendydd or Ganiada, who supplied her brother with food, in his solitary wanderings in the Caledonian Forest. In a poem in the *Red Book of Hergest* (*Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 462) she addresses him as *Llallogan* or twin-brother. "And this," says Mr. Price, "will explain a passage in the Life of S. Kentigern, in which it is said that there was at the court of Rydderch Hael, a certain idiot named *Laloicen*, who uttered predictions:—'In curia ejus quidam homo fatuus vocabulo Laloicen;' and in the *Scotichronicon* it is stated that this *Laloicen* was *Myrddin Wyllt*. By connecting these several particulars we find an air of truth cast over the history of this bard, as regards the principal incident of his life, and there can be no reason to doubt that some of the poetry attributed to him was actually his composition." *Literary Remains*, v. I. p. 143. Cited *Four Ancient Books*, v. II. pp. 353 and 424.

⁸⁰ VILLEMARQUE, *Merlin*, p. 234.

des imitateurs de son noble panégyriste, Robert de Borron. L'esprit grivois et goguenard y remplace progressivement l'esprit moral et grave passé de la tradition bretonne dans l'œuvre française primitive. Le sentiment est chassé trop souvent par le rire ; ce qui est élevé par ce qui est plat ; le sérieux par l'amusant. A la fin, Merlin sera plus ou moins moulé sur le type scolastique et vulgaire du savant devenu fou d'orgueil, du sage Salomon que séduisent les femmes étrangères, du poète Lucrèce que la perfide Lucile empoisonne, du vieillard de la comédie, victime de sa sotte passion. Et la verve de Rabelais, pas plus que l'art de Tennyson, ne parviendront complètement à vaincre la pitié qu'inspirera cette figure tombante."⁸¹

In the legends and romances of Merlin mention is ever made of a fountain, by which he used to meet his lady fair, and around which, as is the wont of love, he caused to spring up an enchanted Garden of Joy. Of no well, or fountain, however, could I hear either with the name, or a tradition, of Merlin attached to it. The sources, or wells of Tweed, though at an elevation of 1500 feet, lie in a hollow of the mountains, and, therefore, do not, as I should have liked to find, correspond with the description of the Fountain of the Caledonian Merlin, given in the *Vita Merlini*, of the 12th century, ascribed to Geoffrey of Monmouth. But in crossing the mountains here, that central mountain-district of the east of Scotland, which separates Tweeddale from Annan-dale and Moffat-dale, and where, at no great distance apart, are to be found the sources of the eastward-flowing Tweed, the westward-running Clyde, and the southward-falling Annan, I found many other fountains to which Geoffroy's (?) lines would apply :

"Fons erat in summo ejusdam vertice montis,
Undique præcinctus corulis, densisque fructibus,
Illic Merlinus consederat ; inde per omnes
Spectabat silvas, cursusque, jocosque ferarum."⁸²

⁸¹ VILLEMARQUE, *Merlin*, p. 234.

⁸² *Vita Merlini*, ll. 138-141 in SAN-MARTE (SCHULTZ) *Die Sagen von Merlin*, p. 277.

After journeying past deep ravines, and shadowy mountain nooks ; through dales, over the steep green sides of which swept the swift shadows of the clouds, and fell, in silver torrents, many a waterfall ; through a country, in which the long presence of a large Saxon element in its population was witnessed-to by the vulgarity of the names — Devil's Beef-tub, Grey Mare's Tail, etc.—by which so many of its finest scenes were profaned ;⁸³ I passed a night at the famous cottage of Tibbie Shiels, where I was sorry to find the old housekeeper of the Ettrick Shepherd on her death-bed ; and so, the next day, on, through Ettrick Forest. Somewhere in this district must have been fought Arthur's seventh battle “ ‘ in silva Caledonis id est cat Coit Celeddon,’—that is, the battle was so called, for *Cat* means ‘battle,’ and *Coed Celyddon*, ‘the wood of Celyddon.’ . . . of which the forests of Selkirk and Ettrick formed a part ; ”⁸⁴ and which is mentioned along with the Teifi or Teviot in a poem relating to the battle of Arderydd in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*.

“Seven score generous ones have gone to the shades ;
In the wood of Celyddon they came to their end.”⁸⁵

On the Teviot, also, Mr. Pearson⁸⁶ places the Din Guortigern, mentioned by Nennius.

Coming to Melrose by Abbotsford we pass through the Rhymer's Glen and by the Huntly Burn :

“True Thomas lay on Huntlie bank ;
A ferlie he spied wi' his ee ;
And there he saw a ladye bright,
Come riding down by the Eildon Tree.”⁸⁷

⁸³ “As the Saxon names of places, with the pleasant wholesome smack of the soil in them—Weathersfield, Thaxted, Shalford—are to the Celtic names of places, with their penetrating lofty beauty—Velindra, Tyntagel, Caernarvon,—so is the homely realism of German and Norse nature to the fairy-like loveliness of Celtic nature.”—ARNOLD, *Study of Celtic Literature*, p. 159. Sir Walter Scott certainly makes the best of the *Grey Mare's Tail* when he says of this cataract of 200 feet that it,

“White as the snowy charger's tail,
Drives down the pass of Moffatdale.”—*Marmion, Introd. to Canto 2*.

⁸⁴ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 54. ⁸⁵ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 370 ; v. II. pp. 18 and 337.

⁸⁶ *Historical Maps—Britannia Cambria*.

⁸⁷ SCOTT, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. Thomas the Rhymer, Part 1*.

Immediately to the south of Melrose, the Melros of Nennius, rise those three summits of the Eildons, the *Tremontium* of the Romans, which Mr. Nash identifies with the Din Drei of Aneurin, and near which he places the site of the battle celebrated in the *Gododin*.⁸⁸ These three summits also with their various weirdly appurtenants—the Windmill of Kippielaw, the Lucken Hare, and the Eildon Tree—mark the domes of those vast subterranean Halls, in which all the Arthurian Chivalry await, in an enchanted sleep, the bugle-blast of the Adventurer who will call them at length to a new life. And it is to be noted also that there are on the Eildons the remains of a fortified camp, and at their foot a Bowden Burn and Bowden Moor, at the further end of which is another hill with the remains of fortifications. There is not, however, an Avon here to enable us to oppose this site to that which Mr. Skene has identified as the *Mons Badonis* of Arthur's twelfth battle.

Crossing the winding Tweed, we find "six miles to the west of that heretofore noble and eminent monastery of Mailros," Gwaedol, or "Wedale, in English Wodale, in Latin Vallis Doloris." Here, at Stowe, was the church of Saint Mary, where were once "preserved, in great veneration, the fragments of that image of the Holy Virgin, Mother of God," which Arthur, on his return from Jerusalem,⁸⁹ "bore upon his shoulders, and through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Mary, put the Saxons to flight, and pursued them the whole day with great slaughter."⁹⁰ Not far from this church at Stowe, dedicated to S. Mary, General Roy places a Roman fort; and thus the site of Arthur's eighth battle "in Castello

⁸⁸ *On the History of the Battle of Cattraeth and the Gododin of Aneurin*, in *The Cambrian Journal*, 1861.

⁸⁹ Pilgrims from Britain are mentioned by S. Jerome. There is, therefore, no historical improbability in the legends of Arthur's pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre.

⁹⁰ *Harleian MS.* of the *Historia Britonum*. Henry of Huntingdon, who likewise gives this account, says the image was upon his shield; and, as in Welsh, *ygywydd* is a shoulder, and *ygywydd*, a shield, a Welsh original must have been differently translated by the two authors.

Guinnion" is very plainly indicated.⁹¹ This Guinnion also appears in the Garanwynyon mentioned in the poem in the *Book of Taliessin* on the battle of Gwenystrad or the White Strath, thus also identified with the valley of the Gala Water.

" In defending Gwenystrad was seen
A mound and slanting ground obstructing

Hand on the cross they wail on the gravel bank of Garanwynyon."

And the White Stone of Galystem (in which the name Gala seems contained), referred to in the succeeding lines,

" I saw a brow covered with rage on Urien,
When he furiously attacked his foes at the White Stone
Of Galystem,"⁹²

is probably the stone mentioned in the *Statistical Account*: "A little above it (S. Mary's Church of Stow) is a very fine perennial spring, known by the name of the Lady's Well, and a huge stone, recently removed in forming the new road, but now broken to pieces, used to be pointed out as impressed with the print of the Virgin Mary's foot." In the Verses of the Graves also this valley seems to be alluded to.⁹³

Crossing from Stowe to Lauder, and journeying down the Leader Water we come to the Rhymer's Tower, on a beautiful haugh or meadow by the waterside. Here in his Castle of Ercildoune, of which these are the ruins, lived Thomas the Rhymer, whom so many traditions connect with Arthurian Romance, in representing him as the unwilling, and too quickly vanishing guide of those adventurous spirits who have entered the mysterious Halls beneath the Eildons, and attempted to achieve the re-awakening of Arthur and his knights, but only to be cast forth, amid the thunders of the fateful words:—

" Woe to the Coward that ever he was born,
Who did not draw the Sword, before he blew the Horn."⁹⁴

⁹¹ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 55.

⁹² *Ibid.* v. I. pp. 343-4.

⁹³ *Ibid.* v. II. p. 412.

⁹⁴ See *Appendix to General Preface to Waverley*.

And hence it is to "True Thomas," still "doomed to revisit Eildon's fated Tree," that Leyden appeals to

"Say who is he with summons long and high,
Shall bid the charmed sleep of Ages fly;
Roll the long sound through Eildon's caverns vast,
While each dark warrior kindles at the blast;
The Horn, the Falchion grasp with mighty hand,
And peal proud Arthur's march from Fairyland."⁹⁵

From Ercildoune, or Earlstoun, we journey to Kelso, which is mentioned in the *Book of Taliessin* as Calchvynydd.⁹⁶ This literally means "Chalk mountain," and Chalmers says, "It seems to have derived its ancient name of Calchow from a calcareous eminence which appears conspicuous in the middle of the town, and which is still called the Chalk Heugh."⁹⁷ At no great distance to the south of Kelso is Jedburgh, identified by Mr. Pearson with the Judeu and Atbret Judeu of Nennius;⁹⁸ and Mr. Nash and the Ven. Archdeacon Jones, placing Manau Guotodin further south than Mr. Skene would do, extend it beyond Jedburgh, and so as to include Northumberland.⁹⁹

Though properly, perhaps, belonging to the next district, we shall find it more convenient to include in our exploration of *Tweeddale* that river Glen, one of the indirect tributaries of the Tweed, which the above-quoted writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* identifies with the Glein or Gleni, at the mouth of which took place the first battle in which Arthur was engaged. "Near the junction of the Glen with the Till rises a lofty hill, called from its shape 'Weaving Bell,' on the summit of which are to be seen to this day the remains of a rude fortress of immense strength, and nearly inaccessible position. The hill rises abruptly to the height of upwards of 2000

⁹⁵ *Scenes of Infancy*, Part II.

⁹⁶ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 363, and v. II. p. 162.

⁹⁷ *Caledonia*, v. II. p. 146.

⁹⁸ *Historical Maps—Britannia Cambrica*.

⁹⁹ *On the History of the Battle of Cattraeth, etc.*, in *The Cambrian Journal*, 1861.

feet, the summit being attained by a winding path on its south-east side, and presenting a level plain of about 12 acres. In the midst is an elevated citadel. That this was at a later period a royal fortress of the Saxons we know on the authority of Bede. And that Weaving was a fortress of the Britons, before it fell into the hands of the Saxons is supported by the tradition of ages. On the invasion of their country by a superior force, the Ottodeni naturally sought refuge in this fortress. In their behalf, Arthur first drew his sword upon the Saxons. Its position near the capital of Bernicia, and its celebrity from the ministration of Paulinus and the narrative of Bede, account for this river being mentioned without any allusion (as in the case of the Duglas) to the region in which it flowed.”¹⁰⁰

Along the Border-country we note an almost endless number of places, famous in story, among which we must, at least, name Carham as the scene of the battle which finally added the Saxon Lothians to the Celtic kingdom of Malcolm II. in 1018.¹⁰¹ And so, on to Berwick, formerly Aberwick. And, though now fallen into comparative decay and insignificance,—crowning, as it does, the northern heights at the mouth of the Tweed, looking eastward on the sea, that dashes up to high caverned cliffs, and commanding westward the vale of the beautiful river, here flowing between steep braes, shadowy with trees, or bright with corn and pasture, —Berwick, but for the dulness within its walls, seems still almost as worthy of being called Joyeuse Garde as, both from its real and romance history of siege, conquest, and reconquest, it is of being remembered as Dolorous Garde.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine*, v. XVII. (1842), p. 59.

¹⁰¹ See ROBERTSON, *Scotland under Her Early Kings*, v. I. p. 96, n.

¹⁰² See SCOTT, *Romance of Sir Tristrem*, Introduction, p. xxxvii. See also BURTON, *History of Scotland*, v. I. p. 177.

SECTION (II).

The Southern Division of Arthurian Scotland.

From the still preserved ramparts of Berwick I observed, away to the south, a great pyramid-like mass by the sea; and, on asking what this was, I was told it was Bamborough Castle. "Ah," said I to myself, "the Chatel Orgueilleux of Romance¹⁰³ and the Dingwaroy and Bebbanburgh of Nennius." So, entering on the exploration of *District IV.—Northumberland*, I went by train to the Belford station, whence it is some five miles to the little model village under the Castle-rock. And whatever may on other grounds be said of the expenditure of the funds vested for certain charitable purposes in the Trustees to whom this ancient Castle, with its valuable estates, now belongs, an Arthurian antiquary can hardly but be grateful to them for enabling him to enter, what might easily be imagined one of the very castles of which he has been reading. Occupying the whole extent of a solitary eminence, it stands among sandy downs, close by the sea, and overlooking a wide plain at the foot of the Cheviots. Nearly opposite the Castle are the Faroe Islands. And journeying five or six miles over the sands when the tide is out, and a mile by boat, one reaches Lindisfarne, the Medgaud of Nennius, opposite which, on the mainland, is the Lleu. Having visited the Abbey of the Holy Island of St. Cuthbert,—like Iona, whence the saintly Aidan came here as a missionary, a primitive seat of Christianity,—and where, as I thought, there ought to have been a tradition of its having been the retreat of Sir Lancelot after the discovery of his treason, and his final separation from the Queen; I regained the mainland, and Beal station, in a slow, jolting cart, chased by the too swiftly incoming tide, but amusing myself thinking of the still worse

¹⁰³ SCOTT, *Romance of Sir Tristrem*, Introduction, p. xxxvii.

jolting Sir Lancelot underwent, and the ludicrous disgrace brought upon him by his accepting the offer of the dwarf to guide him to the captive Guenivere, would the knight but leave his disabled horse, and get into "la charette," the filthy cart of the dwarf.¹⁰⁴

The references to Northumberland in the Romances are very frequent. It was in the forest of Northumberland that dwelt the Hermit Blaise to whom Merlin is represented as so often repairing, in order that being "a nobill clerk and subtle," he might put in writing all the wonderful things that befell in those days. And one chapter, for instance, of the French Romance of Lancelot is headed, "Comment la Dame de Noehault envoya deuers le Roy Artus, luy supplier quil luy envoya secours contre le Roy de Norhombellando qui luy menoit guerre." Northumberland also formed part of the Berneich of Nennius, the Tir Brenech of Llywarch Hen, and the Brenneich of Aneurin, the Anglie kingdom of Bernicia. And in the suburbs of its chief town, Newcastle, we find Arthur's Hill.

We are now on the Tyne, the south-eastern boundary of Arthurian Scotland. But, before turning westward, we must note that, but a little way over the frontier is York, Eboracum, with which the name of the father of Perceval, that famous knight of the Quest of the Holy Grail is connected. For he is always mentioned as Ebrauk or Evrok of the North.¹⁰⁵ But, under his earlier Cymric name of Peredur, Perceval is brought into more direct connection with Arthurian Scotland in his relations with Merlin in the Caledonian Forest—

"Venerat ad bellum Merlinus cum Pereduro

.

Solatur Peredurus eum,"—¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ From this adventure a metrical romance, composed by Chestien de Troyes in the twelfth century, takes its title *La Charette*.

¹⁰⁵ VILLEMANQUE, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, pp. 321 and 395.

¹⁰⁶ *Vita Merlini*, l. 31 and l. 68. SAN MARTE (SCHULTZ), *Die Sagen von Merlin*, pp. 274-5.

and as one of the chiefs mentioned by Aneurin in the *Godedin* as having fallen at the battle of Catteraeth :

“Peredur with steel arms, Gwawrddur, and Aeddān,
A defence were they in the tumult, though with shattered shields.”¹⁰⁷

Turning now westward, and passing through the picturesquely-situated old town of Hexham, with its Moot Hall and Abbey Church, on a wooded ridge over-hanging the Tyne, we stop either at the Haydon Bridge, or the Bardon Mill station of the Carlisle and Newcastle Railway. For six or eight miles to the north of these stations, and in the neighbourhood of Housesteads, the most complete of the stations on the Roman Wall, are the principal Arthurian Localities of this Northumbrian District. The scenery here is very remarkable. The green, but unwooded grazing hills,—wide and wild-looking from their want of enclosures, and the infrequency of farm-houses,—seem like the vast billows of a north-sweeping tide. Along one of these wave-lines runs the Roman Wall, with the stations of its garrison. In the trough, as it were, of this mighty sea, and to the north of the Wall, were, till a few years ago removed and ploughed over, the ruins of the ancient castle of Sewing Shields, referred to by Sir Walter Scott as the Castle of the Seven Shields,¹⁰⁸ and by Camden as Seavenshale.¹⁰⁹ Beneath it, as under the Eildons, Arthur and all his court are said to lie in an enchanted sleep. And here also tradition avers that the passage to these Subterranean Halls, having once on a time, been found, but the wrong choice having been made in the attempt to achieve the adventure, and call the Chivalry of the Table Rounde to life again, the unfortunate adventurer was cast forth with these ominous words ringing in his ears :

¹⁰⁷ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 386. Compare also GUEST (Lady Charlotte) *Mabinogion, Notes to Peredur the Son of Eborac*, v. I. p. 371.

¹⁰⁸ *Harold the Dauntless*, s. VI.

¹⁰⁹ BRUCE, *The Roman Wall*, p. 175.

"O woe betide that evil day
 On which this witless wight was born,
 Who drew the Sword, the Garter cut,
 But never blew the Bugle-horn"—¹¹⁰

the very opposite mistake, it will be observed, to that of which the equally luckless Eildon adventurer was guilty.

The northern faces of three successive billows here, if I may so call them, present fine precipitous crags,—whinstone and sandstone strata cropping out. These are called respectively Sewing Shields Crags, the King's, and the Queen's Crags. Along the crest of the first of these the Roman Wall is carried. The others take their name from having been the scene of a little domestic quarrel, or tiff, between King Arthur and Queen Guinevere. To settle the matter, the king sitting on a rock called Arthur's Chair, threw at the queen an immense boulder which, falling somewhat short of its aim, is still to be seen on this side of the Queen's Crags. And on the horizon of the immense sheep farm of Sewing Shields, and beyond an outlying shepherd's hut, very appropriately named Coldknuckles, is a great stone called Cumming's Cross, to which there is attached another rude Arthurian tradition. For here, they say, that King Arthur's sons attacked, and murdered a northern chieftain who had been visiting their father at Sewing Shields Castle, and who was going home with too substantial proofs, as they thought, of the king's generosity.

Thence, over a most bracingly wild, wide-horizoned, and open Border-country to Liddesdale.¹¹¹ At the head of this famous dale we find Dawston, which may be reckoned among localities of the Arthurian Age, as the scene of that great battle of Dagsestan of 603, in which Aidan, who seems to have been, like Arthur some sixty years before, performing the functions of *Guledig* or "Dux

¹¹⁰ HODGSON, *History of Northumberland*, Part II. v. III. p. 287.

¹¹¹ Liddesdale is, of course, known to be within the political frontier of Scotland, though its Arthurian localities are here treated of partly as belonging to the district of Northumberland, and partly to that of Cumberland.

Bellorum" in the North, led a combined force of Scots and Britons against the Angles of Bernicia, under Ethelfrid; only, however, to meet with a crushing defeat.¹¹²

But our next and more strictly Arthurian locality, a hill, on the eastern side of the valley, called Arthur's Seat—the third locality of that name we have found in the course of our journey—we must place in *District V.—Cumberland*. The chief object, however, of our exploration of Liddesdale, is the locality of the great battle of Arderydd, so often mentioned in the *Four Ancient Books*, in the *Triads*, and in the *Vita Merlini*. "Concealed under these extravagant fables, we can see," says Mr. Skene, "the outlines of one of those great historical struggles which alter the fate of a country. . . . It was, in short, a great struggle between the supporters of the advancing Christianity and the departing Paganism, in which the former were victorious. That it was an historical event, and that this was its character, appears from this, that it occurs in the *Annales Cambriæ*, as a real event about the year 573; 'Bellum Armterid inter filios Elifer et Gwendoleu filium Keidiau in quo bello Gwendoleu cecidit. Merlinus insanus effectus est;' and that 573 is the first year of the reign of Rhydderch over Strathclyde, and of Aidan, over Dalriada,"¹¹³—these being the leaders of the Christian party.

Where, then, was this battle fought? It was a passage in the *Vita S. Kentigerni*, quoted by M. de la Villemarqué,¹¹⁴ that induced me to look in Liddesdale for its site. Shortly before, however, the same passage had been similarly suggestive to Mr. Skene;

¹¹² *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. pp. 177-8; also v. II. p. 365, where it is said that Mr. Stephens now considers this battle to have been that celebrated in the poems of the Gododin. Donald Brec, who was defeated in the battle of Strathcawin,—the subject, according to Mr. Skene, of the second part of these poems,—was the son of this Aidan.

¹¹³ *Notice of the Site of the Battle of Arderyth—Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, v. VI. P. I. p. 95 (published in 1867, my visit being in 1866).

¹¹⁴ *Myrdhin, ou L'Enchanteur Merlin*, p. 72.

though his *Notice of the Site of the Battle of Arderyth* was not published till after the identification which was the result of my visit to the place. This passage is as follows. One day that the saint was praying in a wild solitude of the Caledonian Forest, there sprang across his path "quidam demens, nudus et hirsutus, ab omni solatio mundiali destitutus, quasi quoddam torvum furiale." The saint asked this strange being who, or what he was, and received for answer, "Olim Quortigerni vates, Merlinus vocitatus, in hac solitudine dura patiens. Eram enim cædis omnium causa interemptorum qui interfecti sunt in bello, cunctis in hac patria constitutis satis noto, quod erat *in campo inter Lidel et Carwanolow situato*."¹¹⁵

Carwhinelow is a burn, on which there is a village of the same name, and which flows from Nicholl Forest into the Esk. And some little way above the junction of the Esk, with the Liddel is what is called in the *Statistical Account*, the Moat of Liddel, though known in the country only as the Roman Camp. It is situated on the top of a high bank overhanging the river, to which, on the north side, the rock goes sheer down; while on the other side it is defended by prodigious earthen ramparts which rise from the field to a height of nearly thirty feet. There is a well in the enclosure, and on the west side a second great rampart. "It is obviously," says Mr. Skene, "a native strength." On its east side the ground slopes down till it comes to the level of the river at a place called Ridding, not quite half a mile off. Between the fort and the village of Carwhinelow is a field extending to the ridge along the stream of that name. This, then, is certainly the "campus inter Lidel et Carwanolow situato." The name of Erydon which Merlin gives to the battle probably remains in Ridding at

¹¹⁵ *Vita S. Kentigerni*, MSS. Mus. Britann. Cf. *FORDUN Scotichronicon*, lib. III. cxxxi. p. 135, ed. Edinb. 1759. See also SCOTT, Introduction to *Thomas the Rhymer*, Part II., in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

the foot of the fort. "And I have no doubt," says Mr. Skene, "that the name Carwhinelow is a corruption of Caerwenddolew, the Caer or city of Gwenddolew,"¹¹⁶ who, as we have seen, was the leader of the Pagan party, and slain in this battle.

Looking westward from the fort, the eye rests on the gleaming Solway, and southwards, on the knolls of Arthuret, beyond which the Cumberland hills bound the horizon. To Arthuret, then, let us next proceed. For double *d* in Welsh being equivalent to *th*, we can hardly now refuse to recognise in it the name of Arderydd¹¹⁷ by which the battle is commonly mentioned. Should any doubt remain, it will be dispelled by a visit to the place, which is but some two miles from Longtown. Standing there, on the knolls by Arthuret Church and looking west, with Liddel and Carvanolow behind, a grander battle-plain could hardly be imagined, could the enemy be manœuvred to attack one in a position of which that eminence should be the centre. In the distance behind and around, low hills, except where they rise to a greater height on the Scottish border; in front, the Esk, flowing across the plain, to fall into the Solway Firth, after having been joined by the Line; and bounding the plain, the sea, into which, should the enemy have been unsuccessful in their attack, the victors, fording the river, might drive them in irreparable rout.

At Camelon on the Firth of Forth, we found the site of the battle that closed the career of the historical Arthur in 537. But it was on this scene of the great battle of Arderydd in 573, that it seemed to me, standing on the knolls of Arthuret, that the final Arthurian battle of the Romances might best be imagined to have been fought,—the enemy, driven down from the Moat of Liddel, we have

¹¹⁶ *Notice of the Site*, etc., above quoted, p. 98.

¹¹⁷ Arthuret, as a name, therefore, has nothing whatever to do with Arthur, as Hutchinson supposes (*History of Cumberland*, v. II. p. 545), making it a corruption of Arthur's head; and is mentioned among these Arthurian localities, not because of its connection with Arthur, but with the Arthurian Merlin.

just visited, here making a last stand. For it is Merlin who is the romantic character, *par excellence* of the Romances; and it seemed fitter to make the scene of the last great battle of the Romance Arthur the same as that in which Merlin, who is in the Romances so intimately connected with Arthur, historically "bore the golden torques," than to make the scene of that battle which, in its event, was the departing out of this world of all the Arthurian chivalry, the same as that in which the historical Arthur fell, but at which Merlin was not present. And, besides, here we have a great Western Lake, which suits that primitive mythological element which can, I think, be shown cropping-out with singular frequency in the Arthurian Romance-cycle.

With such thoughts, then, I wandered over the old battle plain, past great farms, or rather agricultural manufactories, with their steam-engines and chimney-stalks, down to and by a primitive wooden bridge mounted on stilts, across the Line. Then, getting on the turnpike-road to Glasgow, I crossed the Esk by an iron bridge, and, a mile or so on the south side of the border, I turned down towards the sea, but some five minutes distant now. The scene I beheld as I went down to the tide, "washing among the reeds," struck me as of a weird and magical beauty. Behind, in the middle of the great plain, was still clearly visible the mound of Arthuret; before me, in the far distance to the right, was the Scottish Criffel, and, to the left, the English Skiddaw; between these, in the sheen of the setting sun, and stretching away amid points of land to the west, so that, whether it was land-locked as a lake, or boundless as a sea, one could not tell, was the Solway. "Here," I thought, "well may one feign that here, even at such a sunset hour as this, after the last fatal battle on the plain above, Excaliber was thrown into the sea; that here it was caught by the fairy hand, and borne aloft, symbol of the hope, and ultimate triumph of the genius of the Celtic race; and there, in the infinite Beyond, is Avalon."

Coming up to Gretna Green from the Solway, we proceed to Carlisle, which would appear to be the *Caer Lliwelydd* of the *Book of Taliessin*,¹¹⁸ and the *Cardueil* of Romance, evens till more famous than the hardly yet identified Camelot, as the favourite residence of King Arthur. And with reason. For beautifully does the Castle- and Cathedral-crowned eminence, swept round by the Eden, the Peteril, and the Caldew, rise from the wide plain that stretches from the Border Hills down to, and along the Solway Firth. Of the Eden there is a tradition that King Arthur's father tried to turn it out of its course :

"Let Uther-pendragon do what he can,
Eden shall run where Eden ran."¹¹⁹

But a visit to the populous modern manufacturing quarter, in the evening, when the hands are loose, (how meaningful is the phrase!) may profitably disturb antiquarian memories, and romantic associations.

From Carlisle, near which would appear to have been the *Guasmoric* of Nennius,¹²⁰ our Arthurian pilgrimage takes us southward again through the Inglewood Forest of Romance. From the Southwaite station, we have a walk of something more than two miles, through a beautifully-wooded lane, its waysides luxuriant with wild flowers, to the village of Upper Hesket. At the "White Ox" I had the good fortune to encounter an intelligent old man, who, taking me to the back of the farmyard, pointed out, down in the hollow, what I was in search of, the famous Tarn Wahethelyne of Ballad and Romance. But Tarn Wadling, as it has been called in later times, has been for the last ten years a wide meadow, grazed by hundreds of sheep. Of the

¹¹⁸ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 257, and v. II. pp. 200 and 419.

¹¹⁹ As an illustration of the unlikely places in which one may find the objects of one's search, I may note that I found this tradition mentioned in Mr. Mortimer Collins' novel, *Who is the Heir?* v. I. p. 253.

¹²⁰ PEARSON, *Historical Maps—Britannia Cambrica*.

draining of it the old man, the innkeeper as it turned out, who had come from Yorkshire, but had been here for the last fifty years, had a great deal to say. Among the rest, what fun it was to see the swine that belonged to a cottager at the far end of the tarn, get tired of the dead carp, that were cast on the land, and wade in to fish for the "quick uns." But of the story of the Grim Baron whom King Arthur chanced to meet here, whose

—"Strokes were nothing sweet,"¹²¹

and who refused all other ransom than that the King should, within a year and a day, bring him word "what thing it is that women most desire;" and of the Foul Ladye who, at length, gave, for the courteous Sir Gawayne's sake, the true answer, and who, on her marriage, was so transformed that

"The Queen sayd, and her ladies alle,
She is the fayrest nowe in this halle;"—

of how

"This ferly byfelle fulle sothely to fayne
In Iggillwode Foreste at the Tarn-wathelayne;"¹²²

of all this, neither my old friend nor his dame had ever heard, till, sitting by their kitchen fire to dry my clothes, wet with a heavy shower, I told them the tale. And all he knew about King Arthur was that

"When as King Arthur ruled this land,
He ruled it like a swine;
He bought three pecks of barleymeal
To make a pudding fine.
"His pudding it was nodden well,
And stuffed right full of plums;
And lumps of suet he put in
As big as my two thumbs;"—

a tradition of the "Flos Regum," hitherto, I believe, unnoticed.

Crossing the south end of the Tarn, or rather meadow, and passing through a fir wood, I ascended Blaze Fell, and, from the quarry on

¹²¹ MADDEN, *Romances of Sir Gawayne* (Bannatyne Club).

¹²² Ibid.

its summit, had a fine view over the undulating, mountain bounded, and still finely wooded ancient forest of Inglewood. Below me was the Tarn; to the west of it, the ridge of Upper Heskett; to the east, an eminence with the site, though no more the ruins, of the Castle Hewin of Romance, the stronghold of the Grim Baron. And behind this eminence the Eden flows past still another locality that recalls his fame, and, with it, the legend of the Marriage of Sir Gawayne, — Baron-wood. This legend belongs, as I think, to the class of Sun-myths; and it may be instructive to compare with it that of the Laidley Worm of Spindleston Heugh, near Bamborough Castle, celebrated in the ballad of 1270 by Duncan Frazier the Bard of Cheviot. As the Foul Lady is transformed into "the fairest in hall," so also is the Laidley Worm, or Loathsome Dragon. For her brother, coming over the Eastern Sea, in a ship with Rowan-tree masts,

". . . sheathed his sword, and bent his bow,
And gave her kisses three;
She crept into a hole a Worm,
And stepped out a Lady."¹²³

Returning to the Southwaite Station, we proceed next to Penrith, passing on our way the Plumpton Park and Hatton Hall which Sir Frederic Madden identifies with places of similar names in the Romances of Sir Gawayne.¹²⁴ Thence, crossing the narrow but picturesque old bridge of the Eamont, which, flowing from Ulleswater, here separates the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland, we find, closely adjoining the fine Celtic monument of Mayborough, another such set of circular embankments round a flat-surfaced central mound as we found, but on a larger scale, under the battlements of Stirling Castle. But what is there now called the King's Knot, is here named Arthur's Round Table. And, connected with a cave in the demesne of Brougham Castle in this neigh-

¹²³ See WHITE, *Northumberland and the Border*, p. 249 et seq. Compare also FERGUSSON, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 32, n.

¹²⁴ MADDEN, *Romances of Syr Gawayne*, p. 309.

bourhood, we still find a tradition of a giant killed by the most famous knight of the Table Rounde, Sir Lancelot du Lac. Continuing our journey, we come on the Winstre, which is another stream separating the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and would appear to be the Gwensteri of the *Book of Taliessin*; ¹²⁵ as the Derwent should seem to be the Derwenydd of the *Gododin Poems*. ¹²⁶

Here we have come to the south-western limit of what I venture to designate Arthurian Scotland. And now, turning northwards, again, I determined, if possible, to verify Sir F. Madden's conjecture that the Grene Chapel spoken of in the Scottish Romance of *Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knight* (by "Huchowne of the Awle Ryale" ¹²⁷?) is the same with the "Chapel of the Grene," which, in the older maps of Cumberland, is marked as existing on the point of land on the western coast, running into the estuary of the Wampool, not far from Skinburness. So from Silloth, which seems to be getting a favourite sea-bathing and health-recruiting place, I wandered up the Solway beach to the extreme point of Skinburness. And this much, at least, by way of verification of Sir F. Madden's conjecture, I may say, that there is near this a beautifully embayed shore, covered with the brightest green down to the very water's edge, from which, if, indeed, the site of the Chapel of the Grene, it might well have taken its name; and, further, that Volsty or Vultsey Castle, so long associated with the necromantic fame of the wizard Michael Scott, and which once stood in the fair wide plain which rises gradually to the foot of Skiddaw, might, from its site with reference to this bright green shore, the seaward border of the plain, well be that in which Sir Gawayne took up his abode, and which is stated to have been but two miles distant from the Grene Chapel, the object of his quest.

¹²⁵ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 338, and v. II. p. 402.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 406, v. II. p. 449.

¹²⁷ MADDEN, *Romances of Syr Gawayne*.

Away, from here, over the sea, is the Castle of the King of Man—

“He lett him see a castle faire,
Such a one he neuer saw yare,
Noe wher in noe country.
The Turke said to Sir Gawaine,
‘Yonder dwells the King of Man,
A heathen soldan is hee.’”¹²⁸

And the Isle of Man, is the Mynaw of Taliessin ;¹²⁹ the Manau and Eubonia of Nennius.¹³⁰ May it possibly be also the Ermonie of the *Romance of Sir Tristrem*? Merlin, at any rate, is traditionally connected with the Isle of Man, as well as Gawayne. For, by Merlin the giants, who had overpowered the primitive population of Fairies, are in their turn said to have been overpowered, and spell-bound in subterranean chambers.¹³¹

A shower falling with the turn of the tide, I took shelter in a little cottage, where I found a pretty young woman with her first-born in her arms. Crowing, instead of crying, at sight of the stranger, I remarked what a fine big boy he was ; and his proud mother, turning her face modestly a little away, replied : “And yet they say that foresons are ordinarily sma’.” Looking from the cottage door, she pointed out to me where, on the opposite shore of the gleaming water, Annan might just be distinguished, and where, up the estuary of the Nith, lay Dumfries. And I was delighted with the beautiful lake-like Firth ; the charm of which, I imagined, must be mainly owing to the variety of its coast-outlines, and the undefined, mysterious recesses of its bays and estuaries ; though

¹²⁸ MADDEN, *Romances of Syr Gawayne*. See also *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, v. I. p. 95.

¹²⁹ PEARSON, *Historical Maps—Britannia Cambrica*.

¹³⁰ “Tres magnas insulas habet, quarum una vergit contra Armoricas, et vocatur Inisgueith ; secunda sita est in umbilico maris inter Hiberniam et Britanniam et vocatur nomen ejus Eubonia, id est Manau.” This name was also, as we have above seen, applied to a district in North Britain ; “regio qui vocatur Manau Guotodin.” It should seem that “the island was associated with the name of the Scots, and the region with that of the Picts.” *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 83.

¹³¹ See WALDRON, *History and Description of the Isle of Man*.

there were also, indeed, the fine distant forms of the Scottish and English mountains, and the lights and shades of a bright, though beclouded summer's day.

Returning to Carlisle, thence crossing the Border, and turning along the northern shore of the Solway, the Galwudiæ Mare of Gildas,¹³² we enter *District VI.—Galloway*; including under that name the western part of Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, and Wigtonshire. This district is mentioned in the poems of the Arthurian age as *Gallwyddel*, of which *Galgaidel* is the Gaelic, and *Galweithia* the Latin form, or equivalent;¹³³ and it may be described as lying between the Nith and Loch Ryan.¹³⁴ In the Mediæval romances, it is referred to as the patrimony of Sir Gawayne,¹³⁵ son of Loth, or Lothus, King of Lothian. And thus Galloway may be viewed also as the birthland of the many other knights of whom the only description is but such as this: "al they were of Scotland, outhur of Syr Gawaynes' kynne, outhur well-willers to his brethren."¹³⁶

The localities, however, which we have to note in this, as also in the next district, belong rather to the Arthurian age than to King Arthur. But the first two I have to mention may be considered as exceptions to this rule, as they refer to S. Kentigern, whom so many traditions connect with Merlin. At Hoddam or Hodelem on the Annan, it is stated by Joceline¹³⁷ that this saint, on his recall from Wales, after the great Christian victory of Arderydd, placed, for a time, his episcopal seat. And some way higher up on the opposite side of the river is a church dedicated to him as S. Mungo. The whole of Nithsdale, and the country about Lochmaben appears in the *Book of Taliessin*, under the name of Mabon;¹³⁸ and Lochar Moss (near which we may visit the famous Caer-laverock Castle,

¹³² *De Excid Brit.* c. xi.

¹³³ *Four Ancient Books*, v. II. p. 452, etc.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 401.

¹³⁵ MADDEN, *Romances of Syr Gawayne*.

¹³⁶ MALORY, *The Byrth, Lyf, and Actes of Kyng Arthur*.

¹³⁷ *Vita S. Kentigerni* in PINKERTON'S *Vitæ Antiquissimorum Sanctorum*.

¹³⁸ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. pp. 363, 562 and v. II. pp. 420-6.

where Murdoch, second Duke of Albany, was for a time a prisoner in 1425), should seem to be the Man-Llachar of these poems.¹³⁹ Near Dumfries, with its tragical memories of the later years, and premature death, of Burns, we find on the north bank of the Cluden,—the Cludvein or Cledyfein of the poems,—where it falls into the Nith, the scene of the battle also commemorated in the *Book of Taliessin*, where

“lay the Peithwyr prostrate
At the end of the wood of Celyddon.”¹⁴⁰

For the author of the *Statistical Account* says, “The lower part of this parish was unquestionably at an early period a *quercetum*, or oak-forest, extending most probably to Snaid, a distance of eight miles.” It was termed the Holywood, and a monastery was afterwards founded here called “*Abbatia Sacri Nemoris*.” Not more than a quarter of a mile south-west of the church eleven large stones are placed in an oval form. They are situated near the lower end of the Sacred Grove; and should seem to be a record of this battle of Pencoed. The Peithwyr were no doubt the Picts of Galloway.¹⁴¹ The Carron which flows into the Nith, in the upper part of its course, is probably the stream mentioned in the same *Ancient Book* as the “boundary of Garant.”¹⁴² And the Caer Rywc, mentioned in another of these poems, “probably refers to Sanquhar or Senchaer, the old city which is on the Crawick, a name formed from Caer Rawick as Cramond is from Caer Amond.”¹⁴³

Journeying westward past the mediæval ruins of Sweetheart Abbey, of romantic fame, and Kirkcudbright, with its pre-mediæval memories of S. Cuthbert, we come to Wigton; and near this we find what would appear to be the tomb of that Gwallawg ap Lleenawg, relating to whom there is a whole class of poems in the *Four Ancient Books*.¹⁴⁴ For “in the highway between Wigton and Port-

¹³⁹ *Four Ancient Books*.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* v. II. p. 402.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* v. II. p. 401.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 338.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 429, and v. II. p. 407.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 336 *et seq.*

patrick about three miles westward of Wigton is a plaine called the Moor of the Standing Stones of Torhouse, in which there is a monument of three large whinstones, called King Galdus's Tomb, surrounded, at about twelve feet distance, with nineteen considerable great stones, but none of them so great as the three just mentioned, erected in a circumference."¹⁴⁵ And of Galdus, or Gallawg, Boece says "Elatum est corpus in vicino campi ut vivens mandaverat, est conditum ubi ornatissimum ei monumentum patrio more, immensis ex lapidibus est erectum;"¹⁴⁶ and he identifies him with Galgacus who fought against Agricola.¹⁴⁷ Leaving Whitehorn, or Candida Casa, with its memories of the apostolic S. Ninian, to the south, we journey on, passing Kirkcowan, with the query whether there is here to be found a topographical record of Gawayne, and come at length to the neighbourhood of Loch Ryan. Here there seems to be a record of the

"Battle in the Marsh of Terra, at the dawn,"¹⁴⁸

in "four large unpolished stones placed erect and forming a circle. At a distance of some yards stands a single stone. They are called by the country people the 'Standing Stones of Glenterra.'" Near this, "about three feet deep in a peat moss, there is a regular pile of stepping-stones, extending about a quarter of a mile. These must have been placed in this position to form a passage through a

¹⁴⁵ SYMSON, *Description of Galloway* (1684).

¹⁴⁶ Quoted in *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 171.

¹⁴⁷ The antiquarian controversy about the Mons Grampius, and the site of the battle between Galgacus and Agricola is well known. See BURTON, *History of Scotland*, v. I. p. 12 et seq. But, if I am not deceived by the partiality of a grandson, a very probable case seems to be made out for that site on the Grampians in the neighbourhood of Stonehaven in Kincardineshire, where we find, on the plain, within a mile of the sea, a Roman Camp, and directly opposite, on the face of the hills, at the distance of not more than two miles, a native, or Caledonian entrenchment (Redykes). STUART (of Inchbreck), *Essays on Scottish Antiquities*, pp. 79-80 et seq. See also ROY, *Military Antiquities, Introduction*, p. iv.

¹⁴⁸ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 338.

swamp previous to the growth of the peat moss.”¹⁴⁹ It remains but to add that *Caer Rheon*, now *Cairnryan*, *Llwch Rheon*, now *Loch Ryan*, and *Rhyd Rheon*, or *Ford of Ryan*, are all mentioned in these poems of the *Arthurian Age*; ¹⁵⁰ and that the *Mull of Galloway* is the *Novant of Aneurin*.¹⁵¹

SECTION (III).

The Western Division of Arthurian Scotland.

We now enter on *District VII.—Ayr*. And here we have first to note that the three immemorial divisions of this county—*Carrick*, *Kyle*, and *Cunningham*, all appear in the poems of the *Arthurian Age* under the more primitive *Cymric* forms of *Carrawg*, *Coel*, and *Canowan*. In the *Book of Taliessin*,¹⁵² we find

“Of the many-cited *Cymri*, *Carawg*,
The father of *Caradawg*.”

This *Caradawg* is obviously the *Caractacus* of *Boece*, who appears to have used local traditions whenever he could find them, and who says that in *Carrick* “erat civitas tum maxima a qua *Caractani* regio videtur nomen sortita. In ea *Caractacus* natus, nutritus, educatus.”¹⁵³ “And a similar monument to that we have found in *Galloway* to the memory of *Galdus*, is described in a MS. quoted by *Dr. Jamieson*, in his edition of *Bellenden’s Boece* as existing in *Carrick*. ‘There is 3 werey grate heapes of stonnes, callit wulgarley the *Kernes* of *Blackinney*, being the name of the village and ground. At the suthirmost of thir 3 cairnes are ther 13 great tall stonnes, standing upright in a perfyte cirkle, about some 3 elle ane distaunt from ane other, with a gret heighe stonne in the midle, which is

¹⁴⁹ *Statistical Account of Insh*, in the county of *Wigton*, quoted in *Four Ancient Books*, v. II. p. 402.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* v. I. pp. 241, 276, v. II. pp. 337, 401.

¹⁵¹ *PEARSON, Historical Maps—Britannia Cambrica.*

¹⁵² *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 429.

¹⁵³ Quoted, *Ibid.* v. I. p. 171.

werily esteemed be the most learned inhabitants to be the buriall place of King Caractacus.'"¹⁵⁴ In reference to this division of Ayr I have only to add that the Gafran of the poems would appear to be Girvan,¹⁵⁵ Caer Caradawg the Caractonium of Boece,¹⁵⁶ and Dunduff the Dindwydd of Aneurin.¹⁵⁷

In the same poem, and a few lines after those last quoted, we find

"Who will pay the precious reward?

Or Coel, or Canowan?"¹⁵⁸

Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham thus mentioned together. And in those Verses of the Graves in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, from which Mr. Arnold takes one of his illustrations of what he calls the *Pindarism* of the Celtio, as contrasted with the *Gemeinheit* of the Teutonic style,¹⁵⁹ we read

"Whose is the Grave on the slope of the hill?

Many who know it do not ask;

The Grave of Coel, the son of Cynvelyn."¹⁶⁰

Boece tells us "Kyl dein proxima est vel Coil potius nominata, a Coilo Britannorum rege ibi in pugna cæso;"¹⁶¹ and a circular mound at Coilsfield, in the parish of Tarbolton, on the highest point of which are two large stones, and in which sepulchral remains have been found, is pointed out by local tradition as his tomb.¹⁶² The

¹⁵⁴ Quoted in *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 172.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. v. II. p. 403.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. v. II. 415.

¹⁵⁷ PEARSON, *Historical Maps—Britannia Cambria*.

¹⁵⁸ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 430.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. v. I. p. 316, Cynvelyn would become Cymbeline in English.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. v. I. p. 170.

¹⁶¹ *Study of Celtic Literature*, p. 145. The verse he quotes is as follows:

"The Grave of March is this, and this the Grave of Gwythyr;

Here is the grave of Gwgawn Gleddyvrud;

But unknown is the Grave of Arthur."

Compare SKENE, *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 315.

¹⁶² Whatever truth there may be in Mr. Fergusson's theory that the so-called Druidical Circles of Britain had nothing whatever to do with the Druids, but are sepulchral monuments of the Arthurian Age; it seems worth noting that in these Tombs of Gwallawg (Galdus) of Caradawg (Caractacus) and of Coel, we have monuments similar to those elsewhere called Druidical circles, but with traditions attached to them which seem to give support to such a theory as Mr. Fergusson's.

name of "Auld King Coil" is also perpetuated in the Craggs of Kyle, the burn of Coyl, and the parish of Coylton.

Coilsfield has fresher, and more romantic memories as the residence, in the humble capacity of a dairy-maid, of Burns' "Highland Mary." For Kyle is the Land of Burns;¹⁶³ as Carrick, we have just left, was the patrimony of Bruce, through the marriage of his father Robert Bruce, son of the Lord of Annandale, with the widowed Countess of Carrick.¹⁶⁴ And local traditions of both the national heroes,—Wallace as well as Bruce having been natives of this south-west part of Scotland,—may not a little have deepened the enthusiastic patriotism of the national poet. But we must proceed with our exploration of that Arthurian stratum of Romance which far underlies all those of mediæval and modern times.

The next locality we have to note is the promontory of Troon, which would appear¹⁶⁵ to be the site of the

"battle in the region of Bretrwyn,"

mentioned in the *Book of Taliessin*.¹⁶⁶ On Dondonald, "in cacumine montis qui appellatur Dundevenel," S. Monenna founded one of her churches after Arthur's victories over the pagan oppressors of his country. And Mr. Skene places his first battle "in ostium fluminis quod vocatur Glein," at the mouth of the river Glen, which rises in the mountains that separate Ayrshire from Lanarkshire, and

¹⁶³ It must, however, be noted that it was only the father of Burns who migrated to Ayrshire. His ancestors are traceable for three centuries as tenants of farms on the estate of Inchbreck, on the southern slope of the Grampians in Kincardineshire, a property that still belongs to the representative of the Stuarts of Castleton, etc., a branch of the family of the Earl of Castle-Stuart. See *infra*, note 208, p. cv*.

¹⁶⁴ Bruce was thus "the representative of a Gaelic line of princes which had ruled over Galloway from time immemorial; whilst his paternal grandfather's mother, through whom he inherited his claim on the throne, was a daughter of the (Gaelic) royal house of Atholl." ROBERTSON, *Scotland under Her Early Kings*, v. II., p. 142 n. The representation of the family of the Bruce passed into that of the Stuarts (*Infra*, p. cv* n. 208); the Bruces, Earls of Elgin, being descended but from a knight of whom all that is known is that he was a cotemporary of the heroic king.

¹⁶⁵ *Four Ancient Books*, v. II. p. 402.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 337.

falls into the Irvine in the parish of Loudon. And it appears to Mr. Skene more probable that "Arthur advanced into Scotland on the West," just as in after days, Bruce, "through the friendly country peopled by the Cymry, than through Bernicia," where, as we have seen,¹⁶⁷ there is another river of this name, but "which was already occupied by large bodies of Angles."¹⁶⁸

In Cunningham, the third division of Ayr, and which we have already noted as mentioned in the poems under the name of Canowan, was the

"battle in the wood of Beit at the close of the day,"

referred to by Taliessin.¹⁶⁹ And the place meant would appear to be the Moor of Beith in this district, where there was formerly a wood.¹⁷⁰ There should seem, however, to be no other locality of the Arthurian Age now discoverable here; so we may turn southwards again, and cross the mountains to the upper waters of the Clyde.

We now enter *District VIII.—Strathclyde*, "the region of the Clyd" of the *Red Book of Hergest*.¹⁷¹ Upper Strathclyde would appear to be the Arfynydd of the Poems.¹⁷² And here we may first note that, though, as we found, the Wells of the Tweed would not, the Sources of the Clyde, on the western slope of the same mountain-range would, very well accord with the twelfth century description of the Fountain of the Caledonian Merlin.¹⁷³ But if Merlin's Fountain is not clearly identifiable, we find, in the parish of Crawford, a well called Arthur's Fountain. That this name is of very ancient date we have evidence in a grant of "David de Lindesay, in 1339, to the monks of Newbotle of the lands of Brotheralwyn in that district which were bounded

¹⁶⁷ *Supra*, p. lxxviii*.

¹⁶⁸ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 52. But see *infra*, p. cxxv*.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 337.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* v. II. p. 402.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 463. See also p. 431, and v. II. p. 399.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* v. II. p. 413.

¹⁷³ *Supra*, p. lxxiv*.

on the west part, "a Fonte Arthuri usque ad summitate montis."¹⁷⁴ And other memories of Merlin are here recalled, for proceeding down the Clyde, we are in the ancient territory of his friend Rydderch Hael. For it is with this king of Strathclyde, not with Arthur, the Guledig, that the historical Merlin is associated. And in one of Merlin's poems relating to the Battle of Arderydd, preserved in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, he seems to refer to Lanark, in its Cymric form *Llanerch*, a glade,¹⁷⁵ where in one of the apostrophes with which the stanzas of the poem commence, he exclaims—

"Sweet apple tree that grows in Lanark!

Sweet apple tree that grows by the river side!"¹⁷⁶

Overhanging the brawling Avon, and on the skirt of the noble chase which, with its wild cattle and ancient oaks, is all that now remains of that Caledonian Forest, once haunted by Merlin, and which stretched from sea to sea, stands Cadzow Castle. It preserves the name of that district of Godeu, or "regina de Caidzow," as it is called in the life of S. Kentigern, which corresponded with what is now the middle ward of Lanarkshire,¹⁷⁷ and which is so often mentioned in the poems, and particularly in that called the Battle of Godeu :

"Minstrels were singing,
Warrior bands were wondering,
At the exaltation of the Brython,
That Gwydyon effected."¹⁷⁸

"This," says Mr. Skene, "was the alliance between the Brython, represented by Lleu (or Lothus) and the Gwyddel by Gwydyon which resulted in the insurrection of Medraut (or Mordred), son of Llew against Arthur, with his combined army of Picts, Britons, and Saxons, and which arose from a section of the Britons in the North

¹⁷⁴ *Chart. Newbattle*, N. 148, quoted by CHALMERS, *Caledonia*, v. I. p. 245. See also IRVING and MURRAY, *Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*.

¹⁷⁵ *Four Ancient Books*, v. II. p. 336.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 371-2.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* II. p. 414.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 278.

being drawn over to apostasy by the pagan Saxons and semi-pagan Picts."¹⁷⁹

Calderwood would appear to be the Calaterium Nemus of Geofrey.¹⁸⁰ Cambuslang is the "regio Lintheamus," or Linthcamus, where S. Cadoc, to whom the parish is dedicated, built a monastery. And the adjoining parish of Carmunnock, formerly Carmannock, preserves the name of the mountain Bannawc—B, in combination, passing into M in Welsh,—mentioned in the life of S. Cadoc, and now called the Cathkin Hills. "Between Strathclyde and Ayrshire lay the district of Strathgryfe, now the county of Renfrew, and this part of Cumbria seems to have been the seat of the family of Caw, commonly called Caw Cawlwydd, or Caw Prydyn, one of whose sons was Gildas.¹⁸¹ For in one of the lives of Gildas he is said to be the son of Caunus who reigned in Arecluta. . . . And this name signifies a district lying along the Clyde,"¹⁸² as Strathgryfe or Renfrewshire does.¹⁸³ But in Neilston parish, in this county, we find more directly Arthurian localities in the places called Arthur Lee, Low Arthur Lee, and West Arthur Lee.

We conclude our exploration of Strathclyde with Glasgow. It appears in the *Book of Taliessin* as Caer Clud, the City on the Clyde.

" they shall pledge the rich plains
From Caer Clud to Caer Caradawg,
The support of the land of Penprys and Gwallawg,
The king of the kings of tranquil aspect."¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁹ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 204.

¹⁸⁰ PEARSON, *Historical Maps—Britannia Cambria*.

¹⁸¹ Another, the Cueil, or Hueil, king of Scotland, "quem occidit rex Arthurus?"

¹⁸² *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 173.

¹⁸³ It was in this county that the Normanno-Celtic family of the FitzAlans, who, from their hereditary office, took the name of Stewart, had their first grants of lands in Scotland. See SKENE, *History of the Highlanders*, v. II. p. 308 et seq.; and STUART (Hon. and Rev. Godfrey), *Genealogical and Historical Sketch of the Stuarts of the House of Castle-Stuart*. Paisley, the chief town of the county, was founded by Walter Stuart in 1160; and in its Abbey is the tomb of Marjory, daughter of Robert the Bruce, and mother of Robert the Second, the first of the Stuart dynasty.

¹⁸⁴ *Four Ancient Books*, p. 340.

And in a poem in the same Book, connected by its title with the legends of the sons of Llyr, the Lear of Shakspeare, and finely beginning with

“I will adore the love-diffusing Lord of every kindred,
The sovereign of hosts manifestly round the Universe,”

Glasgow appears under the name of Penryn Wleth :

“From Penryn Wleth to Loch Reon
The Cymry are of one mind, bold heroes.”¹⁸⁵

For “Joceline describes Kentigern as proceeding from the Clyde, and sitting ‘super lapidem in supercilio montis vocabulo Gwleth’ (c. xiv.) *Gwleth*, forming in combination *Wleth*, signifies dew, and this hill was afterwards known as the Dew or Dowhill in Glasgow.”¹⁸⁶ But a better known memorial of the Arthurian founder of the city, three of whose miracles are commemorated on its arms,¹⁸⁷ is S. Mungo’s Well, in the crypt of the Cathedral.

We leave Glasgow for the exploration of *District IX.*—*Lennox*. That part of it to the east of Loch Lomond is identified by Mr. Skene with Murief or Reged. “The district intended by this name appears from a passage in the *Bruts*, where Arthur is said to have driven the Picts from Alclyde into “Mureif, a country which is otherwise termed Reged, and that they took refuge there in Loch Lomond. Loch Lomond was, therefore, in it, and it must have been the district on the North side of the Roman Wall or *Mur*, from which it was called *Mureif*.”¹⁸⁸ It is frequently mentioned in the poems ; in one, for instance, in the *Book of Taliessin*, beginning

“Extol the career of the kings of Reged.”¹⁸⁹

And among special localities in, or adjoining this district may be mentioned Mugdock, in Strathblane, which would appear to be the place meant by the latter of the two names in the line

“Between Dineiddyn and Dineiddwg,”¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 276.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* v. II. p. 404.

¹⁸⁷ BURTON, *History of Scotland*, v. I. p. 249.

¹⁸⁸ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 59.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p. 350.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 270.

the former being clearly Edinburgh. It was certainly the scene of the great battle of 750 between the Britons of Strathclyde and the Picts at a place called by the Welsh chronicles Magedauc or Maesedauc.¹⁹¹ And near this is Ardinny, the scene of the "battle of Ardunnion,"¹⁹² referred to by Taliessin.

On the western brow of the Fintry Hills, we find that "Dun or Down of singular appearance,—its point a perpendicular rock fifty feet high," identified, as above,¹⁹³ with the "Height of Adoyn, from which the Bard of the second part of the *Gododin* saw the battle which he describes. And the Hills of Kilsyth, of which the old form was Kilvesyth, seem to be referred to in the 52nd stanza of the poem—

"Gododin, in respect of thee will I demand
The dales beyond the ridges of *Drum Essyd*,"¹⁹⁴

Beyond this, along the north-eastern shores of Loch Lomond, Mr. Skene places Argoed Llwyfain.¹⁹⁵ Here Urien and Owen his son are described in a poem in the *Book of Taliessin* as fighting against Flamddwyn, or the Flamebearer—

"And because of the affair of Argoed Llwyfain,
There was many a corpse.
The ravens were red from the warring of men,
And the common people hurried with the tidings."¹⁹⁶

Dumbarton appears to be mentioned under the name of Nemhhur, or Nevtur, in a dialogue between Merlin and Taliessin in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*.¹⁹⁷ For this name occurs in the *Life of S. Patrick* by Fiech, written in the eight century, after which it is unknown, and is identified by his scholiast with Dumbarton.¹⁹⁸ And Arthur's ninth battle, "in urbe Leogis qui Britannice Kairlium dicitur," is, by Mr. Skene, added to the innumerable conflicts which have been witnessed by this magnificent fortified rock, where the sword of Wallace is now preserved. For, as he says, "it seems unlikely that a battle could have been fought at this time with the Saxons at

¹⁹¹ *Four Ancient Books*, p. 404.

¹⁹² *Ibid.* p. 337.

¹⁹³ *Supra*, p. lxi.*.

¹⁹⁴ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 693.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* v. II. p. 413.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 366.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* v. I. p. 368.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* II. 321.

either Caerleon on the Esk, or Caerlon on the Dee, which is Chester; and these towns Nennius terms, in his list, not Kaerlium or Kaerlion, but Kaer Legion. It is more probably some town in the north, and the *Memorabilia* of Nennius will afford some indication of the town intended. The first of his *Memorabilia* is 'Stagnum Lumonoy,' or Loch Lomond; and he adds: 'non vadit ex eo ad mare nisi unum flumen quod vocatur *Leum*'—that is, the Leven. The Irish Nennius gives the name correctly, *Leamhuin*, and the Ballinmote text gives the name of the town, *Cathraig in Leomhan* (for *Leamhan*), the town on the Leven. This was Dumbarton, and the identification is confirmed by the *Bruts*, which place one of Arthur's battles at Alclyd; while his name has been preserved in a parliamentary record of David II. in 1367, which denominates Dumbarton 'Castrum Arthuri.'"¹⁹⁹ And it may be added that, according to tradition, it was the birthplace of Mordred, Arthur's nephew or bastard son.²⁰⁰ Under the name of Alclyde, the city on the Clyde—a name as applicable to it as Kaer Leum, or Cathraig in Leomhan, for it is at the junction of the Leven with the Clyde,—Dumbarton is frequently mentioned in the *Four Ancient Books*:

"A battle in the ford of Alclud, a battle at the Inver."²⁰¹

"A battle in the ford of Alclud, a battle in the Gwen."²⁰²

"There will come from Alclud, men, bold, faithful,
To drive from Prydein bright armies."²⁰³

And on the Rock of Clyde, Petra Cloithe, another appropriate name for Dumbarton, "rex Rodarcus filius Totail regnavit," when, as recorded by Adomnan,²⁰⁴ he sent a message to S. Columba, to ask him, as supposed to possess prophetic power, whether he should be slain by his enemies.

Lennox, Leven, and Lomond are all one word; and district, river,

¹⁹⁹ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. pp. 55-6.

²⁰⁰ CAMPBELL, *West Highland Tales*.

²⁰¹ *Four Ancient Books* I, 350.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* I. 441.

²⁰² *Ibid.* I. 363.

²⁰⁴ *Life of S. Columba*.

and lake are all mentioned in the poems and old historical sources. The original word is, in its Cymric form, *Llwyfain*; in its Gaelic form, *Leamhain*, an elm-tree. From the latter comes *Leamhanach*, corrupted into Levenachs or Lennox, of which the Cymric equivalent is *Llwyfenydd*. But the old form of *Leamhan* of which Leven is a corruption, was *Leoman*, with the *m* not as yet aspirated; and from this comes Lomond. Thus we have the old form adhering to the loch and the mountain, while the river adopts the more modern.²⁰⁵ In one of the poems in the *Four Ancient Books* the Lennox is mentioned as having been given to Taliessin in reward for his songs :

“ And a fair homestead,
And beautiful clothing,
To me has been extended,
The lofty Llwyfenydd,
And requests open.”²⁰⁶

Sailing up the Lago Maggiore of Scotland there comes, like a dark shadow, across our delight in the loveliness of its fairy islands, the memory of the tragic story connected with the ruins on the largest of them. For here it was that Isabel, Duchess of Albany lived after the death on the scaffold of her father, her husband, and her two sons,²⁰⁷ in 1424. Yet most singular it is, that it is in her, and her husband's descendants, that is the representation of what is now the eldest legitimate male line of the Royal House of Stuart.²⁰⁸ But proceeding on our voyage, and landing on the western shore of the Lake, about half way up, we find ourselves in Glen Douglas. Here Mr. Skene places Arthur's second third, fourth, and fifth battles

²⁰⁵ Compare *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 159, and v. II. p. 413.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. v. I. 347.

²⁰⁷ To Walter, the younger of the two, the beautiful and pathetic ballad of “Young Waters” is believed, on good ground, to refer.

²⁰⁸ On the death of Prince Charles Edward without legitimate issue, the eldest son of Robert II. (James I.) was left without descendants in the male line. The representation, therefore, of the Royal Family of Stuart, as also of that of Bruce, fell to the Earl of Castle-Stuart, the representative in direct male descent of the Duke of Albany, the second son of Robert II., the first of the Dynasty. See STUART, (Hon.

“super aliud flumen quod dicitur Dubglas et est in regione Linnuis.” “Here,” says he, “Arthur must have penetrated the ‘regiones juxta murum,’ occupied by the Saxons. Dubglas is the name now called Douglas. There are many rivers and rivulets of this name in Scotland; but none could be said to be “in regione Linnuis,” except two rivers—the Upper and Lower Douglas which fall into Loch Lomond, the one through Glen Douglas, the other at Inveruglas, and which are both in the district of the Lennox, the Linnuis of Nennius. Here, no doubt, the great struggle took place; and the hill called Ben Arthur at the head of Loch Long, which towers over this district between the two rivers, perpetuates the name of Arthur in connection with it.”²⁰⁹

Here, on Ben Arthur, our Arthurian wanderings terminate; and here we may fitly review in their connection the localities we have identified as the sites of Arthur’s great battles. For, thus viewed, the probable correctness of each identification will, I think, become more apparent. “According to the view I have taken,” says Mr. Skene, “Arthur’s course was first to advance through the Cymric country, on the west, till he came to the Glen, where he encountered his opponents. He then invades the regions about the Wall, occupied by the Saxons in the Lennox, where he defeats them in four battles. He advances along the strath of the Carron as far as Dunipace, where, on the Bonny, his fifth battle is fought; and from thence marches south through Tweeddale, or the Wood of Celyddon, fighting a battle by the way, till he comes to the valley of the Gala, or Wedale, where he defeats the Saxons of the east coast. He then proceeds to take four great fortresses:

and Rev. Godfrey) *Genealogical and Historical Sketch of the Stuarts of the House of Castle-Stuart*. The connection of our present German sovereign with the ancient line of native English and Scottish kings is of a most remote, and collateral description. On personal conduct, and popular affection, not on “right divine,” is the throne now fortunately established.

²⁰⁹ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 53.

first, *Kaerlium* or Dumbarton; next, Stirling, by defeating the enemy in the *tratheu Tryweryd*, or Carse of Stirling; then *Mynydd Agned*, or Edinburgh, the great stronghold of the Picts, here called *Cathbregion*; and, lastly, Bouden Hill, in the centre of the country between these strongholds." Twenty-one years after, is fought at Camelon the battle of Camlan, in which both Arthur and Med-rant perished." Mr. Skene concludes with the judicious remark, that "in thus endeavouring to identify the localities of those events connected with the names of Cunedda and of Arthur, I do not mean to say that it is all to be accepted as literal history, but as a legendary account of events which had assumed that shape as early as the seventh century, when the text of the *Historia Britonum* was first put together, and which are commemorated in local tradition."²¹⁰

Such, then, is the verification of the theory, deduced from the criticism of Cymric history, which is afforded by an exploration of the topography of Southern Scotland and the English Border. In the first place, we find in the Lennox, on the Firth of Forth, and in Tweeddale, sites for all the great battles of the Arthur of History, highly probable, to say the least, both considered separately, and in their sequence. This only I would remark on Mr. Skene's theory as just stated, that, as it seems to me improbable that Arthur had Saxon foes so far west as the Lennox, I would, on this ground, be inclined to prefer the sites given by the writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, as those of his first, and next four battles. But whether we accept Mr. Skene's theory in its entirety, or thus modified, the fact remains that very probable sites may be found for all Arthur's battles, not only in Arthurian Scotland, but just in those districts of it which we know to have formed a debateable land between Cymry, Saxons, and

²¹⁰ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. pp. 58 and 60.

Picts during the Arthurian Age. And further, it is to be remarked that at, or in the near neighbourhood of every one of these battle-sites thus identified, we find existing, from the time of our oldest charters, and other documents, to this day, places with Arthur's name, or traditions of Arthur's history. Not far from the Glen, we have Arthur's Lee, etc.; towering over the battle-fields on the Douglas, Ben Arthur; near the battlefield of Dunnipais (Bassas), as also near that of the final battle of Camlan, Arthur's O'on; near the fields of battle of the Wood of Celyddon, and of Wedale, the Eildon Hills with their traditions of the departing out of this world of all the Arthurian Chivalry, and of the coming again of King Arthur; Dumbarton, where, as above, his ninth battle was fought, bears his name as Arthur's Castle; near the scene, according to Mr. Skene, of his tenth battle, we find Arthur's Round Table; near that of his eleventh battle, Arthur's Seat; and near his twelfth battle-field, the tradition I have above given of Cockleroy Hill. And not only are these battle-sites in the neighbourhood of traditional localities, but what is, perhaps, an equally important confirmation of the correctness of these identifications, they are in the neighbourhood of the great Roman roads.²¹¹ We find also, from the foregoing exploration, that the Arthurian Traditions of the various districts, in which so many historical and poetical sites of the Arthurian Age have been identified, are not only distinctively different in each district, but that, in such difference, these traditions are in singular accordance with historical facts. In Strathmore, we have the tradition of Guenivere carried off by the Pictish Mordred; and the fact of the country beyond the Forth having been in the possession of the Picts. Lothian and Galloway we find connected by traditions of Lothus and his son Gawayne; and

²¹¹ Compare Roy, *Military Antiquities*. One is the more struck on observing this, as Mr. Skene's identifications seem to have been made without any reference to these roads.

we know as a fact that, though separated by a wide extent of Cymric territory, these two districts were inhabited by the same Pictish race. Cumberland is distinguished by traditions of the Court of King Arthur, of which Gawayne, who is particularly mentioned as "of Scotland," "de l'Escosse," in the French Romances, is the principal hero; and Cumberland marched with his patrimony of Galloway. The Isle of Man is spoken of as inhabited by a foreign and hostile race; and it was in fact inhabited, not as the mainland by Cymry, but by Irish Scots. And so on. I do not, indeed, know of any tradition of Arthurian Scotland which, in its general features at least, is not in accordance with the results of our later historical researches.

This accordance between topographical tradition and historical fact will be further illustrated in the following chapter, in which the results will briefly be given of the later investigation of that Ossianic poetry and Fingalian tradition, which, as pointed out in Chapter II. Section (ii), would have been a condition inimical to the importation into the North of Arthurian tradition, if it had elsewhere had its birthland. And, as a still further confirmation of the theory of this Essay, I shall, in the concluding chapter, more particularly show that all the chief incidents of the Arthurian Romances find in Scotland fit traditional localities, and that with "the North" are also connected all the chief characters of these Romances, with the exception, perhaps, of Sir Tristrem. From the list given in the Appendix, of Scottish Arthurian Localities, Traditional, Historical, and Poetical—a List which gives in a summary form the results of the exploration above narrated—I trust that the chief country of these localities will appear, without question, to be "the North;" and that, in this general fact, and those to which I have, in the foregoing remarks, more particularly called attention, there will be admitted to be an important inductive verification of our deductive theory that the birthland of the Traditions of King Arthur was Arthurian Scotland.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FINGALIAN RELATIONS OF ARTHURIAN LOCALITIES AS PRESENTED
BY AN EXAMINATION OF PICTISH MEMORIALS.

THUS I have shewn, first, that the critical results of the examination of Cymric history, political and literary, point to what is now Southern Scotland and the English Border, as the scene of the events which were the historical bases of the Arthurian traditions; and, secondly, that the theory deduced from this historical and literary criticism has what may be justly regarded as an inductive verification in the results of the journeying narrated in the foregoing pages. And I would now proceed to point out those Fingalian relations of the Arthurian topography of Scotland which are presented by an examination of Pictish Memorials. I shall show that, as the traditions of Arthur and Merlin are what still lives for us of the Cymry of the south, the traditions of Fingal and Ossian are the still living memorials of the Picts of the north of Scotland; that Scotland beyond the northern boundary of what the localities just pointed-out suggest that we should call Arthurian Scotland, should, if it is to be similarly named from its traditional topography, be distinguished as Fingalian; and that the Cymry and Picts to whom the Arthurian and Fingalian cycles of Celtic Mythology respectively belong, were of kindred Celtic race and language, and in geographical relations to each other in Scotland similar to those which are now found to exist between the Arthurian and Fingalian topographies of that country.

SECTION (I).

The Relation of the Feinne to the Picts.

I have first, then, to show that the Fingalian traditions would appear to connect themselves with the Picts of the north, in the

same manner as the Arthurian traditions are certainly derived, whether originally or not, from the Cymry of the south of Scotland. For the question as to the real position of the Ossianic poems in the literature of Scotland depends, as Mr. Skene has pointed out, on the answer to the preliminary question: "Who were the Feinne, the Fenians, or Fingalians of tradition, and to what country and period are they to be assigned?"¹ And his investigation of this question ends in the conclusion that, whether a denomination for an entire people, or for a body of warriors, the Feinne belonged to the Cruithne, or Picts, the race prior to the Low Germans in Lochlin, or Scandinavia, and the seaboard north of the Rhine, and to the Scots in Alban, or northern Scotland, Breatan, or southern Scotland, and Erin, or Ireland. Hence, the Ossianic poems, and Fingalian traditions, appear as celebrating Pictish heroes, and recording, in a legendary form, events of early Pictish history. And hence, the Feinne, or Fenians, and the traditions which form the groundwork, at least, of the Ossianic poems, "belong to that period in the history of Scotland and Ireland before a political separation had taken place between them, when they were viewed as parts of one territory, though physically separated, and when a free, and uninterrupted intercourse took place between them." As to how the Scottish Gaelic, in which these Fingalian traditions and poems have been transmitted, originated in the undalriadic parts of the Highlands; Mr. Skene remarks that, "if the supposition be correct that the Cruithne, or Picts, spoke a Gaelic dialect, we can easily understand how, though originally different from the Gaelic dialect of Dalriada, it may, by the influence of the written language, and its vernacular use by the clergy for so long a period, have become modified, and assimilated to it."

Whether the historical events in which the Fingalian traditions originated, occurred in Alban or Erin, on the eastern, or on the

¹ *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, p. lxiv.

western side of the narrow seas dividing the ancient Pictland of the centuries preceding the sixth, is, I would submit, a question which can be scientifically determined only by following some such method as that I have stated, and exemplified, in this attempt to discover the original birthland of the Arthurian traditions. First, there must be deduced from the criticism of the earliest historical sources, the time, character, and place of the events which may have been the actual bases of these traditions; and secondly, this deduction must be verified by the results of a thorough study of the Fingalian topography, both of Scotland and of Ireland; the assumption being that, where there is the greatest number of Fingalian localities, there the events occurred in which Fingalian traditions originated, except such abundance of local tradition can be otherwise more probably explained.

That, however, the Scots under whom the various Celtic and Teutonic races of North Britain are found, at the opening of the Mediæval age, consolidated into one predominantly Celtic nationality, were Irish immigrants who settled in what is now Argyllshire, in the sixth century, would appear to be certain; and that these Irish Scots belonged originally to a southern stream of migration by Syria, Africa, and Spain, from the Asian cradle of the Aryan race, would appear to be not improbable. But on the other hand, the Picts, or Cruithne,—with whom the Fenian legends and Ossianic poetry are by so many indications, if not positive proofs, connected,—would appear to have originally belonged to a northern stream of migration, by Scythia and Germany, or Lochlin. And hence, as, for the Scots of Albany or North Britain, Erin or Ireland was the parent country; so, for the Picts of Erin, Albany would be the colonising fatherland. We know, at least, as historical facts, that, as the Scots of Albany became independent of those of Erin in 573, the Picts of Erin threw off the yoke of those of Albany in 608.² And the infer-

² See SKENE, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*.

ence should seem to be that it is that country which was the fatherland of the race, with heroes of which Ossianic poetry seems to be chiefly conversant, that can best claim an original character for its Fingalian traditions and topography. The question at least suggests itself, whether, in like manner, as, though all the MSS. of ancient Cymric literature are Welsh, yet the original localities of its Arthurian poems would seem to be found in Southern Scotland; so, though the greater part of the MSS. of ancient Gaelic literature are Irish, yet the original localities of its Fingalian traditions may not be found in Western (and Northern) Scotland, rather than in Ireland?

But whether the historical bases of the Fingalian traditions were events which actually occurred in the third, or some later, century; whether the scene of these events was Albain, or Erin, or both; and whether, therefore, it is Scotland, or Ireland, or neither exclusively, that was the birthland of the Fingalian traditions; must, for the present, be left as questions to which no definitive answer can be given. Certain, however, it is that Scotland has not only an equal claim with Ireland to an Ossianic poetry³ in which Fingalian heroes have been "celebrated in Gaelic verse ever since the ninth century, if not the seventh;"⁴ but that Scotland alone can lay claim to what I would call the Fingalian Epic, the Gaelic "Ossian," published from MacPherson's MSS. in 1807 as the original of his translation of 1762. And this epicising of old Ossianic fragments, for such the Gaelic "Ossian" has now been shown to be, must be at least admitted to be a work of very great historical importance.

³ In answer to Professor O'Curry's somewhat hasty remark—"Of all MacPherson's translations, in no single instance has a genuine *Scottish* original been found, and that none *will* ever be found I am very certain" (*MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 304)—it seems here sufficient to refer to Skene's Introduction to the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, to the fourth volume of Campbell's *West Highland Tales*, and to the collection of Gaelic MSS. (65 in 1862), mainly formed by Mr. Skene, and deposited in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates.

⁴ CAMPBELL, *Tales of the West Highlands*, v. 1v., p. 249.

As to its literary merit, "when I read *Fingal* in the original," says one of the most competent of judges, "I feel that this is poetry, that these are grand ideas clothed in magnificent sonorous language ; on reading it in English, I often feel that there is something in it akin to bombast. . . . I have no doubt that the work is founded on genuine old popular materials, and I would rank it for originality with Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, or *Homer*, if the Greek poems were floating ballads before they were made into epic poems."⁵ And our most fastidious English critic thus writes: "Its chord of penetrating passion and melancholy, its *Titanism* as we see it in Byron,⁶ what other European poetry possesses that like the English, and where do we get it from? The Celts . . . are the prime authors of this vein of piercing regret and passion, of this *Titanism* in poetry. A famous book, Macpherson's *Ossian*, carried in the last century this vein like a flood of lava through Europe. . . . Make the part of what is forged, modern, tawdry, spurious, in the book as large as you please . . . there will still be left a residue with the very soul of the Celtic genius in it, and which has the proud distinction of having brought this soul of the Celtic genius into contact with the genius of the nations of modern Europe, and enriched all our poetry by it. Woody Morven, and echoing Lora, and Selma with its silent halls!—we all owe them a debt of gratitude, and when we are unjust enough to forget it, may the Muse forget us!"⁷

With respect to the authorship of the Fingalian Epic, Mr. Campbell's "theory is, that about the beginning of the eighteenth century, or the end of the seventeenth, or earlier, Highland bards may have fused floating popular traditions into more complete forms, engrafting their own ideas on what they found ; and that MacPherson

⁵ CAMPBELL, *Tales of the West Highlands*, v. IV. p. 155 and p. 249.

⁶ On his mother's side, as will be remembered, a Scottish Gordon, and known in his boyhood at Aberdeen as Byron-Gordon.

⁷ ARNOLD, *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, pp. 152-3.

found their works, translated and altered them, published the translation in 1760; made the Gaelic ready for the press; published some of it in 1763; and made away with the evidence of what he had done when he found that his conduct was blamed But till an earlier author is discovered, if such there was, MacPherson's name must be associated with his publication. And that must rank as a Scoto-Gaelic work at least a hundred years old, and till the contrary is proved, Ireland has not a ghost of a claim to it.⁸

As to MacPherson's personal character, it may not, under all the circumstances of the case, be going too far aside from our present subject to add that, though he would have had a far more desirable fame, had he "had the courage to avow the truth, and state candidly to the world how much of his work was based on original authority, and to what extent he had carried the process of adapting, interpolating, and weaving into epic poems;"⁹ yet, in mitigation of our judgment, it is but fair to remember that, in his time, there was not yet that scrupulous truthfulness in antiquarian research which, but a manifestation as it is of the general increase of the scientific spirit, is characteristic of these days; and further, that the outrageous violence of the attacks led by the prejudiced, overbearing, and in this matter, utterly ignorant Saxon, Dr. Johnson,¹⁰ was not calculated to encourage a candour which would have been certainly represented as a confession of forgery. Let us now, however,

⁸ CAMPBELL, *West Highland Tales*, v. II. p. 80 and p. 249.

⁹ SKENE, *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, Introduction, p. lii.

¹⁰ "Here lies poor Johnson: readers have a care,
Tread lightly, lest you rouse a sleeping bear;—
Religious, moral, generous, and humane,
He was,—but self-sufficient, rude, and vain;
Illbred, and overbearing in dispute,
A Scholar, and a Christian, yet a Brute.
Would you know all his wisdom, and his folly,
His actions, sayings, mirth, and melancholy;
Boswell, and Thrale, retailers of his wit,
Will tell you how he wrote, and talked, and coughed, and spit."

forget him as the unenviable hero of the Ossian controversy, and think rather of MacPherson, whether he was, or not, in his Gaelic *Fingal*, the first to epicise the Fenian ballads, and tales of his country, yet as, in his English *Fingal*, the most considerable Scottish poet immediately preceding Burns and Scott;¹¹ as the Gaelic critic to whom all scholars are indebted as having been the first to waken that wide interest in Celtic researches which has already produced so much fruit;¹² and as the original genius from whom is to be dated that Celtic Revival which has already influenced, and is manifestly destined still further to influence, the political and social condition of Britain, and the literature of Europe.¹³

To sum up these remarks. We find that Scotland has, besides its Arthurian traditions, an Ossianic literature which has, through MacPherson, exercised a most important European influence; that this literature is founded on Fenian or Fingalian legends which are still current as popular tales in the West Highlands; that the *Feinne*, who are the heroes of these legends, belonged to the race of the Picts; that, as Scotland was the fatherland of the Picts who

¹¹ Mr. Skene speaks of "the wonderful tact and originality Macpherson really showed in producing his English version." *Book of Dean of Lismore*, p. liiii. And Mr. Burton does not hesitate to say that "he brought to his work the true power of a great poet." *History of Scotland*, v. I. p. 179.

¹² It was the Ossian controversy that first drew attention to the ancient Welsh and Irish poems.

¹³ "En présence des progrès . . . qui n'est d'aucun pays, et ne peut recevoir d'autre nom que celui de moderne ou européen, il serait puéril d'espérer que la race Celtique arrive dans l'avenir à une expression isolée de son originalité. Et pourtant nous sommes loin de croire que cette race ait dit son dernier mot. Après avoir usé toutes les chevaleries dévotées et mondaines, . . . qui sait ce qu'elle produirait dans le domaine de l'intelligence, si elle s'enhardissait à faire son entrée dans le monde, et si elle assujettissait aux conditions de la pensée moderne sa riche et profonde nature? Il me semble que de cette combinaison sortiraient des produits fort originaux, une manière fine et discrète de prendre la vie, un mélange singulier de force et de faiblesse, de rudesse et de douceur . . . On se persuade qu'il est téméraire, de poser une loi aux intermittences et au réveil des races, et que la civilisation moderne, qui semblait faite pour les absorber, ne serait peut-être que leur commun épanouissement."—RENAN, *La Poésie des Races Celtiques* in *Essais de Morale et de Critique*, pp. 451-8.

spread into Ireland, just as Ireland was the fatherland of the Scots who spread into Scotland, and gave it their name, it should seem not improbable that Scotland was the birthland of Fingalian; as well as of Arthurian tradition; and, finally, I would now add that the fact that the author of the Fingalian Epic was a Badenoch-man, was a native, therefore, of that Pictish province of Moray, or Moravin, which so long withstood the power of the Scottish kings, and belonged to the great clan Chattan, a tribe chiefly of Pictish origin,¹⁴ is not a little interesting and remarkable with reference to the relation of the Feinne to the Picts.

SECTION (II).

The Relation of Fingalian to Arthurian Topography.

I have now to show that Scotland north and west of the line of the Grampians is as distinctively Fingalian in its topography, as, south and east of that line, we have found it to be Arthurian. To attempt to give anything like a complete list of the Fenian localities of Scotland would be here irrelevant. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to show that they are found more or less thickly over the whole of Scotland beyond that part of it which is distinguished by an Arthurian topography; and further, that these Fingalian localities are not found within, though some of them are on the outskirts of, the Arthurian country. Let me, then, imagine those who have accompanied me in my Arthurian journey to continue their wanderings into Fingalian Scotland.

Sailing down Loch Lomond, we find overlooking the islands at its southern end, a hill called Dun Fion, or the Fort of Fingal. Thence, through the Lennox by Glen Fruin, the "Glen of Sorrow,"

¹⁴ SKENE, *History of the Highlanders*. Compare v. I. chap. IV. and v. II. chap. VI. The MacPhersons seem to have been the Clan Yha, or Clan Kay, and the MacIntoshes the Clan Quhele, whose conflict on the North Inch of Perth in 1396 is introduced with such effect in Sir Walter Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth*.

where, in the time of James VI., the MacGregors and the Colquhouns met for the high purpose of mutual slaughter—tragic, and yet, from a certain point of view, grimly humorous spectacle! Then, across Loch Long, up Loch Goil, and so, by Hell's Glen, to Inverary on Loch Fyne. Here one might enumerate in one view a long list of Fin-galian localities; Cruach-Fhinn, Innis-Chonain, Innis Aildhe, Innis Raoinne, Innis Chonnail, etc. Crossing again into Cowall we find it "still brimful of Fenian traditions." And here, particularly, we come on the first of those localities so tenderly commemorated in the Lament of Deirdre over Alban, which is the foundation of MacPherson's "Darthula," and of which there is a copy in the Glenmasan MS. of the year 1238, now in the Advocates' Library.

"Glendaruadh! O Glendaruadh!
My love each man of its inheritance,
Sweet the voice of the cuckoo on bending bough,
On the hill above Glendaruadh,"¹⁵

Thence, sailing down the Kyles of Bute, and crossing the southern end of Loch Fyne to Tarbert, we observe, in the distance, the beautiful island of Arran, Ar-ain, or Ar-fhinn, Fin's Land, where there is another Dun Fion. Exploring the neighbourhood of West Loch Tarbert we remark that it is especially distinguished by its traditions of Diarmid, the Lancelot of Arthurian Romance, and Mordred of Arthurian Tradition. Here we find Leaba Dhiarmaid, "the Bed of Diarmid;" Leum na Muice, "the Swine's Leap;" Tor na Tuirc, "the Boar's Heap," where the boar was killed by Diarmid; and Sliabh Ghavil, "the Hill of Love," to which the wounded hero is said to have addressed, as he was dying, lines still preserved by tradition. Near this also, is Dun 'a Choin Duibh, "the Fort of the Black Dog," which is a curious old fort in a wood, and is said to be the place where Bran killed the black dog, as is told in a well known ballad. Wandering up Knapdale we find, on Loch Swine

¹⁵ *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, p. xxxv.

the Dun Suibhne of ballad and song. A short distance to the north, we find the site of the ancient capital of the Scottish kingdom of Dalriada, the hill fort of Dunadd, called also from its situation in the centre of the Moss of Crinan, Dunmonaidh, or "the Fort of the Moss." And thence, getting to Loch Awe, we find its shores and islands, as romantic in Fingalian legend as in natural scenery;¹⁶ Innis Fraoch, particularly, recalling a legend wonderfully similar to that of Hercules and the garden of the Hesperides. The story is finely told by an ancient bard in a composition usually called "Bàs Fraoich," or *The Death of Fraoch*, and beginning :

"The sigh of a friend from Fraoch's green mound,
'Tis the warrior's sigh from his lonely bier,
'Tis a sigh might grieve the manly heart,
And might make the maid to weep."¹⁷

Wandering on, through the Pass of Brander, at the foot of Ben Cruachan, we come down on Loch Etive, the Loch Eitche of the Lament of Deirdre, and the Lora of the Fingalian Epic. At its southern end is Dunstaffnage Castle, more properly Dun-da-innis from two islands near it,—the Dun Lora of Ossian. The Ferry—over the rocks of which the ebb-tide thunders with deafening roar—is the Falls, and the moor on the other side is the Heath, of Lora with its dark gray stones,—the Eas Laoire, and Sliabh Eas Laoire of MacPherson's Gaelic *Fingal*. Not far from this also is the Luath, another of Ossian's streams. And Dun mhic Uisneachan, now corruptly called in guidebooks, Dun MacSniachan, and also named Bail-an-righ, "the King's house or-town," seems with great probability identified with the Selma and Taura of Ossian, and with the Beregonium of ancient writers. Of the same Pictish, and Fingalian Uisneach, we have another record near this in Glen Uisneach. And it is to be noted that the legends of his three sons, Ainle, Ardun, and Naoise, connect them with those remarkable structures termed

¹⁶ See the notes to HAMERTON'S *Loch Awe and other Poems*.

¹⁷ *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, p. 54 and p. 36.

vitrified forts. of which Dun mhic Uisneach is one, and Dun Dheardhuil, and Dun Scathaig are other examples.

Proceeding to Oban, we may take the steamer round Mull to the sacred, but tourist-profaned Iona,¹⁸ and to that sublime sea-cave which bears the name of Fingal. Returning through the Sound of Mull, we have on our left the Morvern, so often mentioned in the Fingalian Epic, but unknown in the Fingalian ballads and tales. In the island of Liosmor, or Lismore, however, which gave its name to the deanery of that Sir James MacGregor who, in the sixteenth century, made the valuable collection, recently edited, of Gaelic poetry, *then* ancient, we have more genuine Fingalian localities. Larach tigh nam Fiann, "the Site of the Fingalians' House," is a large circular mound of some eighty yards diameter, surrounded by a ditch, and having near its centre a deep well which may have been used for the purpose of entrapping game in this traditionally favourite hunting ground of the Fingalians. And in pleasant conjunction with these memorials of the chase is here also found Sliabh nam Ban Fionn, "the Fingalian Fair Women's Hill." Coasting the shores of Appin, and sailing up another of the many Lakes of Elms (Loch Leven), we land at Ballachulish, and thence walk to Glen Coe (Gleann Comhan), "the Narrow Glen." Here tradition fitly places the birth-place of Ossian, "the sweet voice of Cona;" and among the sublime precipices that wall the Glen on the east is Ossian's Cave.

Journeying up the Glen, to where it opens on the Moor of Rannoch, and turning down next day through the Black Mount Forest, we come to Glen Orchy, another of the localities of the Lament of Deirdre. Thence, through Glen Dochart, to Cill Fhinn, pronounced in Gaelic, and written in English Killin, "Fingal's Tomb." And in the neighbourhood we find a place called Sornach-coir-

¹⁸ This island is the property of the Duke of Argyll; and one can hardly believe that his Grace, so eminent as he is for wide culture and high feeling, can be aware of the neglected and unguarded state in which the most ancient monuments of the Scottish monarchy are here going to ruin. I speak from the impressions of a visit in 1866.

Fhinn, "Fingal's Oven." Proceeding up Loch Tay, we come to the Kirkton of Fortingall, anciently the Clachan of Fothergill, where was born that Dean of Lismore, to whose MS. of the sixteenth century we are so much indebted. To the West of this is Glen Lyon, the ancient Cromgleann nan Clach, or "Crooked Glen of the Stones," associated with so many traditions of the *Feinne*, and where the remains of their rude forts, termed *Caistealan na Feinne*, crown many a rocky summit. And the vale is bounded on the south and east by the heights of Drum Fhionn, or "Fingal's Ridge." Turning again southwards, "in that awful part of Glen Almon where lofty and impending cliffs on either hand make a solemn, and almost perpetual gloom,"¹⁹ is found Clachan Ossian, "the grave-stone of Ossian;" and one of the neighbouring hills is called *Monivaird*, or "the Bard's Hill." About three miles from Clach Ossian in a glen named *Corriviariach* is Fingal's Cave; and on the other side of the Almon in *Strathearn*, is a small village named *Fendoch*, anciently *Fianntach*, "Fingal's Thatch-house or Hall," where, according to the tradition, the king came to reside after the *Bail-an-Righ* above mentioned had been burned down by *Garbh MacStairn*.

In the Aberdeenshire Highlands, I may note, among other localities, *Bengulbain* in Glen Shee, with its tradition of the famous boarhunt of *Diarmid O'Duine*—

"Then bravely did the hero of the Feinn
Rouse from his cover on the mountain-side,
The great old boar, him so well known in Shee,
The greatest in the wild-boar's haunt e'er seen."²⁰

Ben-Muich-Dhui is "the Hill of the Black Sow." And on the north side of the upper valley of the Dee, in the Forest of Glen Avon, and overlooking *Inchrory*, is *Clach Bhean*, "the Hill of the Woman's Stone," with its legend of Fingal's wife, *Grainne*, the "victim," (?) of *Diarmid*. Crossing the mountains here alone, early one October,

¹⁹ *Poems of Ossian* (Highland Society's Edition), v. III. p. 534.

²⁰ *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, p. 32 and p. 22.

night fell, dark and starless, when I was still but a short way below the sources of the Don; and I should have been lost in the snow, but that a herd of red deer started-up from their snowy lairs, as I came floundering in among them in the darkness, and, as they rushed away, set a kennel of hounds, at a distance, baying in the still night. I marked the direction of the welcome sound; and fording the river, made straight to where it seemed to come from.

In Moray, which so long remained Pictish, is a place called Tuber na Fein, which in an old gloss to a charter of Alexander II., of the year 1220, still preserved in the chartulary of the Bishopric, is explained to mean "the Well of the Great or Kempis Men." Loch Ness, near which was the Pictish capital, should seem to be named after Naoise, the son of Uisneach, above mentioned. In Ross-shire, there is Gleann Chonnain "Connan's vale;" and Amhain Chonnain, "Connan's river;" and even Gleann Bhrain, in honour of Fingal's celebrated dog, Bran. Returning southward, we find, to the south of Loch Ness, and in Glen Roy, other Ben Gulbains, with their traditions of

"The blue-eyed hawk that dwelt at Essaroy,"²¹

which also is in this district. And travelling westward, as we bring these wanderings to a close, we find in Glen Elg, or Gleann Eilig, "the Glen of the Elk," a place called Iomaire-nam-fearmor, "the Big Men's Ridge," where tradition says that two of the Fingalians, who were drowned in crossing Caol-reathain, are buried. Crossing to Skye, we come into the country of Cuchullin, whom tradition connects with Dun Scathaig, another of those so-called vitrified forts. And now, looking out on the Atlantic, we may behold such sea-pictures as that so graphically described in the five words of the ancient line—

"Sgaoth eunlaith air steuda saile"

A skiff of birds on steeds of brine.

"As each long Atlantic wave comes rolling in, we may see a clump

²¹ *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, p. 33.

of dark razor-bills rise on the crest, and sink into the hollow trough riding like skiffs at anchor till fishing time comes, and then they are up and off, to ride their steeds to battle with the herring king." ²²

SECTION (III).

The Relation of the Picts to the Cymry.

Having thus briefly indicated the relations of the Feinne to the Picts, and of the Fingalian to the Arthurian topography of Scotland, we have now to point out the relations of the Picts to the Cymry in race, language, and geographical position. From the evidence of writers cotemporaneous with their existence as a known and distinct people; from the analysis of such remains of their language as have come down to us; and from the inference to be drawn from the topography of the districts which they are known to have occupied; Mr. Skene arrives at the conclusion that the Picts were of the Gadhaelic branch of the Celtic race; but that their language was, to use the nomenclature by which Grimm distinguishes the leading differences of the German dialects, a low Gadhaelic, and hence approached in many of its forms to the low Cymric of the Welsh; Cornish, and Armorican, or Breton, representing the high Cymric dialects; as the Gaelic, the Irish, and the Manx, represent the high Gadhaelic dialects.

And in opposition to the popular view of the demarcation between a Cymric and a Gadhaelic population supposed to be indicated by the occurrence of the words *aber* and *inver*, Mr. Skene shows that there were three words, *aber*, *inver*, and *conber*, expressive of the junction of one stream with another, and all formed from the old Celtic word *ber*, signifying water; and that what we actually find is, the Scots of the west with nothing but *invers*, the Picts of the north with *abers* and *invers* together, and the

²² CAMPBELL, *West Highland Tales*, v. IV., pp. 158-9.

Cymry south of the Forth and Clyde with no *abers*.²³ Such, as far as can be ascertained, should seem to have been the relations of the Picts in race, and language, to the Cymry.²⁴ And if this conclusion is still not free of doubt, it would now appear to be, at least established, that the Picts belonged to the Celtic, and not, as maintained by Pinkerton, and other eminent antiquaries of a former generation, to the Teutonic Family.

It is but fair, however, to say that Mr. Irving, in his *History of Scottish Poetry*, still adheres to the Teutonic theory;²⁵ and that Mr. Burton, in his *History of Scotland*, expresses himself sceptically with reference to all the solutions of the question hitherto offered; and points to the "close examination lately given to the vestiges of ancient art as promising better results"—the most ancient types of the sculptured stones being "found in the territory inhabited by the Picts."²⁶ Yet, on the whole, considering the arguments and critical results brought forward by Robertson, MacLachlan, Skene, and others, who appear to have far more fully investigated the subject than either Mr. Irving or Mr. Burton, the weight of evidence appears to me, as I have said, to incline to the Celtic theory of the race-relations of the "Painted People." But two points, which I do not remember to have seen particularly noticed in their connection with each other, have struck me as, at least, curious,—the accordance of the Celtic meaning of Fingalians, *White Strangers*,²⁷ with the famous description by Tacitus—"Habitus corporum varii; atque ex eo argumenta: namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem adseverant;"²⁸—and the occurrence of a

²³ *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. pp. 153 and 161.

²⁴ Compare the seventh of the ethnological propositions of Colonel Forbes-Leslie: "The Picts were Gaels, but being pressed on by British Celts, and afterwards augmented by British emigrants, became eventually, particularly in the eastern and southern parts of Caledonia, not less Celtic, but to some extent British." *Early Races of Scotland*, v. I. p. 32 *et seq.*

²⁵ See pp. 5–20.

²⁶ Vol. I. p. 202.

²⁷ *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, pp. 102, n.

²⁸ *Agricola*, xi.

"Finn" in the genealogy of Hengist and Horsa as given by Nennius.²⁹ And from the epithet applied to Diarmid, "Blue-eyed Hawk," it should seem that the Feinne continued to be a distinctively fair race. All this, however, would only go to prove, what is otherwise highly probable, that the northern stream of Celtic migration were a fair-haired, and large-limbed people, and that they got in some degree mixed with the Teutonic tribes with whom they came in contact, and were, as it should seem, occasionally in alliance.³⁰ That the Picts, therefore, were Celts, and of the Gadhaelic branch, would appear to be the most just conclusion from our present knowledge.

The geographical relations of these two kindred Celtic races were, in the Pre-mediæval Age, mainly determined by those eastern and western estuaries of the Forth and the Clyde which, according to the remark of Tacitus, almost make of the region to the north of them a separate island. There was, however, also a Pictish population among the Cymry of the south between Loch Ryan and the Nith, apparently the remains of a time when Picts possessed the whole northern half of Britain. But, though Pictish Celts beyond the Forth and Clyde, and Cymric Celts to the south of these Firths, were thus the bases of the Scottish nationality; there were also two other elements, the geographical relations of which to these two chief races of North Britain, in the Pre-mediæval Age, must be here pointed out. Between the Cymric States of the south and the eastern sea, was the kingdom of Bernicia with its Saxon population extending from the Tyne, to the Firth of Forth, and the Esk. And on the south-western side of the Dorsum Britanniae, the great mountain chain of Drumalban, or Backbone of Albion, the Picts had for menacing neighbours, though of kindred Celtic

²⁹ C. xxxi.

³⁰ See as to the connection between Vecta and the Vecturiones, as one of the two gentes of the Picts, *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. pp. 107 and 8, and compare SIMPSON (Sir James), *On the Culstane, etc.*, in *Proceedings of Soc. of Antiqs. of Scotland*, v. IV. pp. 141 *et seq.*

blood, the small kingdom of Dalriada, founded by immigrant Scots from Ireland, and corresponding, with the exception probably of Ardnamurchan, very nearly to the modern county of Argyle. In the centre of what, in the tenth century, towards the end of this Pre-mediæval Age, is first mentioned as Scotland,³¹ these four races met on a sort of neutral ground, comprising the modern counties of Stirling and Linlithgow, and occupied by a mixed population of Picts, Saxons, and Cymry. Into this debateable land the kings of the Scots also frequently carried their arms; in it lay the small districts of Calatria and Manann; and within its limits most of the battles were fought in which the different races encountered each other in the struggle for the mastery.³²

From the eighth to the tenth century another Teutonic element, besides that of the Lothians and the East coast, was added to the population of Scotland in the settlement on the Orkneys, and on the Western Islands and Mainland, of the Norsemen, driven to be vikings or sea-robbers,³³ by the conquests of Charlemagne, and the tyranny of Gorm, Earic, and Harald Harfager, in attempting to consolidate the petty states of Scandivania into the respective kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.³⁴ But this Teutonic element also was ultimately so completely absorbed that the most Celtic part of Scotland is now those very highlands and islands where the Norsemen were at one time supreme. It belongs to the history of the formation of the Scottish nationality, to show how the mastery

³¹ *Supra*, p. xli*. n. 14.

³² As it was in this great plain also that Bannockburn, and the other great battles of the Mediæval, and subsequent centuries, were fought, Dean Stanley compares with it the great battle-field of Palestine, the plain of Esdraelon, or Armageddon. *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 329, n.

³³ This name, as Robertson has shown, has no connection with *King*, being derived from *Vik*, a bay; *Viking*, a baysman. The royal ship, authorized to destroy in lawful warfare, sailed from the *Hafn*; whilst the rover, privateer, or pirate, put off from the *Vik*, or open bay (*History of Scotland under Her Early Kings*, v. I. pp. 22, n.).

³⁴ ROBERTSON, *History of Scotland*, v. I. p. 14-2. BURTON, *History of Scotland*, v. I. pp. 232 et seq.

in this war of races, this five-century-long conflict between kindred Celts and between Celts and Teutons, was ultimately obtained by the immigrant Celtic tribe of the Scots. But we may here remark that though the Norsemen have been absorbed, we may still observe traces of Scandinavian influences. For, as we have memorials of the Picts in Fingalian, and of the Cymry in Arthurian Scotland, so, in what I may call Odinian Scotland, have we memorials of the Norsemen. But this, not in a Norse topography, —except occasionally such a name as Thurso,—but in Norse superstitions.³⁵ That the Teutonic mythology has left its traces only in superstitious customs, while the Celtic mythology has its memorials chiefly in topographical traditions, depends, partly at least, on essential differences between these two mythologies which I hope, in another essay, to have an opportunity of pointing out. Meantime, I cannot, without undue divergence from my present subject, do more than note the fact that those wars of races which, throughout Europe, occupied the Pre-mediæval Age, and which ended in France with the constitution of a Romanic, and in England of a Teutonic nationality, terminated in Scotland in the establishment of a Celtic monarchy;³⁶ and I can here only point to the important bearing of this fact on the topographical preservation in Scotland alone of the traditions both of Fingal and of Arthur, and hence, of tales belonging to both the great branches of Celtic Mythology.

We find, therefore, first, that Fingalian traditions connect themselves with the Picts, or, at least, with a body of warriors belonging to that race; secondly, that the Fingalian localities of Scotland are not only spread more or less thickly over, but are confined to, the non-Arthurian region; and thirdly, that the Picts, like the Cymry, were a Celtic race; that, speaking generally, the still-existing Fingalian and Arthurian divisions of Scotland coincide with its Pre-mediæval Pictish and Cymric divisions; that is, with

³⁵ BURTON, v. I. pp. 232 et seq.³⁶ See above, p. xix*. n. 5, and p. xliii*. n. 16.

its divisions as occupied by those races to whom we have traced Fingalian and Arthurian traditions respectively. And this limitation of the Arthurian topography of Scotland to the ancient Cymric kingdoms of the North becomes the more remarkable when we consider the apparent exceptions to the rule. For, as we have seen, the Arthurian localities at Alyth, at Meigle, and near Forfar,—all undoubtedly in the country of the Picts—tell us of Guenivere willingly carried off by the Pictish king Mordred, and pursued, and punished by Arthur. Again we have Arthurian traditions connected with Galloway, which was a southern Pictish province or petty kingdom. But whom do these traditions concern but Gawayne, the son of Loth, the Pictish king of Lothian, and the brother (or half-brother) of Mordred? Do not then, such accordances between Scottish Arthurian traditions, and Pre-mediæval historical facts prove a further confirmation of the theory in this essay maintained, as to the historical origin of Arthurian localities? Again, this chapter will, I trust, have brought out more clearly that historical condition inimical to the importation into the North of Arthurian tradition which was but briefly alluded to in Section (II.) of Chapter II., namely—the existence among the conquering race of the Picts of a poetical literature and historical tradition opposed to that of the Cymry, whose language began to die out in Scotland with the subversion of their native Church in the eighth century. May we not, then, in concluding this chapter, repeat, with additional force, the question, how, except on the hypothesis of the Arthurian traditions having originated in historical events belonging to the Cymric kingdoms of the North, can we explain, not merely the existence of an abundant Arthurian topography in Scotland, but the strict limitation of that topography to the Cymric kingdoms of the Pre-mediæval Age, and its remarkable relation to the Fingalian topography of the ancient Pictish monarchy? I trust, therefore, that the Fingalian relations of Arthurian locali-

ties which I have, in this chapter, pointed-out, may be found to have not only a general interest and suggestiveness, but to afford such a confirmation of my theory of the origin of these localities, as to justify the relevancy of these pages on Pictish Memorials.

CHAPTER V.

CONCLUSION—THE NEW HELLAS.

Thus the question which arose from our preliminary survey of the Old Arthurland—namely, which of its three divisions, that of Scotland, of England, or of France, was the birthland of Arthurian tradition?—should seem to be definitively answered. Or, if this is not admitted, it will, I trust, at least be granted that the number of Arthurian localities now, for the first time, pointed-out in Scotland, has an interest quite independent of our theory of the origin of Arthurian traditions; and further, that the method employed in attempting to solve the problem of the historical origin of these traditions, has the advantage of raising two perfectly definite issues, namely—first, whether the above-stated critical results can, in accordance with all ascertained or ascertainable facts bearing on the subject, be maintained or not? and, secondly, whether the existence of so numerous Arthurian localities in Scotland can be otherwise more probably explained, than on the hypothesis of the historical Arthur having been a leader of the northern Cymry? But though the theory above set-forth is certainly that which seems to me to have the best and surest ground, I desire to add that, while endeavouring to state and defend this theory with all possible clearness, I would not be understood as affirming it with any degree of unscientific dogmatism. And should the only effect of this essay be to stir up some Welsh or Breton antiquary to refute its conclusions, be it so; let knowledge increase, and truth prevail. It will be desirable, however, before proceeding to the main subject of this chapter—the

illustration of the unity and completeness of Scottish Arthurian Localities—to point-out the ethnological relations of Arthurian Scotland. Its geological relations will be briefly indicated in the third section.

SECTION (I.)

The Ethnological Relations of Arthurian Scotland.

First, then, in order that, at least, the prejudices of a false patriotism may not impede the acceptance of this theory of the origin of Arthurian localities, it may be well briefly to show how especially unreasonable such prejudice would, in this case, be. From Breton antiquaries, indeed, one cannot fear that this theory will meet with a prejudiced criticism; for not only have the Bretons, M. de la Villemarqué and M. Ernest Renan, shown themselves regardless of the petty distinctions of Celtic race, or rather tribe; but it is, if not to France, so undisputedly to writers in French,¹ that we owe the moulding of the rude Cymric traditions and legends into their European shape, as Arthurian Romances, that it can hardly be a matter of national prejudice how much, or how little, of these original legends and traditions belonged to Brittany. But why, except, of course, on clear scientific grounds, should Welsh antiquaries, merely as Welshmen, view with disfavour a theory which makes Southern Scotland and the English Border the historical birthland of Arthurian tradition? That which chiefly gives this theory a reasonable foundation, is the fact of the extension of the Cymric kingdoms, in the Pre-mediæval Age, so far beyond the limits of modern Wales, away to the Firths of Forth and Clyde. To show, therefore, the English Border and Southern Scotland to be so rich in Arthurian localities

¹ The distinction is important; for two of the greatest of these writers, Walter Map and Robert de Borron, belonged to the Anglo-Norman Court of Henry II. De Borron would appear to have been an ancestor of Byron. See PEARSON, *Seynt Graal*, v. II. (Roxburgh Club).

as to give strong probability to the theory that, in this region of the old Cymry-land, the Arthurian traditions originated, is thus, surely, not to rob the Cymry of the modern Principality of anything to which even prejudice can attach itself, but, on the contrary, to add to their historic importance and renown.

And as for the Anglo-Saxon prejudice that this essay may encounter, this, of all others, is founded on mistake. The term "Anglo-Saxon" is accurately applied to but a single early period of English history.² "Anglo-Saxon," as applied to the modern British people, and Britannic race, I believe every impartial scholar will agree with me in thinking a gross misnomer. For if it can be shewn that there is a large Celtic element even in the population of England itself,³ still more unquestionable is this, not only with regard to the population of the British Isles generally, but also with reference to the English-speaking peoples of America and Australasia. Even the English are rather Anglo-Celts than Anglo-Saxons; and still more certainly is Anglo-Celtic a more accurate term than Anglo-Saxon, not only for that British nationality which includes the Scots, the Irish, and the Welsh; but also for that Britannic race, chief elements in the formation of which have been Welsh, Scottish, and Irish immigrants. It may, perhaps, be affirmed that this term "Anglo-Saxon" is justified, if not by the numerical and merely quantitative, at least by the intellectual and qualitative predominance of this element in our variously composed race and nationality. But, I venture to think, that such an affirmation will not bear a comparison with facts. Just let one take the trouble to reckon up for this, and the last two or three generations, the so-called "Englishmen," or "Anglo-Saxons" who have been most distinguished, and have exercised the widest influence in the various directions of intellectual activity, philosophical and

² See PEARSON, *History of England in the Early and Middle Ages*, v. I., in which Anglo-Saxon has its true application in contradistinction to Anglo-Danish, and Anglo-Norman.

³ See NICHOLL, *Pedigree of the English*.

literary, political and military, legal and commercial. I believe that, if his list is candidly and impartially made out, he will be surprised to find how many of these "Englishmen" must be set down as, on one side, or on both, Scotsmen; how many also, Irishmen or Welshmen; and surprised to find how many even of the great Englishmen, if their ancestry is looked into, are, if not almost as much Anglo-Celts as the Scots, Irish, or Welsh, most certainly, at least, not Anglo-Saxons. It should seem time, therefore, for every one who cares for true speech—speech in accordance with the realities of things—to abandon this unhappy falsehood about Anglo-Saxons, and to speak rather of Anglo-Celts. No doubt history, particularly religious history, affords many instances of utter fictions having, for a time at least, very beneficial effects. It is needless here to give examples. But, in these days, when the chief political and social questions that occupy us are being raised by the most Celtic element in the commonwealth, it were surely well to cease using a term which is not only scientifically false, but practically pernicious. It was not wholly without reason that the old necromancers believed that there was in words a magical power.

This, however, by the way. What here more particularly concerns us is the fact that, in that district of the British Isles which I have called Arthurian Scotland, not only are all the Celtic races—Cymry, Picts, and Irish Scots—found along with Teutonic Angles in the Pre-mediæval Age; but that, afterwards, both the conquered Saxons and the conquering Normans of England were, by the policy of the Scottish kings, so freely invited and generously beneficed as settlers, that there is no district in Britain which belongs less to any one only of the various elements of the British population; and that here alone have all those elements freely met, and indistinguishably mingled. Whatever the primitive race, therefore, with which we may consider ourselves to be more particularly connected, we shall find records of our ancestors in Arthurian Scotland.

SECTION (II).

The Unity and Completeness of Scottish Arthurian Localities.

But now, one of those results of this investigation, briefly alluded to in the first chapter as giving interest to the solution of the question proposed,⁴ must be more particularly noted. For whether I am right or not in the theory of Southern Scotland being the historical birthland of Arthurian tradition; to have shown how numerous are the Arthurian localities of Scotland; and to have pointed out the unique relation that here exists between Arthurian and Fingalian Topography, ought, I venture to think, to be alone sufficient to make Arthurian Scotland the classic land of those who may hereafter make use of the Arthurian Romances as the formal material of their poetic creations. And, as it will not only bring this result more clearly home to my readers, but will afford no slight confirmation to the historical theory in this Essay maintained, it will not be irrelevant to show, in conclusion, that Scotland is not only in the mere number of localities the chief country of Arthurian Tradition; but that there is a very singular unity and completeness in its Arthurian topography in reference to the various characters, tales, and incidents, of the whole cycle of Arthurian Romance.

To see, however, the unity and completeness of these traditional localities, we must first have reduced to some order the Arthurian legends and romantic tales themselves. They will, I think, be found very distinctly divisible into six classes. As either the first or last class of these legends, we may consider those which relate to the enchanted sleep, and resurrection of the Arthurian chivalry. Then we have the five classes of adventures to which, borrowing the title of the lost work of the early Scottish poet, "Huchowne of the Awle Ryale," we may give the name of "The Great Geste of Arthur."

The first class of the adventures of the "Great Geste," including the various stories of the forest life of Merlin and the young

⁴ *Supra*, pp. xxx. and xxxi.

Arthur ; the loves of both master and pupil ; the election of Arthur as king ; the victory of the national cause, of which he is the representative ; his marriage and the establishment of the Table Rounde, we may conveniently distinguish under the title of the Romance of the Forest, or the Youth of Arthur. Then we find in these legends and tales a great number of scenes, incidents, and characters, which belong to all the various kinds into which the systematic Germans have, in their treatises on æsthetics, classified *Das Komische*. Of this part of the "Great Geste," at once the most prominent and heroic character is, at least in the earlier romances, that noble Don Giovanni, the gay knight of Galloway, the courteous Sir Gawayne ; and its most important incidents are those which bring the "Auentyres of Arthure at the Tern Wathelyne," to a happy conclusion in the marriage of Sir Gawayne, and the retransformation of the Foul Ladye, and the Grim Baron. This class, therefore, of Arthurian stories may be generalized, and distinguished as the Comedy of the Table Rounde, or the Marriage of Sir Gawayne. Next in order may come that great class of adventures connected with the "atchieving of the San Greal," and contained in those romances which form a variously told epic, in which the chivalrous and religious spirit of the Crusades had its most popular cotemporary poetic expression. This third part of the stories of the "Great Geste of Arthur" may, then, be distinguished as the History of the Quest of the Holy Grail, or the Wars of Sir Perceval ; for he is ever the chief of the knights who achieve the Quest. And under this class may be also conveniently included those earlier legends of the foreign victories of Arthur, of which the adventures of the Quest afterwards took the place. Then, as the fourth part of the "Great Geste," we have the tragic stories of the discovery of the long unfaithfulness of the wife, and of the friend, and the news of the treason of the bastard son ; the death of the noble, and beloved Sir Gawayne, the wound given him by Sir Lancelot fatally re-opened in

the first battle against the revolted Mordred; the still more tragic scenes of the loveworn end of Merlin, and of the prophecies from his mystic tomb; the last parting, and soon thereafter the death of Guenivere, and of "the truest lover of a synfull man that euer loved woman; the kyndest man that ever stroke wyth swerde; the goodelyest persone that euer came among prees of knyghtes; the mekest man and the gentyllest that euer ete in halle among ladyes; and the sternest knyghte to his mortall foo that euer put spere in the reyst;"^s and, finally, the terrible mutual slaughter of the battle by the Western Sea, "with the dolourous deth, and departyng out of thys worlde of them al." But not thus ends this wondrous Cycle of Romance. Succeeding those which may be distinguished as belonging to "the Tragedy of the Morte d'Arthur, or the Revolt of Mordred," we find a class of tales which not only give to the varied and tragic story of the "Great Geste" a high artistic repose and satisfaction, but a sort of infinite atmosphere. Such are the tales of the sore-wounded Arthur being borne away over the waves by the Ladies of Avalon to their Blessed Island in the West. And this class may be generally designated "The Vision of Avalon, or the Departing into Light."

Now what I would here point out is that the chief characters of the legends and romantic tales of all these six different classes are connected with the North; that not only are local habitations to be found in Arthurian Scotland for the chief incidents of these romances and traditions; but that these Scottish localities are all in the most natural relation to each other; in just such relation, indeed, as, had the Great Geste of Arthur been actually played out in Scotland, instead of being merely a Mediæval cycle of romantic adventures, the localities of its incidents would most probably have borne to each other; and hence, that these Romances must have had, as their bases, historical characters, adventures, and conflicts of Pre-mediæval Scotland.

^s MALORY, *The Byrth, Lyf, and Actes of Kyng Arthur*, v. II. pp. 453-4. (Edit. SOUTHEY).

First, then, as to the persons of the Arthurian Romance Cycle. To Scotland alone, so far as I am aware, belong distinct traditions,—either still living, as they for the most part are, or preserved in legendary histories,—not only of Arthur, but of Guenivere, of Lancelot, and of Mordred; of Loth, the brother-in-law of Arthur, and of his nephew Gawayne; of the Foul Ladye, and the Grim Baron; of Perceval, the hero of the Quest of the Holy Grail; and, above all, of Merlin the Wild, his twin-sister Ganieda, and his life-long love, Viviana, the divine Lady of the Lake. And in saying this, I but state one of the results of which the proofs have already been given in the account of my exploration of Arthurian Scotland.

Then, as to the localities of the incidents of these Romances, observe, first, that of all the places with traditions attached to them of the enchanted sleep of Arthur and his Knights, there seems to be none that can, either in scenio, or traditional importance, vie with those Eildon Hills which form the fit centre of Arthurian Scotland. Then, as the appropriately romantic scene of the first part of the Great Geste we have the Merlin-haunted Caledonian Forest; Arthur's Seat, Arthur's Lee, and Arthur's Fountain; the Queen of Scottish Lakes, Loch Lomond, or the Lake of Elms, in an island of which may well be feigned to have arisen the enchanted Garden of Joy; the twelve great battlefields of the Freedom-War, ending with that of Bowden Hill; and the scenically unsurpassed Arthurian Castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton. Then, as the fit scene of the Comedy, we have the Kingdom of Logres, with Joyeuse Garde, the Castle of Seven Shields, Cardueil, Inglewood Forest, Castle Hewen, the Tarn Wathelyne, the Green Chapel, and the other localities I have noted on the English Border. The scenes of the Quest of the Holy Grail, as of the continental conquests of Arthur, forming the third part of the Great Geste, are, of course, beyond the limits of Arthurian Scotland. For, where these scenes are not laid in a wholly unidentifiable region, corresponding to their supernatural character, they are

generally in the sacred East, where is "the citie of Crist our the salt flude." But, with the fourth part of the Geste, we may again return to Scotland, and find fit traditional localities for the tragic incidents of the Morte d'Arthur, in the Chatel Orgueilleux ; Joyeuse Garde, become again Dolorous Garde ; Wedale, or the Vale of Woe ; the Tomb and perennial Thorn of Merlin, where the Stream of Willows joins the Tweed in the midst of his beloved Caledonian Forest ; the solitary northern Grave of Guenivere ; and the sunset battle-plain of Arderydd. Finally, over the Solway, as the Great Western Lake adjoining the last fatal battle-field, may fitly rise for us the Vision of Avalon.

SECTION (III).

The Geological Relations of Arthurian Scotland.

Such is the completeness and unity of the Arthurian Topography of Scotland, in reference to all the chief characters, and all the various classes of tales comprised in the Arthurian Romance-cycle. But not less distinctly marked, and complete in itself, is the region distinguished by this topography, both in a geological, and scenic point of view. For this Scottish district of Arthurian localities corresponds, with very singular accuracy, with two out of the four great geological divisions of the country. The first two of these are the Highlands, east and west of the Glen-more-nan-albin, the Great Glen of Albion, through which is cut the Caledonian Canal. This Highland region is separated from the rest of the country by what was anciently called the Mounth ; the chain of the Grampians running from south-west to north-east, from Ben Nevis (4406 feet) to the Girdleness, the southern promontory of the Bay of Aberdeen ; and having, as its central domes, Ben-muich-dhui (4300 ft.), and the surrounding Cairngorm Mountains, all averaging upwards of 4000 ft. It is chiefly, if not exclusively along, or within this line, prolonged to the Mull of Cantyre, that are found the localities of Fingalian Tradition. Cut-

ting this mountain-chain at right angles, and forming the great wind- and water-shear which separates the waters flowing into the western sea from those running eastwards, is the other great mountain range of the Highlands, called, in Latin, *Dorsum Britanniae* and *Dorsi Montes Britannici*, and, in Gaelic, *Drum-alban*,—*Drum* being the equivalent of the Latin *Dorsum*. It takes its rise north of the isthmus, separating the Firths of Forth and Clyde, in the mountains of which Ben Lomond is the chief; is broken by the great moor of Rannoch, but intersects the Mounth or Grampians at Ben Alder; crosses the Great Glen of Scotland at Achendrum, “the field of the *Drum*,” and finally loses itself in the mountains of Sutherland.*

The two other geological divisions of Scotland are the Midland Valley (valley, however, only in a geological sense) and the Southern Uplands; the latter separated from the former by a line curiously parallel with that of the Grampians, running, like it, from south-west to north-east; from Girvan in Ayrshire, to Dunbar in Haddingtonshire. It is these two southern geological divisions that form, with the adjoining English border, what, characterizing it by its traditional topography, I would call Arthurian Scotland.

Thus do we see the vast secular changes of geology connected with, and determining such phenomena of a day as those which belong to human ages. Through millions of years worked the slow forces of which the outcome were the present geological divisions of Scotland. And these, at length, determined the seats of two families of a race of men, and the localities of their distinctive traditions.

The general scenery of these two great northern and southern divisions of Scotland is strikingly dissimilar. And yet, in this difference, there is an interesting similarity to the contrasted characteristics of the different but allied cycles of tradition and romance, Fingalian and Arthurian, of which the northern and southern districts respectively are the seats. Beyond the line of

* Compare SKENE, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, pp. lxxxiii.–iv.

the Grampians "a sea of mountains rolls away to Cape Wrath in wave after wave of gneiss, schist, quartz rock, granite, and other crystalline masses."⁷ And the Fingalian legends seem full of the sentiment that the rocks and caverns resounding with the Atlantic waves,—that the deep glens, and the dark mountain-lochs,—that the fleeing and pursuing shadows of the clouds on the mountain-sides,—and that, above all, the intermingling of the feminine grace and tenderness of the birch with the stately grandeur of the pine,—the intermingling of the bright and joyous music of the flashing, heather-purpling sunbeams, with the sterner, wilder voices of the storm-swept hills, would appear well-fitted to create in an imaginative and noble race.

Very different is the scenery of the southern division with the broad belt of Lower Old Red Sandstone at the base of the Grampians, the igneous rocks, and carboniferous strata of the Midland district; and the hard greywacké, shale, and limestone bands of the Silurian Uplands. Broad Firths,—Tay, Forth, and Clyde; wide, fertile plains, such as that of Strathmore between the Grampians, and the low, seaward range of the Ochils, and the Sidlaws; and abrupt, isolated crags and hills, form the chief physical features of the former district; while the latter presents us with many fountained, green-rolling, pastoral hills, breaking down into river-lighted dales, famous in story and in song. To these succeed the wild moorlands, the rich vales, and ancient forest-lands of the English border. Such, generally described, is the scenery of Arthurian Scotland. And in its more romantic, and varied, but less grand, and awe-inspiring character, it contrasts no less strongly with Scotland beyond the Grampians; than do the elaborate and worldly Arthurian Romances that find in it the fit localities of their incidents, with the primitive Fingalian traditions recalled by so many a mountain, cave, and glen, in the more northern, and wilder region.

⁷ GRIKIE, *Geology and Scenery of Scotland*, p. 91.

To conclude, it is not merely to the antiquary, I venture to think, that this discussion of the origin of Arthurian localities, determination of their chief country, and indication of their Fingalian relations, may be of interest. For the new conceptions of the world, and of human history, and destiny, that science is forcing upon us, require a New Poesy for their synthetic expression; a new poesy to show that life, so far from being stripped, by the discoveries of science, of all that makes it, to the nobler sort, worth having, is, on the contrary, by the progress of scientific knowledge, invested with a new beauty, a more tragic grandeur, and inspired with a deeper sense of the environing Infinite. New conceptions require new forms for their poetic expression. And as the Italian novels of the Renaissance were a mine of poetic forms for our Elizabethan dramatists; or as, to take a more appropriate example, the old Greek legends, made an *Iliad* and an *Odyssey* of by Homer, furnished the poets of the great age of Greece with the forms of their immortal dramas; so, I believe, will the Pre-mediæval Celtic legends, as they have been prepared for us by the poetic romancers of the Mediæval Age, be found to present the most varied and easily adaptable material for the European poets who will dare unreservedly to accept Science. And, if I am right in thus thinking, then, the country in which these Pre-mediæval Celtic legends had, with such probability as may appear from the foregoing chapters, their historical origin; the country in which alone localities belonging to both the great formations of Celtic mythology have, like the shells that distinguish different but allied strata, been discovered; the country in which, particularly, the Arthurian traditions have been shown, if not indisputably to have originated, at least to have now their most numerous, and complete, their most scenically various, and romantic topographical records, will become a New Hellas.

LIST
OF
SIXTH-CENTURY LOCALITIES
IN
"THE NORTH;"
OR
THE LOCALITIES
OF
ARTHURIAN SCOTLAND.

NOTE.—These Localities are distinguished as Traditional, Historical,—chiefly occurring in *Nennius*; and Poetical,—for the most part found in the *Four Ancient Books*. The testimonies to the age of the Traditional Localities, the references to the original sources for the Historical and Poetical Localities, and the authorities for the identifications of Localities of these two latter classes, are given at full in the third chapter. And the Localities will be found in that chapter under the same heads, and in much the same order as they are here given.

EASTERN DIVISION.

DISTRICT I.—STRATHMORE.

MORDRED'S CASTLE	Fort on Barry Hill, near Alyth.
GANORE'S GRAVE	In Churchyard of Meikle.
STONE OF ARTHUR	} In Parish of Cupar Angus.
ARTHURSTONE	
ARTHUR'S FOLD	
ARTHUR'S SEAT	Rock on Dunbarrow Hill.
TAWY	The Tay.
BENOIC	Albanak, or Albany.

DISTRICT II.—FIRTH-OF-FORTH.

FRENESSICUM, OR FRISICUM MARE .	The Firth of Forth.
FRISICUM LITUS	North shore of Firth.
CULROSS	Monastery on North shore.
GWRUID OR WERID	The Forth.
TRATHEU TRYWRUID	Links of Forth, or Carse of Stirling.
SNOWDON WEST CASTLE	Castle of Stirling.
KING'S KNOT, OR ARTHUR'S ROUND	} Under Stirling Castle.
TABLE	
ARTHUR'S O'ON (OVEN).	Near Larbert.
CAERE, OR CARUN	The Carron.
RYD AT TARADYR	The Ford of Torrator on the Carron.
BASSAS	Dunipais (Dunipace).
CAMLAN	Camelon, near Falkirk.
CATRAETH, GALTRAETH, OR CALA-	} Calatria.—East end of Stirlingshire.
THROS	
HAEFE, OR AERON	The Avon.
CAIRPRE	Carriber.
MANAN, OR CAMPUS MANAND . .	Slamannan Moor.
LODONEIS	Lothian.
GODODIN	North part of Lothian.
BODGAD, OR BADCAT	Bathgate.
KALDRA	Calder Water.
MONS BADONIS	Bowden Hill.
LECHLEUTU	Linlithgow.
AGATHES	Irongath Hill.
CAER EIDDYN	Caredin.
PENGUAL, PEANFAHEL, PENNELTON,	} Town at east end of W. of Antonine.
OR CENAIL,	
YNYS EIDDYN	Blackness.
ABERCURNIG	Abercorn.
CAER GOVANNON	Dalmeny.
CAER VANDWY, OR CAER AMON . .	Cramond.
CAER SIDI, URBS GIUDI, OR JUDEU ?	Island in Firth of Forth—Inchkeith(?).
MYNYD AGNED, OR DUNEDIN . .	} Edinburgh Castle.
CASTRUM PUELLARUM, OR CASTLE OF	
MAIDENS	
DOLOROUS VALLEY	

GRAVE OF VECTA (?)	The Cat-stane, Kirkliston.
ARTHUR'S SEAT	At Edinburgh.
DUNPELEDUR, OR DUNPENDER LAW.	Trapender Law, near Haddington.
DUGLAS	Dunglas (?).
BASSAS	Bass (?).
KEPDUFF	Kilduff.
ABERLEFDI	Aberlady Bay.
THE BUSH OF MAW	The Moss of Maw.

DISTRICT III.—TWEEDDALE.

GWAEDOL, WEDALE, OR VALLIS	} Vale of Gala.
DOLORIS	
GWENYSTRAD, OR THE WHITE STRATH	
CASTLE GUINNION, OR GARANWYNION	Roman Fort on Gala Water.
CHURCH OF S. MARY	At Stowe.
WHITE STONE OF GALYSTEM . . .	Near the Lady's Well at Stowe.
TYWI	The Tweed.
S. MUNGO'S WELL	At Peebles.
NEMUS CALEDONIS, OR COED CELYD-	} Caledonian Forest.
DON	
MERLIN'S GRAVE	At Drummelzier.
TEIFI	The Teviot.
DIN GUORTIGERN	On the Teviot.
TOMB OF ARTHUR AND HIS KNIGHTS	Under the Eildons.
DIN DREI, URBS GIUDI, OR JUDEU.	On the Eildon Hills (?).
CATRAETH	Near the Eildons (?).
MELROS	Melrose.
RHYMER'S GLEN	} At Abbotsford.
HUNTLY BURN	
RHYMER'S TOWER	At Earlstoun on Leader Water.
CALCHVYNYD, OR CALCHOW . . .	Kelso.
ATBRET JUDEU AND JUDEU (?) . .	Near Jedburgh (?).
GODODIN	District about Jedburgh (?)
THE GLENI, OR GLEIN (?)	The Glen—Tributary of the Till.
ABERWICK, OR JOYEUSE GARDE .	Berwick.

SOUTHERN DIVISION.

DISTRICT IV.—NORTHUMBERLAND.

NORTHOMBELLANDE	Northumberland.
BERNEICH AND TER BRENECH . . .	Berenicia, or Valentia.
LLEU	The Low.
MEDGAUD INSULA	Holy Island, or Lindisfarne.
DINGUAYRDI, DINGUAROY, GUURTH- BERNEICH, BEBBANBURGH, OR CHATEL ORGUEILLEUX	} Bamborough.
ARTHUR'S HILL	
SEWING SHIELDS CASTLE	} At Newcastle.
KING'S AND QUEEN'S CRAGS	
ARTHUR'S CHAIR	
CUMMING'S CROSS	
DAGSESTAN	Dawston.

DISTRICT V.—CUMBERLAND.

ARTHUR'S HILL	In Liddesdale.
CAER GWENDDOLEW	} Moat or Strength of Liddel, near the village and burn of Carwhinelow.
ERYDON	
ARDERYDD	Ridding, near above fort.
CAER LLIWELYDD, OR CARDUEIL . .	Arthuret
GUASMORIC	Carlisle.
EDEN	} Near Carlisle (Palmecastre, or Wal- meceastre).
INGLEWOOD FOREST	
TARN WATHELYNE	Same name still.
CASTLE HEWIN	Ditto.
BARON-WOOD	Tarn Wadling.
HATTON HALL	Near Upper Hesketh.
PLUMPTON PARK	On the Eden.
ARTHUR'S ROUND TABLE	} Same name still.
BROUGHAM CASTLE	
GWENSTERI	Near Penrith.
DERWENNYD	Winster
VOLSTY CASTLE	Derwent.
THE GRENE CHAPEL	Chapel of the Green.
MANAU, OR EUBONIA	Isle of Man.

DISTRICT VI.—GALLOWAY.

GALWADIE MARE.	Solway Firth.
GALWYDDEL.	Galloway.
HODDELM	Hoddam.
CHURCH OF S. MUNGO	Parish ? of same name.
MABON	Nithsdale and Lochmaben.
MAN-LLACHAR.	Lochar Moss.
CLUDVEIN, OR CLEDYFEIN	The Cluden.
GARANT	The Carron—Tributary of the Nith.
CAER RYWC	Sanguhar on the Crawick.
CUTHBRICKSCHIRCH	Kirkcudbright.
GRAVE OF GWALLAWG AP LLEENAWG	King Galdus's Tomb.
KIRKGAWAYNE ?	Kirkcowan.
MARSH OF TERRA.	Glenterra.
CAER RHEON	Cairnryan.
LLWCH RHEON	Loch Ryan.
RHYD RHEON	Ford of Ryan.
NOVANT	Mull of Galloway.

WESTERN DIVISION.

DISTRICT VII.—AYR.

CARRAWG	Carrick.
COEL	Kyle.
CANOWAN	Cunningham.
DINDYWYDD	Dunduff.
DYVNWYDD	A District of Ayr.
GRAVE OF CARADAWG	Tomb of Caractacus.
CAER CARADAWG	Caractonium.
GAFRAN	Girvan.
GRAVE OF COEL	Tomb of King Cole at Coilsfield.
CRAGS OF KYLE	} Near town of Ayr.
BURN OF COYL	
PARISH OF COYLTON	
BRETRWYN	Promontory of Troon.
DUNDEVENEL	Dundonald.
GLEN OR GLEIN	The Glen—Tributary of Irvine.
WOOD OF BEIT	Moor of Beith.

DISTRICT VIII.—STRATHCLYDE.

CLUD	The Clyde.
MERLIN'S FOUNTAIN	Sources of Clyde (?).
ARTHUR'S FOUNTAIN	In parish of Crawford.
ARFYNYDD	Upper Strathclyde.
LLANERCH	Lanark.
GODEU	Caidzow—Middle ward of Lanarkshire.
CALATERIUM NEMUS	Calderwood.
REGIO LINTHEAMUS, OR LINTHCAMUS	Cambuslang.
MOUNTAIN OF BANNAWC	Cathkin Hills in p. of Carmunnock.
ARECLUTA	Strathgryfe, or Renfrewshire.
ARTHUR'S LEE	} In Neilston Parish.
LOW ARTHUR'S LEE	
WEST ARTHUR'S LEE	
CAER CLUD, OR PENRYN WLETH	Glasgow.
MONS GWLETH	Dew, or Dowhill, at Glasgow.
S. MUNGO'S WELL	In Cathedral of Glasgow.

DISTRICT IX.—LENNOX.

MUREIFF	North side of Roman Wall, or Mur.
REGED	The same, including Loch Lomond.
ARGOED LLWYFAIN	District about Ben Lomond.
DINRIDDWG	Mugdock.
ARDUNNION	Ardinny.
DRUM ESSYD	Kilsyth Hills.
HEIGHT OF ADOYN	Cliff on western brow of Fintry Hills.
NEMHTUR, OR NEVTUR	} Dumbarton.
CATHRAIG IN LEOMHAN	
URBS LEOGIS, OR LEGIONIS	
KAERLIUM, OR KAERLION	
ALCLYDE, OR PETRA CLOITHE	
CASTRUM ARTHURI, OR ARTHUR'S CASTLE	
LEUM, LEAMHUIN, OR LEAMHAN	The Leven.
STAGNUM LIVAN, LUMUNOY, OR LIMONIUM, LLWCH LLIVANAD	} Loch Lomond.
LEAMHANACH, LEVENACHS', LLWY- FENYDD, OR LINNUIS	
DUBGLAS	The Douglas.
BEN ARTHUR	At head of Loch Long.

NOTE

ON THE ARGUMENT FOR ARTHUR AS A WEST-OF-ENGLAND KING.

PROOFS of the foregoing Essay having been forwarded by Mr. Furnivall to Mr. Pearson, the learned author of the *History of England in the Early and Middle Ages*, a discussion took place between him and myself, at the close of which I requested him to give me a memorandum of the chief points in his case, in order that the question as to the Historical Origin of Arthurian Localities generally, and as to the locality of Arthur's exploits in particular, might be presented with the utmost possible fairness and completeness to those who might be interested in the subject. This he has very courteously, and obligingly done. And my readers will thus have an opportunity of judging for themselves whether the established theory, which could not, I believe, have any more able and learned defender than Mr. Pearson, or the new theory, advocated by Mr. Skene and myself, rests on the better evidence.

But before presenting his note, I would offer a few remarks on its general bearing in reference to the theory in the foregoing Essay maintained. And in the first place, I would observe that his argument touches only a small part of that general theory. For I have endeavoured to show not merely that, of the three regions of the traditional Arthur-land—Southern Scotland, Western England, and North-Western France—the historical Arthur, or the Arthur of Nennius, belonged to the first-mentioned; but also, that, of a large proportion, at least, of the ancient historical poems of the Cymry,

the scenery and events belong to Southern Scotland, with which likewise are connected the warriors celebrated in these poems, and the bards who sing their praises ; further, not only that personages, more or less directly and intimately connected with the Arthurian story, such, for instance, as Merlin and Kentigern, historically belong to the South of Scotland, and to the Arthurian Age ; but that all the chief characters of the Arthurian Romances are to be found, in a topographically preserved and still living tradition, in what I have called Arthurian Scotland, and, as far as I am aware, in that region alone ; and finally, that these topographical records and traditional tales are in the most striking accordance with historical facts.

Now, whatever objections may be urged by Mr. Pearson or others against a theory which places Arthur as an historical personage in the North, I have but little fear that any competent scholar will be found prepared to deny that these ancient Cymric poems do for the most part belong to Arthurian Scotland ; that to the same region the historical Merlin belonged ; that there also are to be found a greater number and variety of Arthurian traditions than in any other region of the Old Arthur-land ; and that such traditions have there more remarkable historical correspondences than are anywhere else to be discovered. But if such facts as these cannot be denied ; then, I think, that what appears to be the legitimate inference from them must be accepted ;—namely, that it was in actual characters, incidents, and conflicts of the Pre-mediæval History of Scotland that the traditions, topographically preserved in Arthurian Localities, originated ; and that in such actual characters, incidents, and conflicts, the historic element of the Arthurian Romances of Mediæval European Literature is to be found. This, however, is all that I am concerned to maintain. But let us see what Mr. Pearson can say in favour of the hypothesis that Arthur was not a leader of the Cymry of Southern Scotland, but a petty king of Western England.

Most singular, I will only remark, it would be if, in conjunction with such facts as the above, such an hypothesis should force itself upon us :

“There seem to me to be fairly good reasons for referring Arthur to a district in the South or West of England, in spite of the fact that Scotland is distinctly richer in Arthurian localities. The one historical event with which we can almost certainly connect his name is the battle of Mons Badonicus ; and this is referred by Gildas to the year 520,¹ when we have reason to think that the West Saxons were beginning to press on the Britons of Somersetshire and Wiltshire, whereas the wars of Ida in the North with the Kymri of the Western Lowlands are ascribed to a later period (A.D. 547) by our earliest notices.² The tradition commemorated in the *Vita Gildæ*, that Arthur, King of Cornwall and Devon, was at war with Melvas of Somersetshire, points to a district in the South ; and if Melvas be indeed the Maglocunus, or Maelgoun of Gwynedd, whom Gildas speaks of as making war on his uncle, contracting an unlawful marriage, and turning monk, his resemblance to the Lancelot of romance becomes very great.³ After Gildas our first authority for Arthur's history is Nennius. Now the English Nennius (who was certainly not ignorant of Cumbrian history, as he gives us most valuable details about Ida and Urien), says, if we take his words literally, that Arthur led the kings of the Britons in their wars against the kings of the Cantii.⁴ It is true that the passage may be explained to mean that he led them against the Saxons ; but even if we adopt this rendering, it is surely more natural to apply the term “Saxons” to the people strictly so called at the time when Nennius wrote (West Saxons, South Saxons, etc.), than to

¹ WENDOVER, I. p. 64. GILDAS ; Pref. by STEVENSON, p. ix.

² *A. S. Chron. A. 547. Sim. Dun. Prefatio.*

³ *Vita S. Gildæ*, c. 10. *Epistola Gildæ*, c. c. 33-35.

⁴ NENNIUS, c. 56. I have not taken into account the marginal note to one observation of Nennius, which places Bregnon, the scene of one of Arthur's battles in Somersetshire, or the marginal gloss on Gildas, which says that Mount Badon was near the mouth of the Severn. But they are at least evidence of concurrent traditions.

assume that it refers to a colony of their ancestors, seated for a time in Northumbria.⁵ Moreover, the death-song of Geraint connects that hero, who was of Dyvnaint or Devonian, with Arthur.⁶ These notices one and all, therefore, refer Arthur to a district in the South and West; while none that I know of takes him into the North till the times of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

⁵ Mr. Glennie informs me, on Mr. Skene's authority, that the Cambridge MS. of Nennius reads "Tunc Arthur pugnabat contra illos, videlicet Saxones." The question, then, is whether or not "Saxones" can be referred to Angles north of the Humber, or to a Saxon colony that preceded the Angles in those parts. To myself the words of Nennius seem distinctly to imply that he was thinking of the South of England. Throughout the *Historia Britonum* he uses the word Saxons (taken alone) in its special sense, and calls the people against whom Dutigirn fought (c. 62), Angles, the people whom Ecgfrith ruled "Saxones ambronum" (c. 57), and Edwin's subjects "ambrones" simply (c. 63). "Ambrones" I take to be a corrupt form of Bede's word "Hymbroneses" (H. E. IV. c. 17) Humberians, and its use with "Saxones" seems to me to imply that Nennius did not like to speak of Northumbrians generally as Saxons without qualification. Gildas uses the name Saxons for the people who fought against Vortigern and Aurelius Ambrosius, but seems not to know the name Angles. Bede speaks more than once of "Anglorum sive Saxonum" as if they were convertible terms (H. E. I. c. 15, V. c. 9), and applies either name to the people of Kent (whom he knows more precisely as Jutes), and sometimes seems to speak of the Germanic conquerors of Britain generally as Angles. But he never, so far as I am aware, uses the term Saxons in speaking of Northumbrians, or as a general name like Angli. An examination of the *Codex Diplomaticus* has shown me two cases in which the term Angli is perhaps used generally for Englishmen before the reign of Alfred. Under Alfred and Edward the Elder, the term "Anglo-Saxon" seems to be that most favoured. Afterwards the use of "Anglus" prevails. But I know of no instance in any Anglo-Saxon charter or author in which the name Saxon is applied to Englishmen of the North. It is true the practice of Celtic writers is not equally invariable. The Gododin poems twice designate the enemy against whom the British chiefs engaged, have fought, or are fighting, as Saxons; and probably refer in both cases to the Germanic population of Northumbria. It is true, too, as Mr. Glennie has pointed out to me, that Nennius must have thought of Ochtha and Ebissa, the son or nephew of Hengest, who, he says (c. 38), occupied country up to the confines of the Picts, as Saxons in the strictest sense. But I do not think these exceptions can outweigh the general consent on the other side, or the indications derived from the language of Nennius, when he connects the rise of the Saxons with Ochtha's emigration southward, and the history of the kingdom of Kent. I may add that, as far as I can discover, Nennius never applies the name "Brittones" to the Celtic peoples North of Solway, in the fifth century.

⁶ SKENE, *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 267. I may add, that whether Llongborth be the Longport of Kent, the Langport of Somersetshire, or merely a port on the coast, it seems to point to an attack by sea which might easily be made in South England, but not, I think, in Scotland. It is noticeable, too, that Geraint was a Devonian name. *Aldeimi Opera*, p. 83.

"Looking now to mere probabilities, I find that Cornwall, Devonshire, and parts of Wiltshire and Somersetshire, maintained their independence till the time of Ine.⁷ I find that a principality composed of Somersetshire and part of Wiltshire, of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, of Hereford and Monmouth, defended by Selwood Forest, by the Cotswold Woods, by Wire Forest, and by the Somersetshire marshes, had its own dynasty of chiefs before the Romans,⁸ and a metropolitan city for a native church at Caerleon in the sixth century.⁹ A sovereign of this country with a certain federal supremacy over Devonshire and Cornwall in the South, and Powys and Gwynedd in the North, would come into collision with the Saxons along the marshes of Wiltshire, and the line of the Severn, and with the people of South Wales (whether Gaelic or Kymric at that time) in Glamorganshire.¹⁰ In these districts may be found localities that correspond pretty exactly to the names of Arthur's battles as given by Nennius.¹¹

"Take now the evidence of legend. In the Breton traditions collected by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Arthur is born at Tintagel, crowned first in Silchester by Dubricius, Archbishop of Caerleon on Usk, and afterwards more solemnly at Caerleon, and dies in Cornwall, and is buried in the Isle of Avalon. Even the Metrical Boece, which transfers the battle of Camlan to the Humber, steadily represents Arthur as King of South Britain. William of Malmesbury, whose *Liber de Antiq. Glaston. Ecc.* was written about the middle of the twelfth century, gives a legend from the gests of

⁷ GUEST, *On the Boundaries of the Welsh and English Races*. *Archæological Journal*, xvi. pp. 105-132.

⁸ AKERMAN, *On the Condition of Britain*, *Archæologia*, xxxiii. p. 177. GODWIN'S *Archæologist's Manual*, pp. 16, 17.

⁹ ROWLAND WILLIAMS, *On the supposed reluctance of the West British Church to convert the Anglo-Saxons*. *Archæologica Camb.* Oct. 1858. Mr. Stevenson thinks that Gloucester and Somerset were two of the dioceses. BEDD, *Hist. Ecc.* p. 100, note.

¹⁰ "A line drawn from Conway on the north to Swansea on the south would separate the two races of the Gwyddyl, and the Cymry on the west and on the east." SKENE, *Four Ancient Books*, v. I. p. 43.

¹¹ E.g. I should place the four battles in "regione Linnuis" in the district of the Llyfni (Glamorganshire); that at Bassas near Baschurch, in Shropshire; that of Urbs Legionis at Caerleon on Usk, and that of Mount Badon at Bath.

King Arthur, which does not exist in Geoffrey of Monmouth, and which speaks of him as holding court at "Karlium," and visiting Glastonbury. William also says that Arthur gave lands to Glastonbury, and was buried there with his wife between two pyramids.¹² As the historian does not speak of the disinterment of Arthur's body, he probably wrote before it took place in 1166;¹³ and this is the more likely, as he was born in the preceding century. He is, therefore, independent evidence to a tradition slightly anterior to the search made, and probably anterior to the history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, the last six books of which were not published before 1147. The search for Arthur's remains has been twice described by Giraldus Canbrensis, in the *De Instructione Principum*,¹³ and in the *Speculum Ecclesie*.¹⁴ The latter and fuller account, which refers with some contempt to the "fabulosi Britones," who made Morgan a fairy, is written with a minuteness which seems to me incompatible with wanton lying. Both narratives are posterior to Henry the Second's time, and therefore were not written to support his policy. Both dwell upon the fact that Guenever's hair crumbled into dust when it was exposed to the air. Clearly the Glastonbury monks could not have forged evidence of this kind. The most that can be said is that they may have fabricated the inscription found on the coffin. Even this would have been highly hazardous, as they could scarcely tell before-hand that an unopened tomb contained two bodies, one of them a woman's.

"Why, then, are Arthurian localities comparatively rare in the district where Arthur lived and reigned? Simply, I think, because from its natural wealth, it was the object of incessant attack from the Saxons, and was conquered and partially peopled anew at an early period by a people who had no interest in perpetuating the memory of their old antagonist. It is easy to see how the story

¹² GALE, iii. pp. 306, 307, 326.

¹³ BROMPTON, c. ii. 52. It is remarkable that Malmesbury dedicates his book to a Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, who cannot be identified, unless the title be a clerical error for Henry, Bishop of Winchester; and that Giraldus speaks of the search as made by Henry, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, who does not appear on any extant list of Bishops.

¹⁴ *De Jur. Prin.*, pp. 191-193. *Speculum Ecclesie*, pp. 47-49.

of Arthur would be carried into Brittany by fugitives before Ine. It is more difficult, I admit, to explain how it travelled North. But it is possible that Cadwallon recruited Britons from Devon in the long and prosperous wars which he waged against the Northumbrian kings. 'Those immense forces, which nothing could resist,'¹⁵ were surely not drawn altogether from North Wales; and it was a time of peace in the South, when it could well spare soldiers."

The foregoing very learned note of Mr. Pearson's contains all that, I believe, can be said in favour of Arthur as a West of England king. It will be found, however, that the supports of his theory are essentially but three in number—Gildas, Nennius, and the Mediæval writers. Let us examine the two first; the last we shall find it unnecessary specially to consider. First, as to Gildas, we must distinguish between the *History* by Gildas, and the *Life* of Gildas. The former alone is Pre-mediæval, and of an authority independent of those Mediæval legends, the truth of which we are seeking to investigate. Now the *History* gives us no certain indication whatever as to the site of the *Mons Badonicus* of Arthur's twelfth battle. For the expression, "qui prope Sabrinum ostium habetur," is an interpolation of the Durham MS. of the thirteenth century. As to the *Vita Sancti Gildæ*, as it is not older than the twelfth century, it must rank, as an authority, with Geoffroy of Monmouth, and the other Mediæval writers. And what credence we should give to them must depend on their accordance with the other earlier historical authority which we now proceed to examine.

Secondly, then, as to Nennius, Mr. Pearson's argument is here twofold. In the first place he says that the *illos* against whom Arthur fought were the *reges Cantiorum*.¹⁶ And, secondly, that if we are to understand Nennius as meaning that he fought against the Saxons, then it must have been in the south, because the Teutonic invaders were in the north called Angles. As to the first argument, without pausing to remark that it would take Arthur from the south-west of England,

¹⁵ BEDE, *Hist. Ecc. Lib.* iii. c. 1.

¹⁶ NENNIUS, § 56, p. 47 (English Hist. Soc.).

where Mr. Pearson places him, to the south-east; it appears enough to say that, the whole passage being read, the sentence about the *reges Cantiorum* is, or, to say the least, may be meant as merely parenthetical; while the “illos, videlicet Saxones,” of the Cambridge MS. seems to settle the matter. There remains, then, but the second argument, namely that “Saxones” is applied only to the Teutonic settlers of the south of England. But remark, first, that Nennius *does* apply this term to the northern invaders. For he says that the son and brother of Hengest, and their followers, certainly as much “Saxones” as Hengest himself and his followers, occupied the “regiones quæ sunt in aquilone; juxta murum, qui vocatur Guaul.”¹⁷ And this being so, remark, secondly, that Nennius could not consistently have called the northern invaders Angles or anything else but Saxons. Again, remark, thirdly, how very naturally that parenthetical sentence about the *reges Cantiorum* comes in, if we understand Nennius to mean that Arthur’s successes were against the northern Saxons. Hengest being dead, Octa, his son, came from the north to take his place in Kent; “tunc Arthur pugnabat, etc;”¹⁸ then Arthur fought against the northern Saxons, and, their great leader having thus left them, the fortune of war turned in favour of the Cymry. But the main thing to be remarked here is, fourthly, that Nennius *could not* have called the Northern invaders Angles, because their first settlement in Bernicia was considerably later than the time he is speaking of, namely in 547, under Ida. And, fifthly, this becomes still further clear when we find that the earlier Teutonic settlers in the North were *Frisians*, a tribe of *Saxons*, who could not have been referred to as Angles.¹⁹

Thus it seems clear that, to say the very least, there is as little in the history of Nennius as in that of Gildas which can be held to fix the locality of the historical Arthur in the south. But it will, I think, seem also clear that when two such scholars and critics as Mr.

¹⁷ NENNIVS, § 38, p. 29 (English Hist. Soc.)

¹⁸ Ibid. § 56, p. 47.

¹⁹ SKENE, *Early Frisian Settlements in Scotland*; and SIMPSON (Sir JAMES) *On the Cutstane at Kirkliston, etc., in Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiqs. of Scotland*, v. IV.

Pearson and Mr. Skene can take diametrically opposite views as to the meaning of Nennius, who is really our only important authority, the question must, if it is to receive a definitive answer, be treated after some new method. "If not Gildas," says Mr. Pearson, "certainly Nennius may be understood as placing Arthur in the south; in the south may be found localities with names more or less nearly corresponding with those of his twelve battles; and, though the Mediæval histories may have no authority by themselves, yet in confirmation of this view of the meaning of Nennius, they are certainly of weight." Mr. Skene, on the other hand, maintains not only that the historic Arthur is the Arthur of Nennius, in which, I suppose, Mr. Pearson would agree with him, but that Nennius places him in the North; that in the North the sites of his battles may be identified; that the mythic Arthur is the Arthur of Geoffrey the writers of the twelfth century and their followers; that his story was introduced from Bretagne by Rhys ap Tewdwr in 1077, when the scene of his exploits was removed to the South; and hence, that quotations from the writers of the twelfth and subsequent centuries cannot be considered as having any logical bearing on the question.

It is in reference to this state of the discussion, that the method I have followed in the foregoing Essay may, perhaps, be held to be no immaterial contribution to the settlement of the point in dispute. That method consisted, as will be remembered, first, in examining Cymric history for a deduction as to the birthland of Arthurian Tradition; secondly, in verifying this deduction by shewing that the region thus indicated is the chief country of traditional Arthurian localities; and, thirdly, in investigating the relations of this topography. It may, indeed, be said with reference to what I have specified as conditions inimical to the importation of Arthurian traditions into the North, as to the direct indications of the North as the birthland of these traditions; and as conditions favourable to the importation of such traditions, into the South—that

our knowledge of the period is but limited. Such a reply, however, implicitly admits all that I affirm, namely, that, as far as our present knowledge goes, Cymric history points to the North rather than to the South as the country of the historical Arthur. But, whatever may be said in answer to this critical deduction, I venture to think that in the very great number of indisputably ancient traditional localities, and of, at least, highly probable historical, and poetical identifications here collected, there will be found a body of facts of which the only satisfactory explanation must be found in some such theory as that in this Essay maintained.

And I say this with the more confidence, as my general result as to Arthur would appear to be in accordance with that of my collaborateur, Mr. Nash, with respect to Merlin. Mr. Nash shows that, in the Merlin of Romance, three persons are confounded, and that the really historical Merlin was a bard of the North, in the sixth century. So, I would suggest, as I have, indeed, already hinted [CH. II. (S. III).], that in the Arthur of Romance there are confounded more persons than one, though the Arthur to whom, as an actual historical character, the traditions of the great conquering king are ultimately to be traced, was simply a sixth-century *Guledig*, or Leader of the Northern Cymry. And thus, I should hope, even Mr. Pearson, and those who think with him, may find it possible to reconcile their particular theory as to Arthur with the acceptance of the more general theory which I have sought to establish with respect to the historical origin of Arthurian Localities. With whatever modifications that theory may be held, there will, I trust, be found reasons advanced in the foregoing Essay sufficient to support the general conclusion that the chief historical basis of the mediæval Arthurian Romances is revealed to us in the Pre-mediæval history of that region which I have distinguished as Arthurian Scotland.

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G, STONE BUILDINGS, LINCOLN'S INN,
EASTER, 1869.

The Romance of Merlin.

CHAPTER XXII.

BATTLE BEFORE THE CASTLE OF TREBES.

Now seith the storye, that the firste day of Iuyn departed the kynge Arthur from Logres, and in that mery seson rode Arthur forth, and the two kynges with hym, till thei come to Dover, and entred in to the shippes with-oute more tarynge, and hadde goode wynde and softe, and goode maroners hem for to gide, till thei come to the Rochell with-oute eny trouble or annoye, and logged hem in tentes and pavelouns with-oute the towon, and abode Merlyn, and he com on the morowe at mydday as he hadde promysed the kynge Arthur, and the thre kynges made to hym grete ioie, and namely Gawein that hym loved so well, and Merlin loved hym for the grete trouthe that he knewe in hym, and ther thei sojourned, and rested and maden goode waicche on the weyes and passages, that noon wente ne com that eny tidinges myght brynge to theire enmyes. But now resteth a while of hem, and returne to speke of Leonce, the lorde Paerne, and Pharyen of Trebes that were so goode men and trewe to theire lorde.

Whan Merlin was departed from Leonce of Paerne, and hadde tolde hym that Pounce and Antony and her companye com with xx^M men of armes, and ffrolle a Duke of Almayne with xx^M, Leonces sente for peple fer and nygh of kyn and frendes and sowdiours, till he hadde x^M of the reame of Benoyk of horsmen with-uten fote-men with whiche he stuffed *his forteresses, and Pharien on that other side com oute of the reame of Gannes with x^M horsmen, with-uten the peple on foote whiche he left to kepe the Citees and Castelles, and brought viteles on alle parteis in to stronge townes, and closed the prayes from theire enmyes that nought myght thei wynde on forreye, and whan thei hadde

Arthur leaves Logres; he comes to Dover,

and to the Rochell.

Merlin comes to the three kings;

he loves Gawein.

The story returns to Leonce and Pharyen.

When Leonce knows that Pounce and Antony are coming he sends for his people.

*[Fol. 134b.]

Pharien comes out of Gannes.

Pharien at
Gannes and
Leonce at
Benoyk.

Claudas de la
Desert is
sorry;

the scouts
run through
the land, but
find little;

they agree to
set siege to
the Castle of
Trebes.

Pounce An-
tony, Frolle,
and Claudas
are in the
meadows;

the castle is
besieged on
four sides:

the queen
Helayne and
her sister
dread being
taken by
treason.

Grascien
comforts
them.

spedde so all their ordenaunce, Pharien drough hym to Gannes with all his hoste, and Leonces in to Benoyk with all his hoste, and a-bide so in this manere till tydinges com to hem, that the enemyes were entred into the londe that sette on fire ouer it, rather as thei myght eny harme do; but litill thei founde in that contrey to take to, ffor all was turned from their power in the stronge fortresses, and therefore Claudas de la desert was full of sorowe and hevynesse, for well he supposed ther-by that thei hadde some warnynge in some manere of her comynge. But yet therfore ne lefte not the forreyours to renne thorough the londe, but litill cowde thei fynde, and whan thei hadde ronned vp and down thei repeed agein to the grete hoste, and than toke counseile what thei sholde do, and than thei a-corded to sette siege before the castell of Trebes, and thider thei rode and loigged hem in the medowes ther-by, but it was fer of, ffor the castell stode on an high hill, and at the foote of the castell was the maras, depe on alle sides, and ther-to was noon entre saf a litill cawchie that was narowe and straite of half a myle of lengthe. In these medowes loigged hem Pounces and Antonyes on that oon side, and on that othir side frolle the Duke of Almayne, and on that othir side Claudas de la deserte, and on the fourth parte the peple of the kynge of Gaule; that Randolf, the stiwarde of Gaule, dide condite, whiche was a bolde knyght and an hardy, and ech of these hadde xx^M men at his baner. Thus was the castell of Trebes besieged on foure parties, and kepte so cloos that noon myght entre ne come oute, but that he were a-noon taken and well thei wende to take the castell be famyn, ffor of noon assaute hadde thei no drede, for noon myght come ther-to for the maras that was so nygh, and thus thei be-seged longe the quene Helayne and hir suster that were with-ynne, and hadde grete drede lest thei sholde haue be taken be some maner treson; and many tymes thei wepten for their lordes, that so longe hadde ben from hem and thei hadde herde of hem no tidinges. And Grascien hem counforted wele and badde hem be nothings dismayed, ffor with-ynne shorte tyme thei sholde have socoure, and seide he dide but a-wayte vpon the hour that their tweye lordes were comynge.

this maner dide Grascien hem counforte, and his son Banyns,
 -voide the hevynesse of the two quenes.

This Banyn was a bolde squyer and hardy, and nygh cosin
 to Leonce the lorde of Paerne, that was cosin to the two
 anges, and whan he knewe that the Castell was be-seged, he
 ate to Antyaume the stiwarde, that he sholde come speke with
 m. And he come a-noon in all haste, and than Leonce badde
 m appareile his men, ffor this nyght, quod *he, be-hoveth vs to
 de, and ye and youre peple shull a-bide me in the foreste of
 briogne at the welle in the myddell of the launde, and loke ye
 emene yow so, that noon knowe what wey we shull ride, and
 ette soche warde a-boute the hoste, that noon departe to telle eny
 idinges to oure enmyes, and he seide this sholde be do so that in
 ym sholde be no defaute. With that departed Antyaume the
 stiwarde, and dide as Leonce hadde hym comaunded. And Leonce
 toke his newew and sente hym to Gannes to Pharien and badde
 hym come in to the foreste of Briogne, in to the place that was
 assigned in soche as he knewe was myster; and this spedde hym
 so that he dide his message well and feire. And whan Pharien
 that Leonce was meved on his wey, he arraied hym hastely and
 garnysshed the town with soche peple as he saugh was nede, and
 rode forth be the moste vn-cowthe weyes that he knewe, and
 hadde in his companye well x^M, and also Leonce rode forth, he
 and Antyaume, till thei com into a grete valey, all closed with
 wode, in the foreste of Briogne, as Merlin hadde hym assigned.
 And the hoste was so well kepte that noon issued oute; and ther
 thei a-bode till that Pharien com with his peple; and ther thei
 dide a-bide till on the monday be-fore the feste of seynt John,
 that moste be on the sonday next after. And whan Merlin knewe
 that thei were redy, and that thei abode but the socour that he
 hadde hem promysed. Then he it seide to the kyng Arthur,
 and to kyng Ban, and to his broþer, and to Gawein, these
 v were of oon counseile. And than seide Arthur to Merlin,
 "What shull we do now in this?" Quod Merlin, "I will a-noon
 right that ye devide youre peple who shall go be-fore, and who
 shall go after." Quod the kyng, "Devise it ye, for ye knowe

Banyn is a
 bold squire.

Leonce sends
 for Antyaume,

*[Fol. 135a.]

and tells him
 to wait, with
 his men, in
 the forest of
 Briogne.

Leonce sends
 to Pharien
 for him to
 come to the
 forest of
 Briogne.

Pharien
 rides forth.

Leonce and
 Antyaume
 wait for Pharien in the
 forest.

When Merlin
 knows that
 they are
 ready he
 speaks to Ar-
 thur,

who asks for
 his advice.

beste what is for oure moste spede." "With gode will," seide Merlin, "but this may not be taried."

Merlin calls Gawein, and tells him to take ten thousand men.

Than Merlin firste of all called Gawein and seide, "Goode frende, take x^M men of soche as yow like beste, saf only the knyghtes, of the rounde table for hem shull ye not haue, but ye shull haue the xl knyghtes that youre vncl, the kyng, and the kyng Ban brought oute of Tamelide; and ye shull haue also the newe knyghtes and take with yow as many of other that ye be x^M in all; and drawe yow in to a parte of the felde, and take youre baner to Vlfin to bere, whiche is a noble knyght and right trewe, and do this a-noon right." Whan Gawein herde the commaundement of Merlin he departed, he and his felisship and Vlfin, and stode a-side with x^M on a part by hem-self. And than Merlin called the kyng Ban and seide, "Kynge Ban, com forth gentill knyght, for ye shull lede the secunde bataile, and ther shull be x^M in youre companye, and we shull se how well ye shull do for the socoure of youre londe, and how ye will yow a-venge vpon Claudas for the damage that he doth in youre reame, and doth purchase euery day." "Sir," seide the kyng Ban, "so be it as ye will devise, and yef ever I shall haue ioye, it is thourgh god and yow, and by my lorde the kyng Arthur." Quod Merlin, "Go, dissever youre peple, and a-raie hem a-noon for to ride a-gein her enmyes." *Than the kyng Ban dissevered oute x^M men on a part of yonge knyghtes and noble men of armes. After that Merlin cleped the kyng Bohors, and seide, "Sir, ye shull lede the thirdd bataile, and in youre companye shull be the foure hundre knyghtes of the londe of the kyng Amaunt, and of hem of Carmelide, so that ye be x^M men well araied, and whan tyme is sette yow on the wey delyuerly, and loke that in yow faile no chyalrie, ffor now shall it be sene how ye will do for to delyver youre enmyes oute of youre londe." "Sir," seide the kyng Bohors, "we shull do as will vouchesafe, the beste that we may;" and than the kyng Bohors dissevered his peple, and made hem to be armed and lepe to horse.

Vlfin is to bear his baner.

Merlin calls Ban, and tells him to lead forth ten thousand men.

*[Fol. 135b.]

Merlin tells Bohors to lead the third company.

Merlin tells Arthur to lead the

Then seide Merlin to the kyng Arthur, "Sir," quod he, "ye shull lede the fourthe bataile, and in youre com-

panye shall be the knyghtes of the rounde table, ffor thise shall not faile yow for no drede of deth." Than the kynge comaunded Nascien, and Adragain, and Hervy de rivell, to arme and aray hem; and thei so diden in all haste. Than toke Merlin the dragon and cleped kay the stiward, and seide, "Sir, ye shall bere the baner of the kynge Arthur, for it is youre right; and loke that in yow be shewed knyghthode, and wote ye what ye shall do. Ever whan ye come vpon youre enemyes loke that ye ride streight to the grete baner." And Kay toke the baner and seide, "Sir, with goode will." Whan these wardes were departed and dissevered, it was wele a-boute mydday, and thei made hem redy and sette hem to mete; and whan thei hadde eten, the lordes yode to counseile, for to aske Merlin what thei sholde do. Quod Merlin, "I shall telle yow this nyght at the firste somme ye shall meve so that to-morow at even ye be at Trebes; and thei ly ther at sege in foure places, ffor euery prince holdith his siege by hym-self; and in euery part is **xx**^M men and euerich of oure wardes shall go smyte on euery hoste, so that thei be assailed on alle foure partes. But thei make gode waicche and stronge, and ther-fore we moste worke wisely." "How, Merlin," quod Arthur, "have thei than moche more peple than we haue?" "Ye, Sir," quod Merlin, "more be the haluendell; but ye shall haue feire socour of **xx**^M men that shall come to yow all be tyme, ffor thei loigge but foure myle from the hoste, with-ynne the foreste of brioke." "And how shall thei knowe oure comynge?" quod the kynge. "Sir," seide Merlin, "I shall go for to fecche hem." "Who shall than condite oure hoste?" quod the kynge. "Blioberis," seide Merlin, "shall go be-fore that well knoweth the passages by the wey that I shall hym tecche, and in the dawninge of the day loke ye sette on alle to-geder ther as ye shall here an horne blowe right high and lowde, and ye shall se a grete flame of fier renne a-bove in the heir on high, and ther-of take goode hede; ffor than shall the socour be redy that I shall yow sende." "Sir," seide the kynge, "whan shall ye meve thidirward?" "A-noon right," quod Merlin, "for in this may be no taryfge, and ther-fore to god I yow comaunde."

fourth com-
pany,

and gives
Kay the
dragon to
bear. ✓

The Lords
ask for Mer-
lin's advice.

Merlin tells
them they
shall be suc-
coured with
twenty thou-
sand men.

Blioberis is
to lead the
host.

*[Fol. 136a.]
Merlin
vanishes,

and comes
into the host
of Leonce;

they make
great joy
when they
hear of Ar-
thur;

they divide
the people
into four di-
visions.

Arthur
moves on
his journey,
and Blioberis
rides first to
lead the way.

The singing
of the birds
cheer the sol-
diers;

*With that departed Merlin from the kynge Arthur, and a-noon, as he was oute of the hoste, he vanysshed a-vey so sodeynly that thei wiste not where he be com, and er it was passed noone of the day he com into the hoste of Leonces of Paerne, that a-boode nothinge elles but tidinges that he sholde lepe to horse; and than com Merlin be-fore hym ther as he and Pharien were, and Antyaume and Grascien. And than seide Merlin, "Leonces, what a-bidest thou? whi got thou not to horse, thou and thy peple? ffor thou canst not come so soone thider, but thou shalt fynde ther the kynge Arthur with all his hoste." And whan he vndirstode that, he made hym grete ioye, and seide that he was welcome, and so seide all the companye; and a-noon thei asked tidinges of their lordes, and he seide that in short tyme thei sholde hem well seen, "ffor thei ride now a grete spede; but devise a-noon youre wardes and I shall lede yow to the hoste." "Sir," seide Leonces, "gramercy, ffor now knowe I well that we shull spede well while ye be in oure companye." With that wente the foure felowes, and departed her peple into foure parties, and the stiwarde toke v^M and dissevered hem on a part, and Grascien other v^M, and Pharien other v^M, and Leonces toke theym that was lefte, that were well v^M and moo, and made hem to be well armed and a-rayed. But now cesseth a while of Merlin, and of leonces, and speketh of the kynge Arthur and his companye.

Now seith the storry that as soone as the kynge Arthur and Merlin were departed; the same hour Arthur dide meve on his iourney euery warde after other, and Blioberis rode in the warde of sir Gawein all be-fore, as he that beste knewe the passages. Ther myght oon haue seyn many a riche garnement and many a fressh baners of riche colour wave in the wynde, and the seson was myri and softe, and the contre feire and delitable, ffor many feire medowes and forestes ther weren, in whiche these briddes singen with lusty notes and cler, and than reioyse the corages of these yonge lusty bachelers that to conquere loos and pris and honour haue lefte their londes and her contreyes, and the swete songe of these briddes remembred their armours whiche

thei were wonte to haue the presence, and some dide sighe full ofte, and so thei ride forth all the nyght till it was cleir day, and whan thei be-heilde a-boute hem and saugh, thei knewe not in what parte thei weren; ffor so moche thei entended to theire myry thoughtes that hem plesed that all other thinge was leide a-side. With that thei be come into a feire launde full of floures vpon the river of leire; and this launde was full of floures and swete herbes and grasse that the horse wente ther-ynne vp to the belyes, and ther thei resten all the hoste of Arthur all the day vnto euesonge tyme, and ete and dranke thei that ther-to haue nede, and slepe at her ese for the place was pl[e]saunte and delitable, and than thei hem armed more and lesse and lepte to horse, *ffor thei hadde but vij myle for to ride to the hoste ther as was Claudas. Ther sholde ye haue sein many fressh lusty men of armes vpon stronge startelinge stedis, and swyfte rennynges well covered vnder stiell, and many a riche cote of armes of silke embrowded of dyvers colours, and many a grete spere with trenchaunt hedes of sharp grounde steill, and many an helme and many a shelde glistred a-gein the sonne, and rode so cloos oon after a-nother that whan thei were renged that oon myght have caste a glove vpon theire helmes that sholde not have falle to grounde, er thei hadde ride a butte lengthe. And Blioberis rode in the vaungarde with sir Gawein, and the kyng Ban in the secounde warde with x^M men of armes, and rode a softe paas, theire sheldes be-fore theire brestes, with goode talente to assaile theire enmyes and hem-self to diffende, and rode half a myle after the forewarde. Whan the kyng Bohors saugh his brother forth than he dressed hym and his peple after vpon her wey, and hadde many a bolde knyght and hardy, and that was well seene that day in the bataile be-fore the castell of Trebes. And he cowde hem lede and condite and hem helpe and socour in euery nede, whan the kyng Bohors was departed and dissevered. Than Arthur and his peple made hem redy to folowen after, and whan they were on horse ye sholde haue sein many a riche garnement and many a bolde knyght that neuer wolde faile the kyng Arthur for no drede of deth. And Kay rode with the baner in his hande

they come
to a land full
of flowers,

and rest till
evening;

the men arm
themselves
*[Fol. 138b.]
and leap to
horse;

they ride
close to one
another:

Blioberis
rides in the
Vanguard
with Gawein.

then comes
Ban;

then Bohors.

Arthur and
his people
make ready
to follow.

Kay rides
with his ban-
ner.

that Merlin hadde hym delyuered; and thus thei ride streite and cloos after the kynge Bohors the space of half a myle, and thus thei rode all the nyght till a litill be-fore the day that thei were oute of the foreste of brioke, and were come into the playn and com alle after a longe while be the river vnder leyer vnder the wode side, where as thei resten vnder the Olyves till thei sie the signe that Merlin hadde hem tolde of the braundon of fier that sholde renne vp in the heir; and that thei herde the noyse of the horne that sholde blowe; and thei approched so nygh the hoste that it was but v bowe draught be-twene; and thei saugh in the hoste was grete plente of lightes and moche peple, and thei herde the horse neye and the mules crie often, and thei were so nygh that ech hoste herde the noyse of other, and thei that kepte waicche at the siege sente oute men on horsbakke to aspie what peple it were, and thei yeden oute and saugh their armes and returned agein to the hoste, and tolde how thei hadde founde grete plente of men of armes. Whan thei of the hoste herde these tidinges thei ronne to arme hem, and issed out of the loges and renged hem in the playnes euerich at his baner, and eche man, lete other haue witinge that a grete armee was come vpon theym and thei wiste not what peple. And Pounces and Antonye, that moche cowde of werre, issed oute of the hoste all armed in to the foreste of Bryoke, in to the wodes evese ther as thei sholde come, and comanded her peple hem for to sue, and thei so dide delyuerly as soone as thei were armed. And frolle the Duke of Almayne come oute after and made his *stable vpon a litill river that is cleped Aroaise, and Randolf the senescall of the kynge of Gaule come by the gardins, and Claudas the kynge de la desert sette hym towarde the cauchie towarde the maras that com out strongly from the loigges, and from pavelouns and gadered to the baners.

And while thei entended to make hem redy and sette hemself in aray, in the mene tyme, Merlin com oute of his enbusshement that wele knewe all theire labours. Than he toke an horne and blewe it so lowde that all the wode resounded, and than he caste a mervelouse enchauntement ffor he made appere, and high in the heire a grete flame of fire as reade as

They come
out of the
forest of
Brioke,
and rest un-
der the
olives;

they
approach the
host.

Those that
kept watch
send out
spies.

They run to
their arms.

Pounce An-
tony comes
into the
forest of
Brioke.

Frolle, Ran-
dolf, and
*[Fol. 137a.]

Claudas
make them-
selves ready.

Merlin blows
a horn,

and makes a
flame of fire
appear in the
air;

thunder, and ran ouer the loigges of hem in the hoste, and whan that Arthurs peple saugh the flame of feir renne thourgh the heir, and also herde the horne blowe, thei hem blessed and smote the horse with the spores, and it fill so that Gawein smote thourgh the herberough of the Duke ffrolle, and the kynge Ban thourgh the tentes of the kynge Claudas de la desert, and the kynge Bohors thourgh the Pavelouns of Pouncey and Antony, and the kynge Arthur thourgh the loinginge of Randolf the Senescall of Gaule, and than a-roos the noyse and the shoute on bothe parties, ffor ther was throwe down many a tente and many a paveloun, and many a man wounded and slain of hem that weren at the siege in the loigges, ffor thei were not alle garnysshed of her armour, and these other hem slough and maymed, that the wounded men cried and braied for the peynes of deth that hem distreyned; and than the sonne be-gan to a-rise elier vpon the bright armure that be-gan to glistere a-gein the bright sonne. Whan Claudas and Pounce Antony and ffrolle saugh the damage that these hem diden, hit hem for thought sore, ffor thei trowed well that thei hadde loste x^M of her men what oon and other, and the Duke ffrolle hadde loste moste of eny other, saf Randolf the Senescall that saugh the grete mortalite that these hem diden that were come out of her enbusschement; he was nygh wode for wratth, and than he com bakke toward the tentes that he hadde lefte, for to geder his p[ep]le a-boute hym, and yef he and the other ne hadde not returned a-gein to the teintes th[at thei]¹ hadden lefte, by my dom, ther hadde not ascaped the halvendell,² and whan sir [Gawein³] saugh ffrolle come, he rode a-gein hym right boldely, and he hadde in his companye [many bolde⁴] knyghtes that were yonge bachelers, and ffrolle hadde yet in his companye xv^M men of⁵] armes, and v^M hadde he loste that lay deed all to-hewen, and whan thei [hadden drawen⁶] nygh thei smote to-

then
Arthur's peo-
ple spur
their horses.

Gawein falls
upon Frolle,
Ban upon
Claudas, Bo-
hors upon
Pounce and
Antony, and
Arthur upon
Randolf.

The wound-
ed men cry
out.

Claudas,
Pounce An-
tony, and
Frolle find
they have
lost ten thou-
sand men.

Frolle is al-
most mad
with wrath.

Gawein rides
against
Frolle.

¹ A hole is burnt through a portion of folios 137 and 138. The missing words have been translated from the French MS. in the British Museum (Addit. MS. 10,292) and are here inserted between brackets. The number of the folio in the French MS. is marked at the first reading from each page.

² The French omits all the words from *and yef* down to *halvendell*.

³ Fr. fol. 154,

⁴ *moult de hardis*.

⁵ *M* hommes.

⁶ *sentraprochent*.

Frolle and
Seigramor
meet
together ;

both fall to
the ground.

They fight
with their
swords.

*[Fol. 137b.]

Gawein and
Ulfin ride to
the rescue of
Seigramor.

Seigramor
and Frolle
are both set
on their
horses.

Gawein
smites down
man and
horse.

Gaheries is
held to be the
best knight
after Gawein.

Ban fights
hard with
Claudas.

geder as faste as theire horse myght renne, and at the me[tynge of the] hostes¹ was Seigramor formeste, and frolle that was right wrorth com hym [agein and²] he was a moche knyght and of grete force, and Seigramor and he mette with sper[es right?] in mydde the sheldes so rudely that bothe fill to grounde, and theire horse vpon theire bodyes, but a-noon thei were lepte on foote, ffor thei were bothe stronge and light and delyuer, and thei drough swerdes oute of scauberk and couered theire hedes vnder sheldes and eche ran to other and be-gonne betwene *hem two a bataile right grete and crewell, and yaf be-twene hem soche strokes that sore were thei hurt, and ther ne was nother of hem but he was in grete pereile of deth er he hadde eny socour, ffor bothe were thei goode knyghtes and theire suerdes were soche that no man nede to seche noon better, and thus thei fought a longe tyme er thei were departed. When Gawein saugh Siegramor at erthe he rode to the rescowe, bothe he and Vlfin that bare the baner; and on that other side com the meyne of frolle to delyuer theire maister. And thei smote togeder with speres thourgh sheldes and many ther were leide to grounde on bothe sides, ffor the bataile was grete and fell that longe endured; and with grete labour were bothe Segramor and frolle sette on horse, and than be-gan a-gein the bataile so grete that it dide but enforce more and more. Ther dide merveillously well the xl knyghtes that with hem were companyed. But after mydday was passed was no mannys doinge like vnto Gawein, ffor he smote a-down man and horse be stroke of spere and suerde; and also dide well sir Ewein the sone of kynge Vrien and Ewein a-voutres, and Ewein white hande, and Galashin the sone of kynge Ventre of Garlot; and Gaheries dide so well that every man hilde hym the beste knyght after sir Gawein, and also dide well Agraunain and Gueheret and Segramor and alle the other felowes.

On that othir side faught the kynge Ban full harde with the kynge Claudas and his peple, and ther was stronge bataile and many were ther throwen down to the grounde vpon either

¹ assambler des os.

² fol. 154b. li vint al encontre et

side; and happed so that the kyng Ban and Claudas metten in myddell of the renges that were grete and perilouse, and as soone as eche hadde sight of other, thei ronned to-geder with swerdes drawn, and Claudas was a noble knyght and a sure and moche and stronge, but he was euer enuouse a-gein alle tho that were a-bove hym, and he smote the kyng Ban so harde vpon the helme that the [spar]keles¹ of fire fly oute brynnynge bright and astoned hym so sore that he enclyned on h[is horse]² nekke; but with grete vigour a-roos the kyng Ban and smote at Claudas to hitte hym [on t]he³ helme, and he saugh the stroke come and wevyd a-side, and he smote so the horse [nekke p]assing and kutte⁴ a-sonder the chyne, that he fill to grounde; but a-noon he lepe on foote [ryght hastely⁵], but yet er he myght a-rise the kyng Ban yaf hym soche two strokes vpon the he[lm]e that ne[re] he⁶ made hym to falle on knees and handes to the erthe, that the blode braste o[ute of his h]ede,⁷ but the kyng Claudas was of grete force and hym kepte so that he fill not [but cover]ed his heede⁸ with his shelde, and com to the kyng Ban and be-gan be-twene hem [sore?] stronge bataile that was full crewell and fell and longe enduryng.

They run together with drawn swords.

Claudas smites Ban,

who rides and smites^a Claudas, and kills his horse;

he makes him fall on his knees.

Than be-gan the kyng Claudas to blede sore, and soone hadde the werre be fynnyshed for euer more, yef thei two myght eny while lenger have ben to-geder. But his *men hym socoured strongly, whereof he hadde mo than the kyng Ban by the haluendell; and so were the peple of kyng Ban gretly ouer-charged, ffor thei were but x^M¹, and thei with the kyng Claudas were yet xvij^M¹, and not-with-standinge thei fought so on bothe parties that the two kynges were remounted, and than be-gan the chaple full dolerouse and crewell and full mortall, but nedes moste the peple of kyng Ban refuse place, and yef he hym-self ne were alle hadde ben discourtfited and driven oute of the feilde, but he sustened the bataile so that noon myght hym remeve more than it hadde ben a-dongon, and thus

Claudas bleeds sore,

*[Fol. 138a.] but his men succour him.

The two kynges are remounted,

he sustains the battie.

¹ estincheles.

² son cheval.

³ parmi le.

⁴ col del cheual si le colpo.

⁵ moult iustement.

⁶ que par poi quil.

⁷ parmi la bouce et parmi le nes.

⁸ si iete lescu sor sa teste.

thei contened longe in this maner till that mydday was passed.

Bohors and
Pounce fight.

Pounce is
very wrath
at the loss of
men.

Bohors rides
against him
boldly;

they meet
together.

Pounce
breaks his
spear on Bo-
hors, who
gives him a
great wound,

and bears
him to the
ground.

Pounce's
men run to
him,

and rescue
him.

He is sor-
rowful.

On that othar side faught the kyng Bohors and Pounce and Antonye at the tentes and pavelouns, so that moche peple were loste of hem that were there lefte, ffor ther thei loste the lyves; and whan Pounce and Antonye saugh the damage so grete that so sodeinly was hem be-fallen he was wonder wroth and sorowfull; and whan he hadde assembled his men by the foreste where as thei dide a-reste, thei repeired toward the tentes where thei made this occision of hem that thei founden, and whan the kyng Bohors saugh hym come he rode a-gein hym full boldly, his shelde aboute his nekke, with a grete growe spere of aissch with a sharp heede of stiell, and whan Pounce saugh hym come he launched in to the felde a-gein hym and smote the horse with the spores a-gein hym in soche haste as he that trowed to haue taried to longe, and mette to-geder with all the myght of bothe horse that thei perced the sheldes, and Pounce brake his spere vpon the kyng Bohors, and the kyng smote hym so rudely that he made the shelde and the arme close to his side and sente the spere heede thourgh shelde and side and made hym a grete wounde so that the reade blode railed oute after, and he shof ther-on so harde that he bar hym to the erthe vp-right, and ther he lay longe astoned that noon wiste wheder he were [deed or] a-lyve,¹ and whan his men saugh hym falle thei hadde grete drede lest he w[ere deed²] and ronned to the rescouse bothe gret and small, and the meyne of kyng Bohors com[e hem agens and] hem resceyved³ at the spere poynte and ther was grete turment and mortall [occision, for on] oon parte were but xx^M and on that other side were xx^M,⁴ and Pou[nce and Antonye was rescowed and⁵] sette on horse, and his men founde hym somdell wounded [in the left side, but he had no wound that was like unto his⁶] deth, but he was more sorowfull for that he [had been

¹ mort ou uif. ² quil ne fust mors. ³ lor uient al encountre et les rechouient.

⁴ fol. 155. car il furent dune part xx^M et dautre part x^M.

⁵ si fu pounce antoinnes rescous et.

⁶ el coste senestre, mais il nauoit nu plaie que perilleuse fust a garir.

remeved out of his sadell than he was¹] for greef of his wounde, ffor neuer be-fore [that tyme had he fought with any] knyght that myght make hym remeve oute of his sadell,² and [ther-for he wold right faine be] a-venge of that shame³ yef he myght come in place, and t[han al sodeynly he droughe⁴] his swerde and rode in a-monge the turnement that longe tyme endured [and at the laste it⁵] fill so that Pounce mette with the kyng Bohors that of hym-self shewde mer-velouse dedes of armes, and as soone as he hym *saugh he remembred how he hadde hym vn-horsed and wounded, and a-noon he ran vpon hym with his swerde drawen and smote the kyng vpon the helme that he made hym to enclyne on his sadell bowe be-fore, and whan Pounce wolde have recovered a-nother stroke, the kyng spored his horse in to the stour and than returned the horse hede and com with his swerde in his hande; and also Pounce com a-gein hym that moche hym hated, and thei hewen vpon helmes grete strokes that bothe were astonyed. But theire strokes were not alle I-like, ffor Pounce smote the kyng vpon the helme that he enclyned vpon his horse crowpe, and the kyng redressed hym and yaf hym soche a buffet vpon the lefte temple that the blode braste oute of mouthe and nose, and ther-with he hurteled so harde on hym with strengthe of his horse that Pounce fell to grounde and was so astonyed that he knewe not wheder it were nyght or day, and the kyng rode ouer hym on horse bakke all armed so often, that he was all for brosed and swowned for anguyssh, and the kyng hadde grete talent to a-light for to smyte of his heede, but he hadde hym not a-right at his volunte.

Whan the Romaynes saugh Pounce so diffouled vnder horse feet of hym that nothings hym loved thei dide presse to the rescowe and smyten thourgh the peple of kyng Bohors all pelly melly, and made hem resorte bakke more than a bowe draught for thei were many mo than were with the Kyng.

He rides
back,

and meets
Bohors.

*[Pol. 138b.]

He smites
him.

Bohors
smites
Pounce to
the ground
and rides
over him. 21

The Romans
come to the
rescue of
Pounce.

¹ fu cheus que.

² car onques mais nauoit widiet le archons pour le cop dun chevalier.

³ si vengeroit moult uolentiers sa honte.

⁴ si traist.

⁵ et lors auint.

They remount him.

They are double the number of the people of Bohors.
King Arthur fights against Randolph,

who brings 13,000 men.

Arthur's men desire to fight.

Many are slain.

The French are routed.

Arthur's men come upon the people of Pounce.

Ther was Pounce remounted full egirly ; but sore was he diffouled and beten. Than the stour be-gan to renewe, and the peple of kynge Bohors were at grete myschef, for there enmyes were double so many as thei were. But in this manere thei contened till mydday was passed, and on a-nother part the kynge Arthur faught full fiercely agein Randolf the Senescall, and the ffrensshemen, ffor he fonde hem in pavilouns moo than vij^M that alle were to-hewen and slayn ; and whan Randolf saugh the grete losse and the damage, he was full sory, and in grete ire com hym a-geins with xiiij^M men that weren lefte, and thei were bolde and hardy and desirouse to ben a-venge of the deth of her frendes that thei saugh slayn be-fore theire [iye]n and¹ Arthurs men com hem a-geins as tho that were desirouse of the werre, [and then they hadde]² a goode conditour that sette light by theire enmyes, for hem semed [that they were in nombre eue]n³ as many for as many, and resceyued hem at the spere poynte [and they lefte there of wounded] and slayn grete plente,⁴ ffor ther was many a ga[l]lant knyght slayn and beheded, the which was gret dole a]nd sorowe⁵ to her frendes, ffor ther were the [knyghts of the round table the which dide grete⁶] wondres, for thei bar down man and horse ; th[at nothinge myght stond ageyn hem. And they] with the kynge Arthur⁷ hem helped so well that he scowred th[e ranks clene whersoever] ther as he com,⁸ aud thourgh her grete prowesses were the frensh [rowted and dryven owt of] the felde, maugre who that it grucedh,⁹ that thei neuer stynte till [thei] re[tourn]ed¹⁰ upon the peple of Pounce and Antonye that right sore greved the kynge Bohors.

¹ iex si.

² et orent. *Aürent, oïrent, Orent*, is the third pers. pl. perfect of *avoir* in the Burgundian dialect of the Langue d'Oïl. Burguy. Gram. i. 247.

³ car il uirent quil furent pris.

⁴ si en laissent moult de mors et de naures.

⁵ uassal ochis et decopes dont il fu grant duel.

⁶ Illuec firent merueilles li cheualier de la table reonde.

⁷ et auoec els estoit lirois artus.

⁸ qui faisoit les rens esclairier par tout lo il aloit.

⁹ et fissent tant par lor procece quil les ont rompus et iete de place a fine force ou il uoïssent ou non.

¹⁰ deuant quil uindrent.

* And whan these com on ther was so grete toile and romour of noyse that wonder it was to heere, and ther-with a-roos so grete a duste, that the cleir sky wax all derk, and Kay hem pursude with the dragon in honde that Merlin hadde take hym to kepe, and hit caste oute of his throte many tymes so grete flames of fiere up in to the heire so horrible that alle theire hertes trembled of hem that neuer hadde seyn it be-fore, and seide oon to a-nother that the worlde was nygh at an ende; and, neuertheles, the dragon had grete significacion in hym-self, ffor it be-tokened the kynge Arthur and his power; and the flame of fiere that com oute of the throte be-tokened the grete martire of peple that sholde be in his tyme, and the taile that was so tortuose be-tokened the grete treson of the peple, be whom he was after be-traied that dide a-rise a-gein hym by mordred his sone that he be-gat on his suster, the wif of kynge loot as ye haue herde rehersed be-fore, ffor whan Arthur after passed ouer see to fight with the Emperour of Rome, and to take the reame of Gannes and of Benoyk for the wratthe of launcelot, that hadde hym lefte for a maltalent that was be-twene hem two for his wif, the quene Gonnere, that he was so moche with a-queynted as the tale shall declare here-after; but of alle these maters we shull cesse at this tyme till that the mater falle ther-to here-after that it shall clerly be expounded.

Now seith the boke that grete was the bataile be-fore the Castell of Trebes of the peple of Randolf, and the meyne of kynge Arthur. But Randolfes men haue for-sake place, and were driven vpon the peple of Pounce and Antonye that full short hilde the kynge Bohors and his men that grete nede hadde of socour; and whan Pounce and Antonye sangh come theym that fledden, he com hem a-geins and cried his ensigne, and returned and ran firste upon the men of kynge Bohors; and whan these saugh hem comynge thei relien and closed hem to-geder, and lete renne at the meyne of Pounce Antonye; and the kynge Bohors was so ouercharged that he was nygh discourfited and dryven oute of the felde. But as Kay com that moche hem counforted, and tho be-gan a stronge stour and mortall, and many were ther

*[Fol. 139a.]

Kay pursues them with the dragon,

which is horrible to see;

the flame from its throat be-tokens the martyrdom of people, the tail betokens the treason of the people,

as the story will declare hereafter.

The battle is great before Trebes.

Randolf's men forsake the place.

Pounce runs upon the men of Bohors,

who were nearly discourfited. Kay succours them.

deed on bothe sides ; and than thei hilde hem somewhat *perin-*
gall; and also on that other side faught sir Gawein and frolle of
 Almayne that he made hem resorte vpon the kyng Claudas that
 faught a-gein the kyng Ban of Benoyk, that was at grete
 myschef; and whan these foure batailes were come to-geder that
 oon sustened longe that other, and grete was the martire and
 the noise of strokes of suerdes and gleives vpon helmes. But
 ther dide Gawein wondirfull dedis with his handes, ffor neuer
 had eny man seyn be-fore oo man a-lone do soche merveiles as he
 dide that day; and the storie seith that it was passed myd-day,
 and it fill that Gawein mette with the kyng Claudas that
 faught with the kyng Ban, he and a hundred with hym, and
 the kyng Ban hadde* no moo with hym but xix, and ther-fore
 was he at grete myschef; and whan Gawein com he made alle
 the renges to tremble and fremyssh; and whan he saugh the
 kyng Ban in soche distresse he rode in a-monge hem, with his
 suerde in hande, that was of grete bounte; and it happed that he
 mette firste with Claudas that sore hym peyned to greve the
 kyng Ban and his peple, and Sir Gawein lifte vp his swerde
 for to smyte the king Claudas vpon the helme, and he hym
 couered with his shelde; and Gawein hym smote so harde that
 he made it to fle in two parties, and the suerde descended upon
 the hynder arson of his sadell and slitte the horse a-sonder, that
 bothe fill to grounde, the horse and his maister; and so he rode
 forth and no lenger hym a-bode for that he knewe hym not,
 and mette so with Mysteres, that was a knyght of Claudas, and
 he smote hym on the shulder that he slitte hy[m] to the breste;
 and than he smote Antorilas that the heed fill in to the felde;
 and after he leide oute grete strokes on euery side, so harde that
 xx of hem hath he slayn be-fore the feet of kyng Claudas, and
 so he hym stired that noon durst hym a-bide a stroke.

Gawein does
wonderful
deeds.

He meets
King
Claudas,

*[Fol. 139b.]

and smites
him

to the
ground.

He meets
Mysteres
and smites
him and
Antorilas.

Ban thanks
God for the
succour, and
comes to
Gawein,

Whan the kyng Ban saugh the socour that god hadde hym
 sente, and he saugh the merveile of the yonge knyght;
 he thonked and worshiped oure lorde, and than he com to hym
 and seide, "Gawein, swete frende, ye be welcome at this grete
 nede, ffor, so helpe me god, the kyng Arthur hath well be-sette

the lordship that he hath yow yoven to lede and gouerne his peple, ffor to a better than to yow myght he not haue yoven in all this worlde to olde ne yonge; and I praye yow that ye wolde graunte me youre companye this day fro hens-forth."

and prays him to give him his company.

"Sir," quod Gawein debonerly, "I graunte it yow with gode herte, and I thanke yow of youre requests. But me be-houeth to seche my brethern and my cosins, for I wote not where thei be by-come and ther-fore displese yow nothings, for as soone as I haue hem founde, I shall to yow a-gein repaire." "Sir," seide

Gawein wishes to seek his brethern and cousins.

the kynge Ban, "I will gladly go with yow and peyne me to ben a-venge of myn enmy that ye dide vn-horse; and than were the werre at an ende yef he myght be deed or taken."

Ban will go with him, and be avenged of his enemy.

Than seide Gawein "whiche is he." "Lo," quod the kynge Ban, "yende is he in the blake armes flortee of siluer, and hath that shelde de-parted of vert and gowles, and ther-ynne a rampaunt lion of siluer, and he is now remounted while we haue thus spoken." "Sir," seide Gawein, "yet may we well come to poynte this same day yef god will." "Now lete

Gawein wishes to assault him;

vs yeve hem oon assaute, ffor lo me here all redy, for I desire nothings more than to do hym damage," quod the kynge Ban, "ffor by hym haue I all my harme that I haue, and that we alle be with I-greved." "What is he?" said Gawein. "Hit is Claudas de la desert," seide the kynge Ban, "that this day so sore hath me greved."

he asks who he is. Ban says it is Claudas;

"How," seide Gawein, "is this he that maketh alle these peple here assemble." "Ye, sir, with-oute faile," quod the kynge Ban; with that thei spored *theire horse that wey that thei saugh Claudas; and as soone as he saugh hem comynge, he com a-gein hem boldely, and be-gan the bateile stronge and crewell, and the kynge Ban, and Gawein, and the xx knyghtes a-gein the kynge Claudas, that hadde mo than an hundred; but thei were discourtfited and chaced oute of the place thourgh the prowesse of the two noble men; and whan the kynge Claudas saugh the damage turne vpon hym, he rode in to the medle, where he saw thickest, for sore he doutted to mete with hem that manaced hym of nothings but to smyten of his hede; and whan Gawein and the kynge Ban saugh hym

*[Fol. 140d.]

the battle begins.

Claudas rides into the thickest of the fight.

Gawein and
Ban follow
him.

Gawein sees
Agravain,
Gueheret,
and Gala-
shin.

Segramor,
Gaheries,
and the forty
fellows.

Gawein goes
to the suc-
cour of his
brethren and
friends.

Agravain
and Guehe-
ret are
down;

they leap up

go, thei preked after, and he rode here and there thourgh the bateile, and thei after, that for nothinge wolde hym haue lefte, saf for oon a-uenture that thei founde in the bataile he ne hadd neuer ascaped while that Sir Gawein and the kyne Ban entended to the bataile, and to Claudas that thei enchaced. Gawein saugh Agraun his brother ly on the grounde, and his horse vpon him; and Gueheret was on foote, with his swerde in honde; and also he saugh Galashin, his cosin, that ffrolle the Duke of Almayne helde be the nasell of his helme, and hadde in his companye moo than two thousande men that dide hym helpe, and longe tyme past thei sholde hym haue slayn ne hadde be Segramor of Costantynnoble, and Gaheries and sir Ewein the sone of kynge Vrien, and Ewein avoutres, and Ewein de lionell, and Ewein white hande, and Ewein Esclains, and Dodinell the sauage, and kay destranx and kehedin the litill, and the xl felowes that were in Carmelide with the kynge Arthur; these sustened all the bataile a-gein the two thousande that thei myght not take the thre knyghtes that weren down on foote, and often thei hem be-raften by fyn force; but now thei ben moche at the werse for thei ben wery and mate for trauaile; and whan Gawein saugh the myschef and the pereile of his brethern and his frendes, he seide to the kynge Ban that he be not displesed, for I se yonder my brother that I moste go for to socour and to helpe, for I owe not hym to faile for no drede of deth; and than he shewde to hym theym that were at grete myschef; and than seide the kynge Ban, "Sir, ride forth, for this may not be taried;" and tho thei rode as faste as the horse myght hem bere that thei made the renges to sparble a-brode, and smyten so tweyne the frste that thei mette, that thei were deed with-oute respite; and than thei com ther as Agraun and Gueheret weren down, and slough hem faste that thei myght a-reche with a full stroke so that noon durste hem a-bide, but made hem place the moste hardy and the moste vigerous, ffor soone were thei knowen for worthy men and gode knyghtes. Whan Agraun and Gueheret saugh the socour thei lept vp lightly, and eche of hem hente and horse, and

a shelde aboute her nekke, for I-nowe thei fonde a-boute hem; and whan thei were vp on horse-bak thei be-gonne a stronge stour, but Galashin was not all at his ese, ffor he was yet a-monge the horse feet, and that for thought sore to Gawein; and he hente a stronge spere and rode thider as Galashin* was at soche myschef, and smote in to the presse so harde that he caste down vij er he myght come ther as he was, and than he lowed his spere and smote ffrolle so harde thourgh the shelde that the spere hede stynte at the hauberke of maile. But he shof ther on so harde that he bar hym to the erthe vp-right so rudely that sore he was hurt in the fallinge; and than he hente the horse by the reynes, and anon made Galashin lepe ther-on, that ther-to hadde grete myster and hadde gode corage, and gode will to be a-venge of his damage yef he myght come in place; and so he dide withynne short tyme after; ffor as soone as he was vpon horse he smote in to the stour amonge his enmyes, wher he saugh the Duke ffrolle a-gein sette on horse a-monge his knyghtes and his men; and he ouer-threwe hym a-gein a-monge her hande dis-pitously, and rode ouer hym on horsebak vj or vij tymes er he myght haue eny socour of his men; and at eche tyme that he dide releve, he smote hym with his swerde to grounde that his men wende wele that he hadde be deed.

In this manere dide Galashin ouer-threwe the Duke ffrolle and hym diffouled er than his men myght come to voide hym oute of the place were thei neuer so woth for his anoye or his damage; all that Galashin dide to Duke ffrolle, Gawein shewde to the kynge Ban, and seide, "Sir, se Galashin, my cosin, how vigerously he hym conteneth, and boldly a-gein his enmyes." "Certes," seide the kynge, "who, that hath this Galashin in his companye may a-vaunte hym-self that he hath oon of the beste knyghtes of the worlde." At this worde that the kynge Ban spake, saugh thei alle the bateiles remeve; and that oo peple smyte thourgh the tother all pelley melley full desirouse eche other to a-paire and to damage with all her power, ffor the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and

when they see the succour.

Galashin is among the horse's feet.

*[Fol. 140b.]

Gawein smites down seven men;

he bears down Frolle,

and makes Galashin leap on his horse.

Galashin overthrows Frolle, who had been set on his horse again by his knights.

Gawein shows Ban what his cousin had done.

Ban says Galashin is one of the best knights in the world.

Ban, Bohors,

and Arthur
drive the
people of
Pounce and
Claudas up-
on those of
Frolle.

The four
wards assem-
bled to-
gether.

The people
of Claudas
are abashed.

Arthur
presses after
them.

*[Fol. 141a.]

The prowess
of Arthur.

The field is
covered with
dead.

The people
of Trebes
wonder at
the shout.
The two
queens come
on the walls;

they see the
dragon,

the kynge Arthur, and the knyghtes of the rounde table hane so do in the bataile that be fin force thei made the peple of Pounce Antonye, and Claudas men to resorte vpon the meyne of the kynge of Gaule and vpon frolle of Almayne, and these hem receyved well as noble men and gode knyghtes that weren full bolde and hardy and coraious in armes. Ther was grete entassement of men and of horse vpon hepes; and grete and huge was the duste that a-roos, that troubled sore theire sightes, and whan the foure wardes were to-geder assembled, as ye haue herde, ther was so grete foison of men and horse that wonder it was to haue seyn; and than thei closed hem to-geder straite eche to other. But sore were the peple of Claudas, a-baished of the perilouse metinges that thei hadde sein; and whan that the kynge Arthur saugh that these were so ascaped and medled a-monge the tother, he pressed after hem full vigorously; and than ther was grete bataile and stronge fight, ffor ther hadde the coward avauntour no nede to sitte by the chymnyes and a-vaunte that thei hadde nother herte ne hardynesse to be-holde hem and the prowesses of tho that hadde lefte londe and rentes to seche and conquere pris and worthynesse. *But lete vs speke of the two queenes that ben in the Castell of Trebes.

Full grete prowess dide Arthur and his compagne of the rounde table; and the kynge Ban and the kynge Bohors were nothinge at soiour, ne sir Gawein and his felowes, but dide soche occision of peple that alle the felde were couered of deed peple and wounded; and ther was so grete noyse, and so grete cry, that foure myle oon myght here the sound of hornes and trumpes; and whan thei of Trebes herde the cry and the shoute of peple, thei merveiled sore what it myght be, and wente vpon the walles for to se the merveiles; and the tidinges ther-of com to the two queenes that thei also become to the walles of the tower and be-helden oute of the wyndowes on high down in to the meedes and saugh the greteste nombre of peple that euer thei hadde seyn; and sye the dragon that Kay bare, that caste thourgh his mouthe so grete flames of

fire that all the heire that was so thikke of duste wax all reade ther as the dragon wente; and whan the ladyes and the peple of the town saugh that baner that neuer thei hadde seyen be-fore; thei hem blessedden for the wonder that thei hadden, and than thei dide enquire, and asked what peple thei were, and to whom that baner be-longed, and whan the messenger com to the bataile he mette with a knyght of the reame of logres that dide of his helme for to take a-newe, for his was all to rente, and the knyghtes name was Bretell; and the squyer com to hym and hym salude, and Bretell him ansuerde a-gein full debonerly. "Sir," seide the squyer, "I praye yow entirely that ye will telle me what peple ye be, that fight so with the peple of this hoste, yef it yow not displese for to telle;" "ffaire frende," seide Bretell, "now maist thow sey to hem ther with-ynne the Castell that yow haue hider sente. That is the kynge Ban and the kynge Bohors of Gannes that haue brought the kynge Arthur of the grete Breteigne for to rescewe their londes and their contreyes from their enmyes, that with wronge and synne be entred; but now is come the terme that thei shall be quyte of her merite, yef god kepe the force and the power of kynge Arthur, and lo ther is his baner with the dragon that the stiwarde bereth;" and whan the squyer vnderstode this, he comaunded hym to god, and thanked hym of that he hadde hym seide, and returned glad and myry for the tidinges that he hadde herde, and thought longe till he hadde it tolde the two queenes that were sustres, and rode as faste as the horse myght hym bere, till he com to the castell; but for no askinge that eny man cowde hym demaunde wolde he nothinge telle, saf that he seide who that will ought wite, lete hym come to the paleyse, and thus he passed forth; and whan the ladies saugh hym come, thei com agains hym for the grete plente of peple that thei saugh him folowinge, and whan he com be-fore the ladies, he tolde hem the tidinges so lowde, that alle that hym suwed myght it well vndirstonde, and hem tolde like as Bretell hadde hym *seide; and whan the ladies herde these tidinges, and thei that were with-ynne the place wiste it was

and wonder
at it;

they send a
messenger,
who meets
Bretell.

Bretell tells
him who
have come to
assist them.

The messen-
ger returns
glad;

he will tell
nothing till
he comes to
the palace;

he tells the
tidings to
the ladies so
loud that all
may hear;
*[Fol. 141b.]

the ladies are
full of joy,
and go to the
walls to see
the battle;

they see four
banners
come out of
the forest of
Brioke;

they are full
glad.

Ban shows
them to
Gawein,

and says that
their enemies
will soon be
put back.

Gawein
desires to
withdraw
and seek his
friends,

that the Ro-
mans may
say they did
not meet
with
cowards;

the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors that hadden brought the kynge Arthur, their lordes; they were full of ioye and yeden vp to the walles for to se the grettest bataile that euer they hadde seyn be-forn, and they foughten longe that they weren wery for traueile bothe oon a[nd] other. But they of the Castell hadde but litill while be-holden the bateile, whan they saugh come oute of the foreste of brioke foure baners that com full softe oon after another the space of a bowe draught, and whan the baners approched ner, they knewe the baner of Antyaume the senescall of Benoyk; and the seconde, Grascien of Trebes; and the thridde, Pharien; and the fourthe, Leonce of Paerne; and whan they of the Castell saugh hem they weren full gladde, and fayn wolde haue issued oute yef they myght haue hadde licence; ffor ther-ynne were gode knyghtes and worthi men; but it was hem deffended as dere as they loved their lyves, and Antyaume approched faste; and the kynge Ban be-helde and saugh comynge these batailes, and knewe hem well, and shewde hem to sir Gawein. "Sir," quod he, "nowe in shorte tyme shulloure enmyes be put bakke, and fayn to take flight for I se ther my baners that brynge vs riche socour, and they be moche to alowe;" "and where ben they?" seide Gawein. "Sir," seide the kynge Ban, "lo hem yonder," and shewde hym with his swerde, and whan that hem saugh he knewe well ther was gret strength of peple.

Than seide Gawein, "sir, now lete vs with-drawe a litill a-bakke, and seche outoure frendes and felowes, till that we haue hem founden, and assembled; ffor it may not faile but that ther shall be grete diffoulinge ofoure enmyes whan we be alle to-geder; and lete vs be all be-forn ther as ye suppose, whiche wey they will turne, and wite ye why I sey it; ffor whan they com ther as we be enbusshed that than they may be sore chastised, that whan the Romanys come in to their contre that they may say and recorde that they haue nother mette with ribaundes ne cowardes; and a-nother tyme to be well ware for to entre in tooure londes, and in to the fees of kynge Arthur, of grete Breteyne, and lete hem well wite that in the fin they

shull it not reioyse." "Sir," seide the kyng, "I will it be at youre volunte," and with that thei departed and drowgh a-side oute of the bataile, and the knyghtes of the rounde table alther firste, and the kyng Arthur, and the kyng Bohors, and after the xl knyghtes that were sowdiours in Carmelide; and after the xvj newe knyghtes, and whan thei were assembled, thei were thre hundred knyghtes that weren full noble, and worthi men, ffor thei were the flour of the hoste, and in the while that thei were thus disseuered, so be hem-self Antyaume, the senescall, smote in to the bataile with as grete randon as horse myght renne, and ther was many a spere spent, and many a sore stroke of suerdes. *Ther was the signe cried lowde of the kyng Ban, and of the kyng Bohors of Gannes, and ther was many leide deed to the grounde of men and of horse, whan that Grascien com so harde vpon hem that thei moste nede forsake place and spredde a-brode in the felde, and than be-gan the bataile so fell mortall that many a fre modres childe lay stiked, and slayn that litill hadde it deserued, where-of holy cherche was lessed full sore of xxⁱⁱ thousande peple that ther was slain of oon, and other and all that was for the vntrouthe of the kyng Claudas, that after er he dyed he hadde euell myschef; ffor he starf in grete age disherited as the story witnesseth; that Bohors toke so grete vengauce after that Launcelot hadde the reame of Logres in hande, after the deth of kyng Ban, and the deth of kyng Arthur; ffor he toke the heed all white hoor in the foreste of Darmauntes, where he mette hym in gise of a palmer; ffor he was departed oute of the reame with-oute knowinge of eny man with thre knyves wher-with he wolde haue morthered in treson, Bohors, and Lyonell, his brother, that were so noble and hardy, as the tale shall shewe yow heere-after; and ye shull here how thei were kept and norissed by Nymyane, the lady de lak that Launcelot brought vp tenderly till he was a knyght. But now of these maters cesseth at this tyme, and repire to speke of the bateile, how the hostes fighten in the playn felde be-fore the castell of Trebes.

they draw
aside.

Antyaume
smites into
the battle;

*[Fol. 142a.]

many men
and horses
are laid dead.

The end of
Claudas,

and how Bo-
hors takes
vengeance
on him after
the death of
Ban and Ar-
thur,

as the tale
will show
hereafter.

The wards of
Benoyk
enter.

Full grete was the bataile and the stour mortall, where as these wardes of Benoyk were entred, and medled with theire enmyes a-gein the peple of ffrolle, Duke of Almayne, and agein the peple of Pounce Antonye, that alle were entermedled with the peple of Arthur, that foughten full harde on that oo part and the tother; but whan thei were spradde a-brode in the felde oon cowde not well sey who hadde the better, ffor¹ thei on Claudas side were yet xxxv^m of fightinge men, and thei on kynge Arthurs side were xxviiij^m, and so thei helde hem

The 300
knights re-
fresh them-
selves.

The people
of Claudas
recover;

but the Ro-
mans, the
Almaynes,
and the peo-
ple of Gaule
are discom-
fited.

*[Fol. 142b].

Pharien
comes with
5,000 men.

Claudas tells
Pounce and
Frolle that
he will go
against the
new comers;

som-what peringall; ffor the thre hundred knyghtes were drawn oute on a part, and a-mended theire helmes, and refreshed theire bodyes, and as soone as thei were departed the peple of Claudas recouered, and drof hem bakke of the reame of Logres more than thre bowe shote fro the castell, and of fin force made hem forsake place, and the tentes and pavilouns that thei hadden take, and sesed; but in short tyme after the dedes wente all other wise, while that the Romayns, and the Almaynes, and the peple of Gaule, and of la desert peyned hem to discourfite² theym of the reame of logres and of litill Bretayne, that moche hadde I-hadde the worse, and all day be-fore hadde the better. Thei merveiled sore where theire prowessse were be-come; but thei were not ther that hadde don the merveiles in armes all the day *be-fore, and therefore were thei gretly discourforted; ffor thei knewe of hem no tidinges, and eche man hy[m] peyned sore to diffende his body, for well thei wende that thei hadde be deed that were wonte in enery nede hem to recouer, and while thei were in this turment Com Pharien of Gannes, with v^m men of armes, and whan Claudas saugh hem come, he knewe hem wele be the baner that ofte hadde hym greved in many dedes. Than he seuered a part of his peple, and seide to Pounce Antonye and to ffrolle that thei sholde haue mynde to do well, and breke her enmyes; "and I shall go a-geins hem that I se newe comen, and yef I may do so moche that I may putte hem to flight, we shall delyuer vs wele of the surpluis; and I do yow to wite that it is the

¹ The word "ffor" is repeated in the MS.

² The word "the" is inserted in the MS.

man that moste in this worlde hath me greved that hem doth gyde, and yef it myght so be that he were take or slayn, thei hadde loste oon of her beste membres." With that departed the kynge Claudas with x^m men of armes, and rode agein Pharien with her sheldes be-fore her brestes, with speres in fewtre and helmes enclyned; and Pharien com ageins hem boldely as he that was vigerouse, and of grete herte, and a wise werreour, and also a trewe knyght and moche of stature; and whan thei approached nygh thei lete renne to-geder as faste as horse myght hem beren, and at that metynge were many throwe to the grounde that neuer roos after; but at grete myschef were the peple of pharien; ffor Claudas hadde x^m, and he hadde but v^m; but yet ther was stronge bataile, and sore fightinge; ffor Phariens men were newe comen, and Claudas men were somewhat trauayled, so that thei loste more than dide Pharien, and yef thei hadde not be so many thei hadden alle be slain or discounfited; but in the ende Pharien be-houed to drawe bakke towarde the foreste fro whens he was comen, and whan Claudas saugh hem goinge he wende well all hadde ben venquysed, and kepte hem so short that thei hadde no power to recouer; and that made Pharien so wo that ner he yede oute of witte, and he cried, Gannes ofte, and many tymes the signe of kynge Bohors; but it a-vayled nought, but the preised knyghtes wente gentilmanly, of whom he hadde plente; ffor thei a-bode with Pharien be-hynde hem that fledden, and yaf many grete strokes that oon for the tother, but in the fin were thei euell ledde, till that leonce the lorde of Paerne hem socoured right vigerously; and Claudas and his men were so anguysshous vpon hem that thei desired for to discounfite, that er thei wiste Leonce smote in a-monge hem so harde that mo than a thousande he threwe to grounde, that fewe of hem a-roos after, for many of hem were deth wounded, and than thei that fledde recouered a-gein vigerously, as thei hadde not smyten no stroke of all the day. Ther was the bataile crewell and mortall on bothe sides, and on that othir side full harde foughten the peple of the reame of logres a-gein the thre princes, and grete slaughter ther

he rides
against
Pharien with
10,000 men.
Pharien
comes to
him.

There is sore
fighting.

Claudas
loses more
men than
Pharien,

but Pharien
is obliged to
draw back
to the forest.

He cries out.

Leonce suc-
cours him,

and throws
down a thou-
sand of the
men of
Claudas.

The people
of Logres

fight hard
against the
three
princes.

•[Pol. 143a.]

Merlin
comes to
Ban, Bohors,
and Gawein,
who were in
ambush, and
reproves
them;

he tells
Arthur and
Bohors that
they have
come to hide
their
cowardice.

He bows
down his
head for
shame.

Merlin re-
proves Ga-
wein and his
fellows,

was on bothe parties; but sore were thei of the reame of logres discourntifed, whan thei saugh not hem that sholde hem gouerne, and gyde, and yef ther hadde not ben *many goode and worthy men alle hadde thei be discourntifed, and driven oute of the felde; and Merlin that all this knewe wiste that thei were thus entirprised, he com thider as the kyng Ban, and the kyng Bohors, and sir Gawein and his felowes were enbusshed, and to hem he seide, "What, sirs, be ye come in to this cowntre to be-holde the turmentis, and the prowesses of the knyghtes of this cuntrey. Now trewly ye be worthy to haue grete blame for youre peple haue moche losse hadde seth ye wente from the bataile, and sore thei ben affraide that thei may not yow seen ne here of no tidinges, and for goddes love loke youre soiour be so dere to hem yolden that thei that ascape from youre handes may sey that thei of the reame of logres be nother knaues ne harlottes, but worthi men and goode knyghtes; and ye, sir," quod he to kyng Arthur and to kyng Bohors, "is this the werre and the helpe, that ye do to youre frendes that haue putte hem-self in a-uenture of deth for youre sake in many a nede, as ye well knowe ther as alle other haue yow failed, and ye be come hider to hide yow for cowardise; and wite it well it shall be to yow grete reprof of moche peple, and of yowre love more than eny other, that is, of Gonnore, the daughter of kyng Leodogon of Carmelide, whan she knoweth how ye haue spedde."

Whan the kyng vndirstode the worde of Merlin, he bowed down the heed for shame; but he spakke no worde er he hadde yoven a grete sigh, and he hadde grete drede lest Merlin were toward hym wroth. After that, Merlin yede to Gawein, and his felowes, and seide, "Sirs, where be now the grete prowesses that ye were wonte to atise oon to another er ye were knyghtes, and than afterwarde ye seiden ye wolde come turney with youre enmyes, and se how thei cowde bere armes; and now ye seyn hem goode knyghtes and sure, and for the drede that ye haue of hem be ye come hider yow to hiden, and ye ne haue nother herte ne hardynesse

hem to a-bide." And than he seide to kyng Ban and his brother, "And ye lordynges what be ye come to secche in this contrey that sholde be wise and goode knyghtes and hardy; and well ye haue it proved that mun knewe well I-nough longe tyme past, but whi haue ye trowed these cowardes that ben here that haue made yow here to hiden, whan ye sholde delyuer hem that for yow ben in a-venture of deth, for to helpe delyuer youre londe of youre enmyes; ffor thei may well sey whan thei come in to her contrey, that thei haue be in sory seruise whan ye haue hem lefte in her moste nede that thei hadde of yowe." "Trewly, sir," seide the kyng Ban, "we ne did it but for good." Quod Merlin, "How-so-euer ye do, euell haue ye wrought, and therefore loke that the damage that thei yow haue don be right, dere I solde that thei that yow ascape haue no cause for to a-vaunten." "Certes, sir," seide Gawein, "as for me, I knowe well I haue don right euell, not for than I shall lete hem well wite that I am not hidde, yef in me be so moche valoure, though I sholde be deed or all to hewen, and er I departe that shall thei knowe bothe the more and the lesse. Ne neuer cowardise that I shall do shall neuer the kyng Arthur, myn oncle, be reprevd, *yef god will while that I lyve, and therefore my frendes and my felowes and my bretheren, yef ye will be putte oute of blame seweth me; ffor soone shall be shewed that for cowardise I am neyther rested ne hidde."

and then censures Ban and his brother.

Ban says they hid to do good.

Gawein acknowledges he has done evil,

*[Fol. 143b.]

and asks his friends to follow him.

Than gan Merlin to laugh, and rode to Kay, the stiwarde, and hente the dragon oute of his hande, and seide he was not worthy to bere it; ffor the baner of a kyng sholde not ben hidde, and namly in bataile, but to be born in the forrest fronte; and than Merlin rode, forth and cried with lowde voyse, "Now lete se who shall me sewen, ffor soone shall be shewed who is a knyght." And whan the kyng Ban saugh hym go, he seide to kyng Bohors, his brother, that Merlin hath be a full noble man, and thus seide many of hem, and with-oute faile he was full of merveilouse prowesse and strengthe of body, and grete, and longe of stature; but broun he

Merlin laughs and rides to Kay; he takes the banner out of his hand.

The strength and prowesse of Merlin;

he never
laid hands
on any man
to do harm;

he rides on a
black horse
into the
battle.

Twenty-
eight squires
come out of
Trebcs, led
by Banyns.

Merlin's
company is
more than a
thousand.
The dragon
vomits fire.

Arthur slays
more than
two hun-
dred.
*[Fol. 144a.]

was, and lene, and rough of heer, more than a-nother man; but he was full well furnysshed of body and of membres, and a grete gentilman on his moder be-halue; but of hys fader I sey yow no more, for I-nough ye haue herde; but we finde not that euer he leyde honde on eny man for to do harme; but ofte whan he was in prees of peple, and bar the baner, with the breste of his horse he bar down, bothe men and horse.

Whan Merlin hadde take the dragon out of Kayes hande he rode formeste vpon a blakke horse that was stronge and swyfte, and whan he approached nygh the bateile he drof in a-monge hem so harde, that alle thei fremysshed and brunt ther as Pounce Antony faught, that sore hym peyned for to discournfite hem of Logres, and well he wende that alle the beste knyghtes hadde be slain, and therfore were thei full of hevynesse in the castell of Tebres, and ronne to armes moo than xxvii squyers, and issued oute alle on horsbakke, and Banyns hem ledde that was godsone to kyng Ban, and sone to Grascien of Trebes, and he was yet but xx^{ti} yere of age, and was of grete hardynesse, and a-noon smyten in to the bataile and dide right well as of squyers for knyghtes were ther noon, and yef that thei hadde not come so soone the other were euen at discournfiture.

Than com Merlin and his companye, that were mo than a thousande, what oon and other, and he bar the dragon in his hande that yaf thourgh his throte so grete braundon of fier that the air that was blakke of the duste and powder be com all reade; and thei that neuer hadde it sein be-fore seide it shewde well that oure lorde was wroth with hem whan he made soche a signe to a-pere, and than gan the chaunce to chaunge fro hem that hadde the better; ffor as soone as thei were comen, thei dide soche maistries of armes, that alle were a-basshed that weren hem a-geins, ffor ther dide the kyng Arthur wondres, for he caste his shelde at his bakke, and hilde his swerde in bothe hondes that was of grete bounte, and slough so many that noon myght a-gein hym endure; and the boke seith *that he slough mo than two hundred, where-of was grete harme to cristin that ther were so many deed, and all that

was for the reprof that Merlin hym yaf, and he hilde the reyne of his bridill in his lefte arme, and lete hym go ther as he wolde, and also the kynge Ban and the Bohors dide merveiles; ffor sore thei hem peyned to be a-venge of her enmyes, and were goode knyghtes and hardy, and euer hadde be a-bove alle the knyghtes that hadde I-ben in theire tyme.

Ban and Bohors do marvels.

Now seith the booke that the kynge Arthur was so depe paste in to the bateile, that they wiste not where he was be-come, and so was the kynge Ban and his brother, and whan the knyghtes of the rounde table it wisten thei gan make soche a disray a-monge hem that noon a-bode other, and so dide the xl knyghtes that ye haue herde rehersed, and the xvij yonge knyghtes, and be-gonne so sharpe medle, eche for other, that noon wiste which wey that thei turned, and ofte eche of hem loste other that day, and many tymes thei metten agein; at that returne dide Segramor wondres a-monge his enmyes, for the storye seith that he was oon of the beste knyghtes of the hoste; and so dide Galashin that often was he shewed, and mustred with the fynger on bothe sides, and so dide Ewein that no man nede sech a beter knyght, and the thre brethern of Gawein that all day helde to-geder that for nothinge wolde departe, and wonderly well were thei preised; and on that other side foughten the knyghtes of the rounde table that noon myght haue don better, and Adragain and Nascien and Hervy de revill made the renges to tremble ther as thei wente and com; but ouer alle other dide sir Gawein well that was so depe in a-monge his enmyes that noon cowde sey where he was seth he from hem departed; and thei sought hym sore vp and down on euery side, and Gawein serched so the renges that he mette Randolf the Senescall of Gaule, that a-noon he ran vpon hym, for he was a goode knyght and hardy, and Gawein hym smote in entirpassinge thourgh the helme to the sculle, and the horse bar hym forth and the suerde descended on the horse chyne, and kutte it a-sonder, that bothe fill on oon hepe; and than happed he mette Dodinell the sauage, and Kehedin the litill, in his wey that were smyten down of

Arthur, Ban, and Bohors go deep into the battle.

Segramor does wonders;

so does Galashin and Ewein, and three brethren of Gawein,—

Adragain, Nascien, and Hervy de Revill; Gawein is above all;

he meets Randolf,

and smites him to the skull;

he meets Dodinell, Kehedin, and Pounce.

her horse, and Pounce Antony kepte hem right short, and whan Gawein saugh hem at soche myschef he turned that wey, and made soche stightlynge a-monge hem that alle dide resorte bakke wheder thei wolde or noon, and these lept lightly to theire horse, ffor thei fonde I-nowe in the place, and than thei helde hem a-boute Gawein as longe as thei myght; but soone thei haue hym loste that thei ne wiste where he was be-come.

The knights
of the Round
table do
great deeds
as they seek
Arthur,

who is fight-
*[Fol. 144b.]
ing with
Frolle and
Pounce.

Gawein
comes with
his sword in
his hand.

Frolle smites
Arthur.

Gawein is
angry,

and snatches
a spear from
a man's
hand,

and smites
Frolle,

Grete was the stour and harde bataile be-fore the castell of Trebes, for the knyghtes of the rounde table dide maistres as thei yede sechinge the kynge Arthur thourgh the bateile, but thei cowde hym not fynde for he was so fer from hem meddelinge with *ffrolle and Pounce Antony, that hadde in her companye vij^o knyghtes of the beste of her hoste, and ther the kynge Arthur hadde with hem sharpe medle; but noon ne durste abide his strokes, and yet he was with-outen shelde, and he griped his suerde in bothe hondes, and whom that he raught a full stroke was so harde smyten that noon armure was his warante fro deth, and whan Pounce Antony and ffrolle hym sien, a-noon thei ronne vpon hym, and he faught with hem full harde, and many he slough and maymed a-boute hym, and than fill that Gawein com that way with suerde in honde, and thei than fledde on euery side, for his strokes durste not thei abide were thei neuer so hardy, and whan he saugh Arthur, his oncle, that faught with Pounce and ffrolle, and with hem xx knyghtes, and ffrolle hadde hym smyten with a spere be-twene the shuldres that he made hym to encline on his horse nekke, and yef the spere hadde holden he hadde fallen to grounde; and whan Gawein saugh the stroke that he hadde yoven his vncle he was ny wode for ire, than he putte vp his suerde and spronge in a-monge the Almaynes, and raced a spere from a knyghtes hondes so felly that he fill to grounde, and ther-with rode to ffrolle, and whan he saugh hym come he glenched for the stroke and girde in to the thikkeste presse, and Gawein hym chaced that lightly wolde not hym leve; but ffrolles knyghtes smote be-twene hem two, but Gawein hym smot so rudely thourgh the shelde and the

hauberke a-gein the lifte shulder that the heed and the shafte shewed on that other side, and he swowned for peyne that he felte, and his men assembled a-boute hym, and grete doell made, for well thei wende he were deed delyuered.

so that he swoons.

Whan frolle was vp of swownynge he made the tronchon to be pulde oute, and to bynde his wounde that sore bledde, and lept on his horse as well as he myght for sore it hym greved, and as soone as Gawein saugh hym falle he returned to his vncle that full harde faught with Pounce Antony, and with the peple of Randolf, that was remounted; and Randolf peyned to a-venge the stroke that he hadde of Gawein. Ther-with com Gawein in a-monge hem, and smote a-boute hym on bothe sides, that he hath delyuered his vncle and dide soche maistres that noon durste his strokes a-bide, ne holde place a-gein hem two; than fill that Gawein mette Pounce Antony, and hym soche a stroke on the sholder that the swerde kutte the boon, and in the ffallinge he hurte hym sore, and than he smote Randolf thourgh the helme in to the flesshe that he fill to grounde all blody, that alle men wende he hadde ben deed; and than the batailes ruseden and were driven vpon the bataile of kynge Claudas that faught with leonce of Paerne and Pharien, and whan alle these baners and alle these bateiles were assembled, thei smyte thourgh the bateile of Arthur alle entermedled; and ther than was grete harme on bothe sides, ffor thei that fledden stynted at the bataile of Claudas, and whan Arthur saugh hem thus go he cleped Gawein, and seide, "feire newew, holde yow a-boute me, *ffor me semeth that thei be goynge, and therefore kepe yow with me." "Sir," seide Gawein, "thei haue right to go, for the abidinge here for hem is not goode. But lete vs go faste after and helpe thei were discourfited." "In all haste than," seide the kynge; and while thei helde this talkynge, the Ban and the kynge Bohors com on with swerdes naked in her handes, all blody, and chaced and slough all that thei myght a-reche before hem; and of this happed well to Randolf and to Pounce, that thei were horsed a-gein er the chace was be-gonne; and

Frolle's wound is bound up and he leape on his horse.

Gawein returns to his uncle;

he smites on both sides of him;

he fells Pounce Antony

and Randolf.

Claudas fights with Leonce and Pharien.

Arthur tells Gawein to **[Fol. 145a.]* stay with him.

Ban and Bohors come with their sword in their hands.

The four are
joyful at
their meet-
ing ;
they meet
Nascien,
Adragain,
and Hervy.

Kay finds the
king's shield
and fears he
is dead ;

he follows
the chase till
he comes to
the battle of
Claudas.

Merlin
comes with
the dragon.

Gawein
smites
Claudas so
that he
swoons.

The men of
Claudas run
to succour
their lord.
Agravain,
Gueheret,
and Gaherics
do well all
day.

Claudas is
wounded
again ;

whan these foure frendes were mette thei made grete ioie, and than be-gan the chace after the other that fledden, and hem fill than a-uenture that thei mette thre of her felowes of the rounde table that well hadde don all the day, and that oon was Nascien, and that other Adragain, and the thridde hervy de Rivell, and than were thei vij full noble knyghtes and hardy ; and it was past noone, and the sonne was high and hoot whan the chace be-gan, and kay fonde the kynges shelde on the grounde liggyng, and he it saugh he hadde grete drede that the kyng were deed, and made a squyer take the shelde, and badde hym folowe after hym, for he wolde loke yef he cowde finde kyng Arthur.

And euer he folowed the chace a-monge other that stynte, neuer till thei come vpon the bateile of Claudas ther thei stynte longe, ffor thei were moche peple, and kay folowed so the chace till he fonde the kyng Arthur and the kyng Ban and his brother, and he was right gladde that he hadde hem so founden, and yede to hange his shelde aboute his nekke ; and than com Merlin with the dragon, and cried, " Now on hem, gentill knyghtes, for alle be thei discourtfited." And Gawein hadde hente a spere, and spronge be-fore and smote the kyng Claudas, that he perced the shelde and hauberke, and thourgh the lifte flanke, and shof ther-on so harde that he bar hym to grounde vp-right, and rode ouer hym on horse-bak, that Claudas swowned for sorowe ; and Gawein leide honde to his swerde and smote in to the thikke of the presse, and passed thourgh the stour as thikke as thei weren entassed, and his felowes spake moche of the prowesse that thei saugh hym do ; and Claudas men ronned for to rescowe theire lorde the more and the lesse, and drough hym oute of the presse with grete peyne, and sette hym on horse, and ther-with com Agravain, and Gueheret, and Gaherics, that wonderly well hadde don all the day, and whan thei saugh Claudas men assembled thei smote on hem so harde that thei made hem remeve place. Ther was the kyng Claudas a-gein born to grounde, and wounded in thre places with-oute the wounde he hadde of Gawein that

ner he was the deth, and was foule diffouled a-monge the horse feet; but yet his men haue rescowed hym, but firste hadde thei grete losse.

Grete was the bateile in the medowes be-fore Trebes ther as Claudas was vn-horsed, and remounted a-gein, and than fill that her bateiles sparbled a-brode, and that oon smote in a-monge that other, and tho departed Pounce Antony, and ffrolle the Duke of *Almayne, and Randolf of Gaule, and the kynge Claudas so euill araied, that vn-nethe myght thei ride, and the other were not alle in hele, and whan thei saugh the losse and the damage vpon hem so grete thei were nygh wood for anger, and asked what wey thei sholden goo. "Sirs," seide Claudas, "I rede we go to the desert, for that is the beste repeire that we haue; and the nexte, and we shull go by the foreste in the shadowe vnder molait, and olde wey that I knowe; but I am so euell a-raied that euell may I endure to ride," and while thei spake thus com alle the bateiles to-broken that oon vpon the tother. Than be-gan the chace so grete, and the duste to a-rise, that thei knewe not whiche wey to turne; and the kynge Bans men ouer-threwe and slough so many, that all the felde was strowed full of deed bodyes and wounded. And the kynge Bohors men wente be-fore to the passages, that thei knewe as soone as thei saugh this discourfiture, and Arthurs men hem enchaced full harde and straye and slowgh, and toke whom thei wolden, and ther the chace endured in this maner all the day till nyght; and ther thei hadde prisoners grete plente, and the kynge Claudas, and Pounce Antony, and Randolf, and ffrolle kepte hem-self as well as thei cowde; but litill peple thei ledde, ffor the booke seith that of lx^M that thei were at the bygynnyng ne ascaped not the haluendell, ne thei ledde not x^M, but fiedde thourgh the wilde foreste to saue their lyves.

the battle is great.

Pounce, Frolle, Randolph, [Fol. 145b.] and Claudas.

Claudas says they should go to the desert.

The chase begins to be great.

Ban's men overthrow many.

Bohors' men go to the passages;

the chase endures till night.

Claudas and the others save themselves, but not half of their people escape.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DREAM OF THE WIFE OF KING BAN ; THE DREAM OF JULIUS CESAR,
EMPEROR OF ROME.

The four
princes are
discomfited.

There is joy
and feast all
night.

Pharien and
Grascien
watch.

Ban, Bohors,
Arthur, Ga-
wein, and
the knights
go into the
castle.

The two
queens are
very glad.

They do
honour to
Arthur and
his company.

Arthur and
his fellows,
with Merlin,
are in a
chamber by
themselves.

Thus were the foure princes discourfited, as ye haue herde be the witte of Merlin, and whan thei hadde chaced hem to the nyght, thei returned with grete plente of prisoners, and com be-fore the castell of Trebes, where thei were loigged in tentes and pavilouns of thiers that were discourfited, and made grete ioye and feste all the nyght, for thei fonde the loigginges well stuffed of all that neded to man, that nothings failed, and whan thei were herberowed that nyght wacched the hoste Pharien and Grascien, that thei were not assailed of somme maner peple, and the kynge Ban and the kynge Bohors ledde the kynge Arthur and sir Gawein and the knyghtes of the rounde table, and the xl knyghtes that ye haue herde named, and the newe knyghtes in to the castell of Trebes where he made to hem grete ioye and feste, and were well iij^o knyghtes of the contrey ; and that nyght were thei well serued of all that be-hoved. But who that was gladde or noon ther was noon like to the ioye of the two queenes that were sustres, whan thei saugh theire two lordes that thei hadde so longe desired for to seen, and thei were yonge ladyes, and of grete bewte ; and gretly thei hem peyned to honour the kynge Arthur, and alle his companye, wher-to sholde I tarie to reherse theire seruise and the ese of softe beddes that thei hadde that nyght, ffor thei were serued richely as worthi men, and after soper thei wente to reste for ther-to hadde thei nede, ffor thei were wery for trauaile that thei hadde that day suffred ; and Arthur and Gawein, and Segramor, and Ewein, and Dodinell, and Kay, and Antor lay in a feire chamber by hem-self, and with hem

*was Merlin that from hem that nyght wolde not departe ; and the knyghtes of the rounde table, and the newe knyghtes, and the xl felowes layn in other chambers. And whan the kyng Ban and the kyng Bohors hadde hem loigged at ese thei wente to bedde with their wiffes, and lefte grete torches brennyng be-fore hem in chambres. That nyght shewed the two kynges grete love to theire wiffes. That nyght the queene Heleyne conceyved a childe by her lorde the kyng Ban, and whan thei were on slepe the wiff of kyng Ban fill in to a merveilouse drem that longe endured, that sore she was a-feerde whan she dide a-wake, ffor she semed that she was on a high mountayn, and saugh a-boute her grete plente of bestes of all maner kendes, that were in a feire pasture of grene grasse ; and whan thei hadde longe tyme fedde hem on the herbes, ther roos a-monge hem a grete noyse, that thei ronned that oon vpon the tother to dryve oute of the pasture, and thei turned in to two pastures ; and the two partes wente on oon side and hem ledde a grete lyon full huge and merveilouse, and on that other side where as were not so many by the haluendell was a grete crowned lyon maister leder, but he was not so grete as the tother. This lyon crowned hadde in his companye xvij lyonsewes crowned, whereof eche of hem hadde lordshippe and domynacion ouer the tother bestes that were turned to the lyon crowned ; and that other lyon that was not crowned hadde with hym xxxⁱⁱ lyonsewes that alle were crowned, wherof eche of hem hadde domynacion of a parte of the bestes that were drawe toward the lyon that was vncrowned, and whan these beestes were thus disseuered and departed, she loked toward the crowned lyon, and saugh iij^o boles that alle were teyed be the nekkes be-fore a grove, and ete at a rakke small grasse and herbes that was newe mowen ; and for the lyon vn-crowned semed thei hadde better pasture with the crowned lyon than hadde he, he ran upon hym for envye for to bereve hym his pasture, and toke a partie of his bestes that he made thre grete hepes, and thei lepe to fight with the crowned lyon that hadde his bestes departed in to xvij mouncels, and

*[Fol. 146a.]

Ban and Bohors go to bed with their wives.

The wife of King Ban has a marvellous dream.

She seems on a high mountain, and sees great numbers of beasts.

One side is led by a great lion,

the other by a crowned lion.

400 bulls are with the uncrowned lion ;

the crowned lion takes away some of his beasts ;

they fight.

The beastes
with the
crowned lion
turn back.

A great leop-
ard comes
out of the
lady's thigh.

*[Fol. 146b.]

The crowned
lion has
much the
worst of the
fight.

The leopard
helps him.

The un-
crowned lion
gets the leop-
ard on his
side.

The crowned
lion cries for
mercy.

Peace is
made be-
tween the
lions.

in eche mounsell was a lyonsewe that hadde lordshippes ouer hem to gouerne hem and gide, and the iiij^o boles that weren full fierce and full prowde and the xvij mouncells were with the crowned lyon, and smote be-twene hem the gretteste bateile that she euer hadde seyn or herde speke; but in the fyn the bestes with the crowned lyon be-houed to turne bakke, and the crowned lyon was sore a-dredde to lese his pasture; and while these beestes fought thus, as ye haue herde, the lady semed that a grete leopart full fierce and the moste prowde that euer was seyn, com oute of hir right thigh, and wente through a grete valey that was right depe, and whan he was entred in to the valey, the lady semed that a grete blaste toke a-wey her sight that she wiste not where he was be-come; and whan she *hadde hym loste he turned toward the beestes that yet were fightinge, and saugh that the crowned lyon and his bestes hadde moche the werse, and whan the leopart com oute of a grete foreste that was sauage, he be-hilde the bataile of the beestes full longe; and whan he saugh the crowned lyon hadde the werse, he yede to helpe hym, and ran vpon the beestes of the lyon vn-crowned that faught with hem so fiercely, that he made hem resorte bakke, and as longe as he was a-gein hem myght thei neuer hau the better of the bataile, and whan the lyon that was vn-crowned saugh he myght not haue the better while he was a-gein hym, he made departe the bataile and a-queynte hym with the leopart, till he drough hym on his partye, and ledde hym with hym. And the thridde day be-gan a-gein the bateile of the beestes as it hadde be by-forn, and the leopart was with the lyon that was vn-crowned; and the beestes fought so to-geder, that the crowned lyon turned to discounfiture, and he made signe to the lyon with-oute crowne that he sholde go crye mercy, and he so dide, and so was made the pees be-twene the two lyouns in soche maner that neuer after were in no wratthe to-geder; and than the lady be-hilde the leopart to wite yef she cowde hym knowe be eny wey, and at the laste hir thought it was the same that com oute of hir thigh that was so woxen and

a-mended, and hir thought that alle the beestes of the bloy Breteyne to hym enclyned, and all thei of Gannes and of Benoyk, and whan he hadde alle the lordship of these beestes she knewe not where he was be-comen.

The leopard
has lordship
over all the
beasts.

Thus she a-boode all nyght in this a-vision till it was day, and than she a-woke all affraied of the merveile of hir dreame; and when the kynge Ban saugh hir so affraied he asked hir what her eyled. And she tolde hym hir dreame as she hadde seyn in hir slepe, and whan she hadde all tolde, the kynge seide ther-of sholde come but goode with goddes grace. Than thei a-roos and wente to the firste masse bothe the kynge and his wif as erly as thei myght; but thei wolde not a-wake the kynge Arthur so erly, ne his companye that slepten sanourly for the grete trauaile that thei hadde the day be-fore, and the kynge Ban praied oure lorde with goode herte that he wolde yeve hym the deth soche tyme as he wolde it aske. And this prayour made he many tymes, till on a nyght in his slepe a voyse seide that his prayour sholde be trewe, and that he sholde haue the deth as soone as he wolde it aske the same day; but ones be-fore sholde he synne dedly in a-voutre er he dyed, but ther-of no to be dismayed, for he sholde ther-of well a-corde with oure lorde, and he was right a goode man in his feith and creaunce.

The queen
awakes.

She tells her
dream to
King Ban.

They go to
the first
mass.

Ban prays.

A voice
speaks to him
in his sleep.

In this dreame that the kynge Ban was, hym thought whan the voyse departed that it caste soche a crye as it hadde ben a thunder the grettest and merveillouse that euer he hadde herde, and he sprange ther-with so sore ther as he hilde the queene *in his armes, that nere he hadde fallen oute of the bedde that was grete and large; and the queene was ther-with so affraied that she myght speke no worde in a longe while, and the kynge hym-self so that he wiste not where he was. And whan the kynge was come a-gein in to his memorie, he a-roos and wente to cherche and was shriven, and than herde the servyse of oure lorde, and euer after as longe as he lyved was he confessed euery viij dayes, and was hosed with the blissed sacrement, and so dide the kynge Bohors, his brother,

He hears a
cry like
thunder,

and wakes,
nearly falling
out of bed.
*[Fol. 147a.]

He and the
queen are
much afraid.

The king
goes to
church.

He confessed
every eight
days.

Arthur and his men overrun the lands of Claudas,

but afterwards, with the help of Pounce, Claudas defeats Bohors and Ban,

and their wives are obliged to become nuns;

but afterwards Arthur drives Claudas out of the land.

Ban asks Merlin for an explanation of his wife's dreams and his own.

Merlin says they are of great signification,

and tells them the dreams.

They marvel, and ask for an explanation.

that was a full goode man, and of holy lyvinge. Thus was the kynge Arthur in the reame of Benoyk, he and his men a moneth, and ronne euery day in to Claudas londes, and wasted it so that longe tyme after myght he haue no power to a-rise vpon the kynge Ban; but after he a-roos a-geins hym by the force of Pounce Antony, and by the force of the kynge of Gaule, as ye shull heren here-after, and turmented so these two brethern that he lefte hem noo foote londe, that thei died in pouerte vpon the grounde, and their yonge wiffes lefte with-oute comfort that after were nonnes veilled in the abbey of the royall mynster for drede of Claudas. Ne neuer after myght thei haue socour of the kynge Arthur, for he hadde so moche to done in his contrey that he myght not come at that tyme, and so the heires that thei be-gat were longe tyme after disherited. But in the ende kynge Arthur hem ther-to restored, and drof Claudas oute of the londe, and yaf hem the reame of Gaule, as the booke shall reherse. But now we shall reste to speke these thinges till tyme com ther-to and returne to telle how Merlin departed from the kynge Arthur, and how he certified the kynge Ban and his wif of dyuers dremes that thei hadden mette.

Upon a day com the kynge Ban to Merlin, and seide, "Sir, I am gretly in dispeir of a vision that is be-falle to me and to my wif, wherefore I haue grete nede of counseile; and ye be the wisest man that now liveth, and ther-fore yef it plesse yow telle me what it be-tokeneth." "Certes, sir," seid Merlin, "in these two a-visions there is grete significacion, and it is no wonder though ye therof be dredfull." Than asked the kynge Arthur what a-visiouns ben thei, and Merlin hym tolde euen as the kynge hadde mette in his dreame, that the kynge hym-self knewe well he seide trouthe. Whan the kynge Arthur and the kynge Bohors and sir Gawein herde the fierce wordes that Merlin hadde seide, thei mervailed sore what hit myght signifye, and thoughten I-nough of many thinges, and than seide the kynge Arthur, "ye haue tolde what were the dremes. Now, yef it plesse yow, telle vs the be-tokenynges,

for it is a thinge that I wolde fayn knowe." "Sir," seide Merlin, "of all will I not to yow declare; ne I ought not to do. But I shall telle yow a partye that to yow apendeth," and than he gan to sey,

Merlin will
tell a part.

"**K**ynge Ban," quod Merlin, "hit is trouthe that the lyon that is not crowned be-tokeneth a prince that is right riche and mighty of londes, and of frendes that shall *conquere xxix reames by force, and make come in his companye alle these xxix kynges crowned; and that other lyon that she saugh I-crowned that hadde the xvij lyonsewes signyfieth a kinge that is right myghty that shall have xvij kynges vnder hym, that alle shall be his liege men; and the iiij^o booles that she saugh be-tokeneth iiij^o knyghtes, that alle shall be assured that oon to the tother eche of hem to helpe, and not faile for no drede of deth, and alle shull thei be the kynges men, and this prince that I spake of firste shall come vpon this kynge for to conquere his londe. But he shall hym diffende as longe as he may, and whan this prince hath the better of this kynge, than shall come a knyght vn-knownen that longe hath be loste and helpe this kynge that the prince may not hym chace oute of the felde ne discounfite; and this leopart signyfieth this knyght, ffor like as the leopart fierce and prowde a-bove alle other bestes, so shall he be the beste knyght that shall be in hys tyme, and by that knyght shall the pees be made be-tweene the prince and the kynge that so sore shull haue foughten. Now," quod Merlin, "haue ye herde your a-vision and the tokenynge, and now I moste departe for moche haue I to do in other places," and whan thei hadde I-herde the merveile of the dreame that Merlin hadde tolde, thei were more a-baished and more pensif than thei were be-fore; and than Arthur asked yef he wolde declare eny othir wise to theire vndirstondinge, and he seide, "Nay."

The un-
crowned lion
betokens a
rich prince.
*[Fol. 147b.]

The crowned
lion is a
mighty king.

The 400 bulls
are 400
knyghtes.

The leopard
signifies an
unknown
knyght,

by whom
peace will
be made be-
tween the
king and
prince.

Merlin will
not explain
any more.

With that departed Merlin oute of the kynge Bans house, where-as the kynge Arthur was with grete companye of knyghtes, and this was on the feeste of seynt John; and Merlin wente to his love that a-boode hym at the welle, for to holde

He leaves
Ban's house

and goes to
his love,

who asks him
of many
things.

She wishes
to make her
father and
mother sleep
while Merlin
is with her.

He teaches
her how to
do it.

*[Fol. 148a.]

He also
teaches her
three names.

He remains
with her
eight days,

and teaches
her many
wonderful
things.

Merlin leaves

the couenaunt that she hadde with hym I-made, and whan she hym saugh she made to hym grete chere, and ledde hym in to the chambres so prively that he was not a-perceyved of no man ; and she asked and enquired hym of many thinges, and he her taught all her askynge for the grete love that he hadde to hir ; and whan she saugh he loved hir so wele, she asked hym how she myght make a frende for to slepe and not to a-wake till that she wolde, and Merlin knewe well all hir thought, and neuertheles he asked her whi she enquired and ye he wiste it wele I-nough. Quod she, "for I wolde make my fader a-slepe alle the tymes that I wolde speke with yow, whos name is Dionas, and my moder, that thei aparceyve neuer of yow ne me, ffor witeth it well thei wolden me sle yef thei parceyved of vs two ought." These wordes seide the mayden ofte to Merlin, and it fill on a day that thei were in a gardin by the fountayne hem to disporte, and were sette vpon an ympe, and the mayden made hym to slepe in hir lappe, and hilde her so with hym that Merlyn loved hir mervellously wele. Than the maiden required hym so that he taught hir to make oon slepe, and he knewe hir menyng right wele ; but neuertheles he it hir taught, bothe that and many other thinges *ffor so wolde oure lorde ; and he taught hir iij names that she wrote for to helpe hir-self at alle tymes whan she sholde with hym ly, that were full of grete force, ffor neuer as longe as thei were vpon hir, ne myght neuer man touche her flessly ; and fro thens-forth she tysed euer Merlin to come speke with hir, for he ne hadde no power to dele with hir a-gein her will, and ther-fore it is seide that woman hath an art more than the deuell. Thus Merlin a-bode viij dayes full with the damesell ; but we fynde not in no writinge that euer he required eny vilonye of hir ne of noon other ; but she it douted sore whan she knewe what he was, and ther-fore she garnyssed hire so a-gein hym ; and in the viij dayes he taught hir many wonderfull thinges that eny mortall herte cowde thinke of, thinges paste and of thinges that were don and seide, and a partye of that was to come ; and she putte hem in writinge, and than Merlin departed from hire and com to

Benoyk, where the kynge Arthur rested, that gladde were whan thei saugh Merlin.

After that Merlin was repired fro Benoyk as ye haue herde, Gawein with a grete companye of knyghtes and men of armes rode in to Claudas londes, and brake the bourghes and townes, and sette fire all a-boute, that alle the mene peple fledde the contrey, and these ronne be-fore the yates of de la desert and distroyed alle that thei myght fynde, and Claudas ne noon of hys companye ne durste not meve, and than departed from Claudas, Pounce Antonye, and frolle of Almayne, and Randolf the senescall of Gaule sory and wroth for the losse and damage that thei hadden, and swore that neuer sholde thei love the kynge Ban ; and as soone as thei myght be a-vengeed thei sholde yelde hym his guerdon as for soche seruise. But some weneth to a-venge hym of his shame, and he doth it encrece. Thus lefte Claudas pore in the Citee de la desert, ffor he cowde not haue iij^m men on horsbak, but after he recouerd all his londe and was riche, as the storye shall declare here-after, be the helpe of the kynge of Gaule and of Pounce Antonye, that repired from Rome with grete power ; but it was in euell hour, for he was slayn by the handes of kynge Ban be-fore Trebes. But Claudas hadde so moche peple that he leide sege be-fore the Castell as ye shull here afterward, whan tyme cometh ther-to.

Whan Gawein and his companye hadde wasted the londe and the contrey, and taken alle the richesse, he returned to Benoyk to his vncler ; and Merlin was come from his love and boode after Gawein, and whan he was come thei were gladde whan thei hym syen, and for the grete richesse that thei broughten, and ioyfull weren of the victorie that thei hadden ; and on the morowen thei toke theire wey towarde Gannes, a Citee plentevouse of all goodes, and ther thei were right well come, for it was right, and the kynge Bohors peyned hym to do hem honour and well to serue, as he that full well cowde *it do ; and ther thei sojourned two dayes, and the thridde day thei rode forth to the Rochell, and ther entred the see. Whan the

her and goes to Benoyk.

Gawein goes into the lands of Claudas, and burns the townes.

Pounce, and Randolf leave Claudas. They swear to avenge him.

Claudus becomes rich afterwards.

When Gawein had wasted the land he returns to Benoyk.

They go to Gannes.

*[Fol. 148b.] They ride to the Rochell and go to sea.

Merlin tells them to go on to Carmelide.

He says he has something to do before he comes into the Bloy Breteyne.

He goes to the forestes of Rome, where Julius Cesar is emperor, who Gawein afterwards slew.

Julius Cesar's wife has twelve young men disguised as women to attend her.

kyng Arthur, and the kyng Ban, and the kyng Bohors, and sir Gawein sholde entre in to the shippes thei toke Merlin in counseile, and Merlin hem comaunded that as soone as thei were a-rived at the porte, in no wise that thei tarye not but two dayes. But hastily go theire wey in to the reame of Carmelide, and lede with hem but thre thousande men of armes, and that thei be chosen of the beste of the hosts. "Ffeire frende," quod Arthur, "shull ye not come with vs; thenke ye not to be at oure mariage." "Sir," seide Merlin, "I haue a thinge for to do that I moste nede performe er I come in to the bloy Breteyne. But ye shull but litill space be in the reame of Carmelide, er I shall be with yow;" with that departed that oon from that other, and Arthur and hys companye wente towarde the see, but ther-of moste we reste a-while, and speke of Merlin and his auenturis.

As soone as Merlin was departed from Arthur, he wente in to the forestes of Rome that were thikke and depe, and in that tyme Julyus Cesar was Emperour; but it was not that Julyus Cesar that the deed knyght slough in his pavilion of Perce. But it was that Julius that Gawein, the newew of kyng Arthur, slough in bateile vnder logres at the grete disconfiture that after was be-twene hym and the kyng Arthur that hym diffied, and what the cause was that Merlin¹ wente that wey, it is reson it be declared. This is² throuthe that this Julyus cesar hadde a wif that was of grete bewte, and she hadde with hir xij yonge men araied in gise of wymen, with whom she lay at alle tymes that the Emperour was oute of hir companye, ffor she was the most lecherouse woman of all Rome; and for the dredde that theire beerdes sholde growe she lete a-noynte her chynnes with certeyn oynementes made for the nones, and thei were clothed in longe traylinge robes, and theire heer longe waxen, in gise of maydenes and tressed at theire bakkes, that alle that hem saugh wende wele thei were wymen; and longe thei endured with the Empresse vn-knownen. In

¹ The words "that Merlin" are repeated in the MS.

² "it" in the MS.

this tyme that the Emperesse ledde this lif, it fill that a mayden com to the Emperours court that was the doughter of a prince, and the name of this prince was matan, Duke of Almayne; this mayden com in semblance of a squyer, and this matan the Duke ffrolle hadde disherited and driven out of his londe, and she com to serue the Emperour, ffor she wiste not where her fader ne moder were be comen, and she was moche and semly, and well shapen and demened hir well in all maners that a man ought, saf only eny vylonye, and neuer was she knowen but for a man by no semblante, and so a-boode with the Emperour, and was of grete prowesse, and peyned tendirly to serue well the Emperour and plesed hym so well that she was lorde and gouernour of hym and his housolde; and the Emperour hir loved so well that he made hir knyght atte a feeste of seint John with other yonge *squyers, wher-of were mo than CC, and after made hir stiward of all his londe. Than the newe knyghtes reised a quyntyne in the mede of noiron, and be-gonne the bourdinge grete and huge, and many ther were that dide right wele, but noon so well as dide Grisandoll, for so she lete hir be cleped; but in bapteme her name was Anable. This bourdinge endured all day on ende till euesonge that thei departed, and Grisandols bar a-wey the pris a-monge alle other, and whan the Emperour saugh Grisandoll of so grete prowesse, he made hym stiward of all his londe and comaunder a-bove alle that ther weren, and Grisandols was well beloved of riche and pore. And vpon a nyght after it fill that the Emperour lay in his chamber with the Emperesse; and whan he was a-slepe he hadde a vision that hym thought he saugh a sowe in his court that was right grete be-fore his paleys, and he hadde neuer seyn noon so grete ne so huge, and she hadde so grete bristelis on her bakke that it trayled on the grounde a fadome large, and hadde vpon hir heed a cercle that semed of fyn golde, and whan the Emperour a-vised hym wele hym thought that he hadde seyn hir other tymes, and that he hadde hir norished vp; but he durste not sey of trouthe that she were hys, and while he entended to a-vised hym on this thinge he saugh come oute of his chamber xij lyonsewes, and

A maiden comes to the court disguised as a squire.

She is well shapen,

and of great prowesse.

The emperor makes her a knight.
*[Fol. 149a.]

Her name is Grisandol.

She bears away the prize.

The emperor makes her his steward.

The emperor has a dream. He sees a great sow,

with a circle of gold on her head.

Twelve lion-

sewes come
to the sow.

The barons
say that all of
them should
be burnt.
The emperor
awakes.
He does not
tell his
dream,
but goes to
the minster
to hear mass.

He and his
barons sit
down to
meat.
He is pen-
sive.

Merlin comes
to Rome and
casts an en-
chantment.
He becomes
a great hart,
and runs
through
Rome.

*[Fol. 149b.]

The people
get staves
and chase
him to the
palace.

He runs into
the palace
and tumbles
over the meat
and drink.

oom in to the courte to the sowe, and assailed hir oon after a-nother, whan the Emperour saugh this merveile he asked his Barouns what sholde he do with this sowe by whom these lyon-sewes hadde thus leyn, and thei seide she was not worthi to be conuersaunt a-monge peple, ne that no man sholde ete nothings that of hir come, and Iuged hir to be brente, and also the lyonsewes to-geder; and than a-wooke the Emperour sore affraied and pensif of this a-vision. Ne neuer to man ne to wif wolde he it telle, for he was full of grete wisdom. On the morowe as soone as he myght se the day, he a-roos and yede to the mynster to here messe, and whan he was come a-gein he fonde the barouns assembled, and hadde herde messe at the mynster and the mete was all redy; and whan thei hadde waisschen thei satte to mete, and were well serued. Than fill that the Emperour fill in to a grete stodye, wher-fore all the courte was pensif and stille, and ther was noon that durste sey a worde for sore thei dredde for to wrathe the Emperour. But now we moste turne a litill to Merlin that was come in to the foreste of Romaine to certifie these thinges and these a-visiouns.

While that the Emperour satte at his mete a-monge his Barouns thus pensif, Merlin come in to the entre of Rome and caste an enchauntement merveilouse, ffor he be-com an herte the gretteste and the moste merveilouse that eny man hadde seyn, and hadde oon of his feet be-fore white, and hadde v braunches in the top, the grettest that euer hadde be seyn, and than he ran thourgh Rome so faste as all the worlde hadde hym chaced, and whan the peple saugh hym so renne, and saugh how it was an herte the noyse a-roos, and *the cry on alle partyes, and ronne after grete and small with staves and axes, and other wepen, and chaced hym thourgh the town, and he com to the maister gate of the paleys where-as the Emperour satte at his mete, and whan thei that serued herde the noyse of the peple, thei ronne to the wyndowes to herkene what it myght be, and a-noon thei saugh come rennyng the herte and all the peple after; and whan the herte com to the maister paleys he drof in at the yate sodeynly, and than he ran thourgh the

tables a bandon and tombled mete and drynke all on an hepe, and be-gan ther-in a grete trouble of pottis and disshes; and whan the herte hadde longe turned ther-yne he com be-fore the Emperour, and kneled and seide, "Julius cezar, Emperour of Rome, wheron thinkest thou, lete be thi stodyng for it a-vaileth nought, ffor neuer of thyne a-vision shalt thou not knowe the trouthe be-fore that man that is sauage the certefie, and for nought is it that thou stodyest ther-on any more."

Than the herte hym dressed and saugh the yate of the paleyse cloos, and he caste his enchaument that alle the dores and yates of the paleise opened so rudely that thei fly alle in peces, and the herte lept oute and fledde thourgh the town, and the chace be-gan a-gein after hym longe till that he com oute in to the playn feeldes; and than he dide varysshe that noon sey where he be-com, and than thei returned a-gein, and whan the Emperour wiste the herte was ascaped he was wroth and lete crye thourgh the londe that who that myght brynge the sauage man or the herte sholde haue his feire doughter to wif, and half his reame, yef that he were gentill of birthe, and after his deth haue all; and lepe to horse many a vailaunt knyght and squyer of pris, and serched and sought thourgh many contrees, but all was for nought, ffor neuer cowde thei heere no tidinges of that thei sought, and whan thei myght no more do thei returned a-gein. But euer Grisandols serched thourgh the forestes, oon hour foreward, another bakke that so endured viij dayes full; and on a day as Grisandol was a-light vnder an oke for to praye oure lorde to helpe and to spede for to fynde that he sought, and as he was in his prayours the herte that hadde ben at Rome com be-fore hym and seide, "Auenable, thou chacest folye, ffor thou maist not spede of thy queste in no maner, but I shall telle the what thou shalt do. Purchase flessch newe and salt, and mylke and hony, and hoot breed newe bake, and bringe with the foure felowes, and a boy to turne the spite till it be I-nough rosted, and com in to this foreste by the moste vn-couthe weyes that thou canste fynde, and sette a table by the fier, and the breed, and the mylke, and the hony vpon the table,

He kneels before the emperor and tells him a savage man will explain his dream.

He then makes all the doors and gates fly open, and runs out through the town.

When he gets to the fields he vanishes. The emperor is angry; he says whoever brings the savage man or the hart shall marry his daughter. Many knights and squires seek through many countries.

Grisandol seeks through the forests; she prays for help.

The hart comes to her, and tells her what to do.

and hide the and thi companye a litile thens, and doute the nought that the sauage man will come."

Than ran the herte a-grete walope thourgh the foreste, and
 Grisandol leapt to horse and thought well on that the
 herte hadde seide and thought in his corage that it was somme
 spirituell thinge that by hir right name hadde hir cleped, and
 thought well that of this *thinge sholde come some merveile ;
 and Grisandol rode forth to a town nygh the foreste vij myle,
 and toke ther that was myster, and com in to the foreste ther
 as he hadde spoke with the herte as soone as he myght, and
 roode in to the deepe of the foreste, where-as he fonde a grett
 oke full of leues, and the place semed delitable, and he a-light
 and sette theire horse fer thens, and made a grete fier, and sette
 the flesshe to roste, and the smoke and the sauour spredde
 thourgh the foreste, that oon myght fele the sauour right fer ;
 and than sette the table be the fier, and whan all was redy thei
 hidde hem in a bussh. And Merlin that all this knewe and that
 made all this to be don couertly that he were not knowen drough
 that wey that he were not knowen with a grete staffe in his nekke
 smytinge grete strokes from oke to oke, and was blakke and
 rough for rympled and longe berde, and bar-foote, and clothed
 in a rough pilche ; and so he com to the fier, ther as the flessch
 was rosted, and whan the boy saugh hym come he was so a-ferde
 that he fledde nygh oute of his witte ; and he this com to the
 fier and be-gan to chacche and frote a-boute the fier, and saugh
 the mete and than loked all a-boute hym and be-gan to rore
 lowde as a man wood oute of mynde, and than be-heilde, and
 saugh the cloth spredde and soche mete ther-on as ye haue
 herde, and after he be-heilde towarde the fier, and saugh the
 flesshe that the knaue hadde rosted that was tho I-nough, and
 raced it of with his hondes madly, and rente it a-sonder in peces,
 and wette it in mylke, and after in the hony, and ete as a wood
 man that nought ther lefte of the flessch ; and than he eete of the
 hoot breed and hony that he was full and swollen grete, and
 somewhat was it colde, and he lay down by the fier and slepte ;
 and whan Grisandol saugh he was on slepe she and hir felowes

Grisandol
leaps to
horse,

*[Fol. 150a.]
and rides to
a town.

She rides to
a beautiful
part of the
forest,
and makes a
fire, and sets
meat to roast.

Merlin
comes as a
savage man,

and frightens
the boy.

He roars
when he sees
the meat,

and rends it
asunder with
his hands.

After eating
he sleeps.
Grisandol

com as softly as thei myght, and stale a-wey his staffe, and than thei bounde hym with a cheyne of Iren streytely a-boute the flankes, and than delyuered hym to oon of the companye by the tother ende of the cheyne; and whan he was so well bounde he a-wooke and lept vp lightly, and made semblaunt to take his staff as a wilde man, and Grisandolus griped hym in his armes right sore and hilde hym stille, and whan he saugh hym so bounde and taken, he hilde hym as shamefaste and mate; and than the horse were brought forth and he was sette vpon oon of hem, and bounden to the sadell with two bondes, and a man sette be-hynde hym that was bounde to hym and embraced hym by the myddill, and so thei rode forth her wey, and the sauage man loked on Grisandolus that rode by hym, and be-gan to laugh right harde, and whan Grisandolus saugh hym laughe he approached ner and rode side by side, and a-queynted with hym the beste that he myght, and enquired and asked many thinges, but he ne wolde nought ansuere, and Grisandol asked why he lough, but he wolde not telle. Saf that he seide, "Creature formed of nature chaunged in to other forme fro hens-forth be-gilynge alle thinges venimouse as se[r]pent, holde thi pees, for nought will I telle the till that I com be-fore the Emperoure."

***W**ith that the sauage man hilde his pees and spake no more, and rode forth to-geder, and Grisandolus of this that he hadde seide spake to his companye, and thei seide that he was wiser than he shewed, and that som grete merveile sholde falle in the londe. Thus thei ride spekyng of many thinges till thei passede be-fore an abbey, and saugh be-fore the yate moche pore peple a-bidinge almesse, and than the sauage man lowgh right lowde; and than Grisandol com toward hym and swetly praide hym to telle wherefore he lough, and he loked proudly on trauerse, and seide, "Ymage repaired and disnaturaed fro kynde, holde thy pees, ne enquire no mo thinges for nought will I telle the but be-fore the Emperour;" and whan Grisandolus this vndirstode, he lete hym be at that tyme and no more thinge hym asked, and here-of spake thei in many maners. Thus thei ride forth all day till nyght, and on the morowe till the hour of

and her fellows steal away his staff and bind him with a chain of iron.

He wakes.

He is set on a horse.

He looks at Grisandolus and laughs,

but will not tell why he laughs till he comes to the emperor.

*[Fol. 150b.] The savage man speaks no more.

They come to an abbey, and the savage man laughs, but will not tell why.

Grisandolus asks him no more.

They pass a chapel, and find a knight and squire.

The knight marvels when he sees the savage man.

The squire slaps his lord.

The savage man laughs.

Grisandolus marvels.

The squire gives his lord another stroke. The savage man laughs again.

Grisandolus marvels.

The squire comes a third time, and smites his lord.

He asks Grisandolus who has got bound.

*[Fol. 151a.]

prime, and fill that thei passed by-fore a chapell where a preeste was toward masse, and fonde a knyght and a squyer heringe the seruyse; and whan Grisandolus saugh this, thei a-light alle the companye, and entred in to here the masse, and whan the knyght that was in the chapell saugh the man bounde with chaynes he hadde merveile what it myght be, and while the knyght be-heilde the man that was sauage, the squyer that was in an angle be-hynde the chapel dore come a-gein his lorde, and lifte vp his hande and yaf hym soche a flap that alle thei in the chapell myght it here, and than returned thider as he com fro all shamefaste of that he hadde don, and whan he was come in to his place he ne rofte no-thinge, for the shame lasted no lenger; but while he was in returnynge, and whan the sauage man saugh this, he be-gan to laugh right harde, and the knyght that was so smyten was so a-baished that he wiste not what to sey but suffred; and Grisandolus and the other companye merveiled sore what it myght be. A-noon after the squyer com a-gein to his lorde, and yaf hym soche a-nother stroke as he dide be-fore, and wente a-gein in to his place, and the sauage man hym be-hilde and be-gan to laughe right harde, and yef the knyght be-fore were a-baished, he was than moche more, and the squyer that hadde hym smyten returned sorowfull and pensif to the place that he com fro, and hilde hym-self foule disceyved of that he hadde don, and whan he was in his place he rought neuer, and Grisandolus, and the companye merveiled right sore, and herden oute the seruise be leyser, and in the mene while that thei thoughten vpon these thinges that thei hadde seyn, the squyer com the thridde tyme and smote his lorde sorer than he hadde don be-fore, and ther-at lowgh the wilde man sore, and be that was the masse at an ende, and than Grisandolus and alle wente oute of the chapell, and the squyer that hadde smyten his lorde com after and asked Grisandolus what man it was that thei hadde so bounde, and thei seide that thei were with Julius cesar, Emperour of Rome, and ledde to hym that sauage man that thei hadde founded in the foreste, for *to certefie of a vision that was shewed hym alepings. "But, sir,"

seide Grisandolus, "tell me wherefore hath this squyer yow smyten thre tymes, and ye ne spake no worde a-gein, haue ye soche a custome," and the knyght ansuerde that he sholde it wite in tyme comynges.

Grisandolus asks the knight why he had said nothing to his squire.

Then the knyght cleped his squyer and asked hym be-fore
 Grisandolus wherefore he hadde hym smyten, and he was shamefaste, and seide he wiste neuer, but so it fill in his corage, and the knyght hym asked yef he hadde now eny talent hym for to smyte, and the squyer seide he hadde leuer be deed, "but that," quod he, "it fill in my mynde that I myght not kepe me ther-fro," and Grisandolus lough of the merueille. Than seide the knyght that he wolde go to court with hem for to here what the sauage man wolde sey, and with that thei rode forth on her way, and Grisandolus by the sauage mannes side, and whan thei hadde a-while riden, he asked the wilde man wherfore he lough so thre tymes whan the squyer smote his lorde, and he loked on hir a trauerse, and seide, "Ymage repeyred semblaunce of creature wherby men ben slayn and diffouled rasour trenchaunt ffountayne coraunt that neuer is full of no springes holde thy pees, and nothings of me enquere, but be-fore the Emperour, for nought will I telle the," and whan that Grisandolus vndirstode the fell wordes that he spake, he was all a-baishshed and pensef, and durste not no more enquere, and rode forth till thei come to Rome, and whan thei entred in to the town, and the peple hem parceyved thei wente all a-geins hym for to se the man that was sauage, and the noyse was grete of the peple that folowed, and be-hilde his facion as longe as thei myght, and so thei conveyed hym to the paleise, and whan the Emperour herd the tidinges he com hem a-geins, and mette with hem comynges vpon the greces, and than com Grisandolus be-fore the Emperour, and seide, "Sir, haue here the man that is sauage that I to yow here yelde, and kepe ye hym fro hens-forth for moche peyne haue I hadde with hym," and the Emperour seide he wolde hem well guerdon, and the man sholde be well kepte, and than he sente to seche a smyth to bynde hym in chaynes and feteres, and the sauage man badde hym ther-of not to entermete, "ffor wite it

The knight asks his squire why he smote him.

He says he could not keep himself from doing so. The knight says he will go to court to hear what the savage man has to say.

The savage tells Grisandolus to hold his peace.

They enter Rome,

and the people follow them to the palace.

The emperor meets them. Grisandolus gives the savage to the emperor, who sends for a smith to bind him in chains.

right well," quod he, "I will not go with-oute youre leve," and the Emperour hym asked how he ther-of sholde be sure, and he seide he wolde hym asure by his cristyndome. Quod the Emperour, "Art thow than cristin?" and he seide, "Ye with-oute faile." "How were thow than baptized," seide the Emperour, "whan thow art so wilde." "That shall I telle yow," quod he, "This is the trouthe that my moder on a day com from the market of a town, and it was late whan she entred in to the foreste of brocheland, and wente oute her way so fer that the same nyght be-hoved hir to lye in the foreste, and whan she saugh she was so a-lone be hir-self she was a-feerde *and lay down vnder an oke and fill a-slepe, and than com a sauage man oute of the foreste and by hir lay, be-cause she was sool by hir-self. Durste she not hym diffende, ffor a woman a-loone is feerfull, and that nyght was I be-geten on my moder, and whan she was repeired hom, she was full pensif longe tyme, till that she knewe verily that she was with childe, and bar me so till I was born in to this worlde and was baptised in a fonte, and dide me norishe till I was grete, and as soone as I cowde lyve with-uten hir, I wente in to the grete forestes for by the nature of my fader be-houeth me thider to repeire, and for that he was sauage I am thus wilde. Now haue ye herde what I am." "So god me helpe," seide the Emperour, "neuer for me shalt thow be putte in feteres ne in Irenes seth thow wilt me graunte that thow will not go with-oute my leve." Than tolde Grisandolus how he dide laugh be-fore the abbey and in the chapell, for the squyer that hadde smyten his maister, and the dyuerse wordes that he hadde spoken, whan he asked where-fore he dide laugh, and he seide that neuer wolde he nought sey till he com be-fore yow, and now is he here, and therefore aske hym why he hath so often laughed by the wey, and than the Emperour hym asked, and he seide he sholde it knowe all in tyme, but sendeth first for all youre barouns and than shall I telle yow that and other thinges, with that entred the Emperour in to his chamber and the sauage man and his prive counseile, and ther thei rested and disported, and spake of

The savage
says that he
is a Christian.

His mother
lost her way
in the forest
of Broche-
land,

*[Fol. 151b.]

and a savage
man came to
her.

She bore a
child, who
was baptized.

When he was
old enough
to live with-
out her he
went to the
forest.

Grisandolus
tells the em-
peror how
the savage
man laughed.

The emperor
asks him
why he
laughed.
He says he
will tell in
time.

many thinges, and on the morowe the Emperour sente to seche his barouns hem that he supposed sonest to fynde, and than thei come a-noon bothe oon and other from alle partyes.

On the morrow the emperor sends for his barons.

On the fourthe day after the sauage man was comen, where that the lordes were assembled in the maister paleise, and the Emperour [brought in] this sauage man and made hym to sitte down by hym, and whan the barouns hadde I-nough hym beholden thei asked why he hadde for hem sente, and he tolde hem for a vision that hym be-fill in his slepynge, "ffor I will that it be expowned be-fore yow," and thei seide that the signification wolde thei gladly heren. Than the Emperour comaunded this man to telle the cause why that he was sought, and he ansuerde and seide that he wolde nothinge telle till that the Emperesse and hir xij maydones were comen, and she com a-noon with gladde semblaunce as she that yaf no force of nothinge that myght be-falle, whan the Emperesse and hir xij maydones were come a-monge the barouns, the lordes roos a-gein hir and dide hir reuerence, and as soone as the sauage man hir saugh comynge he turned his heed in trauerse and be-gan to laughe as in scorne, and whan he hadde a-while laughed he loked on the Emperour stadfastly, *and than on Grisandolus, and than on the Emperesse, and than on hir xij Maydenys that weren with hir, and than he turned toward the barouns, and be-gan to laughe right lowde as it were in dispite, whan the Emperour saugh hym so laughe he preied hym to telle that he hadde in couenaunt, and whi that he lough now and other tymes, with that he stode vp and seide to the Emperour so lowde that all myght it heren. "Sir, yef ye me graunte as trewe Emperour be-fore youre barouns that ben here that I shall not be the werse ne no harme to me therfore shall come, and that ye will yeve me leve as soone as I haue yow certefied of youre a-vision I shall telle yow the trewe signification," and the Emperour hym ansuerde and graunted that noon harme ne annoye to hym sholde be don, ne that he sholde come hym no magre to telle hym that he was so desirouse for to heren, and that he sholde haue leve to go whan hym liste. "But I praye the telle me myn a-vision

On the fourth day the lords are assembled in the palace.

The emperor tells the man to expound his dream; but he will not till the empress and her maidens have come.

The lords rise when they enter.

The savage man laughs.

*[Fol. 152a.]

The emperor prays him to tell why he laughs.

The savage stands up,

and says he will tell the vision and its signification, if no harm is done to him.

The emperor

prays him to
tell.

in audience of alle my barouns what it was, and than shall I the better be-leve the signification whan thow haste me tolde, of that I neuer spake to no creature," and he ansuerde as for that sholde hym not greve, and ther-fore wolde he not lette and than he be-gan the a-vision.

The savage
tells the
dream.

"**S**ir," seide the sauage man to the Emperour, "it fill on a nyght that ye lay by youre wif that is here, and whan ye were a-slepe ye thought ye saugh be-fore yow a sowe that was feire and smothe, and the heer that she hadde on her bakke was so longe that it trailed to grounde more than a fadome, and on hir heed she hadde a cercle of goolde bright shynynge, and yow semed that ye hadde norissshed that sowe in youre house, but ye cowde it not verily knowe, and ther-with yow semed that ye hadde hir othir tymes sein, and whan ye hadde longe thought on this thinge ye saugh come oute of youre chamber xij lyonsewes full feire and smothe; and thei com by the halle thourgh the courte to the sowe and lay by hir oon after a-nother, and whan thei hadde do that thei wolde thei wente a-gein in to youre chamber; than com ye to youre barouns and hem asked what sholde be do with this sowe, that ye saugh thus demened, and the barouns and alle the peple seide she was nothinge trewe, and thei Iuged to be brent, bothe the sowe and the xij lyonsewes, and than was the fier made redy grete and merveillouse in this courte, and ther-ynne was the sowe brente and the xij lyonsewes. Now haue ye herde youre sweuene in the same forme as ye it saugh in your slepinge, and yef ye se that I haue eny thinge mys-taken, sey it be-fore your barouns." And the Emperour seide he hadde of nothinge failed.

Merlin asks
the emperor
if he has
mistaken
anything.

"**S**ir Emperour," seide the barouns, "seth that he hath seide what was youre a-vision, hit is to be-leve the signification yef he will it telle, and it is a thinge that *wolde gladly heren." "Certes," seide the man, "I shall it declare to yow so openly that ye may it se, and knowe a-pertly that I yow shall sey. The grete sowe that ye saugh signifieth my lady the Emperesse, youre wif, that is ther; and the longe heer that she hadde on hir bakke betokeneth the longe robes that she is ynne

The barons
ask for the
signification
of the dream.
[Fol. 152b.]

Merlin de-
clares it.

The great
sow signifies
the empress.

I-clothed; and the sercle that ye saugh on her heed shynynge be-tokeneth the crowne of goolde that ye made her with to be crowned; and yef it be youre plesier I will no more sey at this tyme." "Certes," seide the Emperour, "yow be-hoveth to sey all as it is yef ye will be quyte of youre promyse." "Certes," seide man, "than shall I telle yow. The xij lyonsewes that ye saugh come oute of a chamber, betokeneth the xij maydenes that be ther with the Emperesse; and knowe it for very trouthe that thei be no wymen for it be men, and therefore make hem be dispoiled, and ye shall se the trouthe; and as ofte as ye go oute of the town she maketh hem serue in hir chamber and in hir bedde. Now haue ye herde youre a-vision and the significacion, and ye may se and knowe yef that I haue seide to yow the soth."

The circle on her head was the crown.

The twelve maidens are not women but men.

Whan the Emperour vnderstode the vntrouthe that his wif hadde don, he was so a-baished that he spake no worde a longe while; and than he spake and seide that that wolde he soone knowe, and than he cleped Grisandolus, and seide, "Dispoile mo tho dameseles, for I will that alle the barouns that be here-ynne knowe the trouthe;" and a-noon Grisandolus and other lept forth and dispoiled hem be-fore the Emperour and his barouns, and fonde hem formed alle as other men weren; and than the Emperour was so wroth that he wiste not what to do. Than he made his oth that a-noon ther sholde be do Iustice soche as was right to be a-warded; and the barouns Iuged seth she hadde don hir lorde soche vntrouthe that she sholde be brente and the harlottes hanged, and some seide that thei sholde be flayn all quyke; but in the ende thei acorded that thei sholde be brente in a fier, and a-noon as the Emperour herde the Iugement of the barouns, he comaunded to make the fier in the place, and a-noon it was don, and thei were bounde hande and foot, and made hem to be caste in to the brynynge fier, and in short tyme thei were alle brent, ffor the fier was grete and huge. Thus toke Emperour vengauce of his wif, and grete was the renomede that peple of hym spake whan it was knowen.

The emperor does not speak for a long while.

He tells Grisandolus to despoil the damsels.

The barons judge that the queen should be burnt, and the harlots hanged.

They are all burnt.

The barons
think the
savage man
very wise.

The emperor
asks if he
*[Pol. 153a.]
will say any
more,
and why he
laughed
when the
squire smote
his master.

Merlin
laughed be-
cause of the
woman.
Grisandolus
is the best
maiden in
the land.

A treasure is
under the
earth before
the abbey
gate.

The savage
man laughed
because
Grisandolus
was habited
as a man.

When the Emperesse was brente, and thei that she hadde made hir maydenes, the barouns returned a-gein to the Emperour, and seide oon to a-nother that the sauage man was right wise and avisee, ffor yet shall he sey some other thinges wher-of shall come some grete merveile vs, and to all the worlde; and the Emperour hym-self seide that he hadde seide his a-vision as it was in trouthe. Thus wiste the Emperour the lyvinge of his wif, and than the Emperour hym called, and asked yef he wolde sey eny more, and he seide, "Ye *yef he asked hym whereof." "I wolde wite," quod he, "wherefore thow didist laughe whan thow were in the f[o]reste, and loked on Grisandolus, and also whan thow were ledde be-fore an abbey, and in the chapell whan the squyer smote his lorde, and why thow seidest tho wordes to my stiwarde whan he asked why thow lough, and after telle me what be-tokeneth the laughter here-ynne whan thow saugh the Emperesse come." "Sir," seide the sauage man, "I shall telle yow I-nowgh. I do yow to wite that the firste laughter that I made was for that a woman hadde me taken by her engyn, that no man cowde not do; and wite ye well that Grisandolus is the beste maiden and the trewest with-ynne youre reame, and therefore was it that I lough; and the laughter that I made be-fore the abbey, was for ther is vnder erthe be-fore the yate the grettest tresour hidde that eny man knoweth, and therefore I lough for that it was vnder feet of hem that a-boode after the almesse, ffor more richesse is in that tresour than alle the monkes beth worth, and all the abbey, and all that ther-to be-longeth, and the pore peple that ther-on stoden cowde it not take; and Avenable youre stywarde, that Grisandolus doth her clepen, saugh that I lowgh and asked me wherefore, and the couerte wordes that I to hir spake was for that she was chaunged in to the fourme of man, and hadde take a-nothir habite than hir owne; and alle the wordes that I spake thei ben trewe, ffor by woman is many a man disceyved, and therefore I cleped hir disceyaunt for by women ben many townes sonken and brent, and many a riche londe wasted and exiled, and moche peple slayn; but I sey it not for noon euell that is in hir, and

thow thy-self maist well perceyve that be women be many worthi men shamed and wratthed that longe haue loued to-geder, yef it were not for debate of women; but now rech the not for thy wif, that thou haste distroied, ffor she hath it well deserued, and haue therefore no mystrust to other, for as longe as the worlde endureth it doth but apeire, and all that cometh to hem be the grete synne of luxure that in hem is closeth; ffor woman is of that nature, and of that disire, that whan she hath the moste worthi man of the worlde to hir lorde, she weneth she haue the werste, and wite ye fro whens this cometh of the grete fragelite that is in hem; and the foule corage and the foule thought that thei haue where thei may beste hir volunte acomplish; but therefore be not wroth, for ther ben in the worlde that ben full trewe, and yef thow haue be desceyved of thyn, yet shall thow haue soche oon that is worthy to be Emperesse, and to resceyve that high dignite, and yef thow wilt it be-leve thow shalt wynne ther-on more than thowe shalt lese. But the prophesie seith that the grete dragon shall come fro Rome that wolde distroie the reame of the grete Breteyne and put it in his subieccion; and the fierce lyon crowned maugre the diffence of the turtill that the dragon hath norissshed vndir his wynges, and as soone as the grete dragon shall *meve to go to the grete Breteigne, the lyon crowned shall come hym a-geins, and shull fight so to-geder, that a fierce bole that is prowde, whiche the lyon shall bringe with hym shall smyte so the dragon with oon of his hornes that he shall falle down deed, and therby shall be delyuered the grete lyon. But I will not telle the significacion of these wordes, for I owe it nought to do, but all this shall falle in thy tyme, and therefore be well ware of euell counseile, for grete part longeth to the. The tother laughter that I made in the chapell was not for the buffetes that the squyer yaf his lorde, but for the be-tokenynges that ther-ynne ben. In the same place ther the squyer stode was entred, and yet ther is vndir his feet a merveillouse tresour. The firste buffet that the squyer yaf his lorde signifieth that for avoure the wo[r]lde becometh so prowde, that he douteth nother god ne his soule, no

He advises the emperor to marry her.

The nature of woman.

Grisandolus is worthy to be empress.

The great dragon will come from Rome to destroy Breteyne.

*[Fol. 153b.]

The crowned lion will come against him. The bull will kill the dragon.

The savage man will not tell the signification of these words.

The rich
oppress the
poor.

The usurer
delights in
riches.

The men of
law sell their
neighbours.

The squire
smote his
maister
against his
will.
God does not
will that
men should
be proud of
worldly
riches.

The empress
and her
twelve har-
lots.

*[Fol. 154a.]

The em-
peror's
daughter is
his without
doubt.

more than the squyer douted to smyte his maister, but the riche wolde oppresse the pore vnder theire feet; and that make these vntrewe riche peple whan enythinge cometh to hem be myschaunce thei swere and stare and sey maugre haue god for his yeftes, and wite ye what maketh this nothinge but pride of riches. The seconde buffet be-tokeneth the riche vsurer that deliteth in his riches and goth s[c]ornynge his pore nyghebour that be nedy whan thei come to hym ought for to borough, and the vsurer so leneth hem litill and litill that at laste thei moste selle theire heritage to hym that so longe hath it coveyted. The thridd buffet signifieth these false pletours, men of lawe, that sellen and a-peire theire neyghbours be-hinde here bakke for couetise and envye of that thei se hem thrive, and for thei be not in her daungier, ffor whan these laweers sen that her neyghbours don hem not grete reverence and servise, thei thenken and a-spien how thei may hem a-noyen in eny wise, and to make hem lese that thei haue, and therefore men seyn an olde sawe, who hath a goode neyghbour hath goode morowe. Now haue ye herde the significaciouns why the buffetes were yoven, but the squyer delited nothinge ther-ynne whan that he smote his maister, but he wiste not fro whens this corage to hym com. But god that is almyghty wolde haue it to be shewed in exsample that men sholde not be prowde for worldly riches, for to the couetouse theire riches doth hem but harme that slepen in auerice, and for-yete god and don the werkes of the deuell, that ledeth hem to euerlastinge deth, and all is for the grete delite that thei haue in riches. But now shall I telle yow whi I lough to day whan I saugh the Emperesse comynge and hir lechours, I do yow to wite that it was but for dispite, ffor I saugh that she was youre wif, and hadde oon of the worthiest men of the worlde that eny man knoweth of youre yowthe, and she hadde take these xij harlottes and wende *euer for to haue ledde this foly all hir lif; and ther-fore hadde I grete dispite for the love of yow and of youre doughter, ffor she is youre doughter with-oute doute, and draweth litill after hir moder. Now haue ye herde alle the laughtres and wherefore

thei were, and therefore may I go yef it be youre plesier.”
 “Now a-bide a litill,” seide the Emperour, “and telle vs the trouthe of Grisandolus, and also we shull sende to digge after the tresour for I will wite yef it be trewe,” and he ther-to dide assent; than the Emperour comaunded that Grisandolus were sought, and so she was founden oon of the feirest maydenes that neded to enquire in eny londe, and whan the Emperour knewe that Grisandolus, his stiwarde, that longe hadde hym serued was a woman, he blissed hym for the wonder that he ther-of hadde. Than he asked the sauage man counseile what he sholde do of that he hadde promysed to yeve his doughter, and half his reame, ffor loth he was to falsen his promyse of couenaut. “I shall telle yow,” quod the man, “what ye shull do yef ye will do my counseile, and wite it well, it is the beste that eny man can yeven.” “Sey on, than,” seide Emperour, “ffor what counseile that thow yevest I shall it well be-leve, for I haue founde thy seyinge trewe.” Than seide the sauage man, “Ye shall take Avenable to be yowre wif, and wite ye whos doughter she is. She is doughter to the Duke matan that the Duke ffrolle hath disherited and driven oute¹ of his londe for envye with grete wronge, and he and his wif be fledde, and his sone, that is a feire yonge squyer, in to Province in to a riche town that is called monpellier; and sende to seche hem and yelde hem her heritage that thei haue loste with wronge, and make the mariage of youre doughter and Auenables brother that is so feire, and ye may her no better be setten.” And whan the Barouns vndirstode that the sauage man seide, thei spoke moche a-monge hem, and seiden in the ende that the Emperour myght do no better after theire advis; and than the Emperour asked his name, and what he was, and the hert that so pertly spake vnto hym, and than seide he, “Sir, of that enquire no more, ffor it is a thinge the more ye desire to knowe the lesse shall ye witen.” “Ffor sothe,” seide the Emperour, “now suppose I well what it may be, but shull ye telle us eny more.” “Ye,” quod he, “I tolde yow right now of the lyon crowned and of the lyon

They seek for Grisandolus, and find her to be a fair maiden.

The emperor asks what he is to do about his daughter.

The emperor is to marry Avenable,

and to send and seek her family.

The emperor asks the name of the savage man;

but he will not tell,

but will tell of the lions.

¹ The word “oute” is repeated in the MS.

The dragon of Rome will go against the crowned lion of Bloy Breteyne,

*[Pol. 1546.]

and will be slain.

The savage man prays the emperor to do nothing against the wish of his wife.

He writes letters on the lintel of the door.

The savage man and the hart were both Merlin.

The emperor sends to seek the father and mother of Auenable, and Patrik, her brother.

He restores

volage, but now shall I telle yow in other manere, for that ye shall be better remembred whan tyme cometh. Emperour of Rome," quod he, "this is trewe prophesie that the grete boor of Rome that is signified by the grete dragon, shall go a-gein the lyon crowned of the bloy Breteyne a-gein the counseile of the turtell that hath an heed of golde and longe hath ben his love. But the boor shall be so full of pride that he will nothir be-leve, but shall go with so grete pride with all his generacion in to the parties *of Gaule to fight with the crowned lyon that shall come a-geins hym with alle his beestes. Ther shall be grete slaughter of beestes on bothe sides. Than shall oon of the fawnes of the lyon crowned sle the grete boor, and therfore I praye the yef thow wilt ought do for me er I departe that thow do nothinge a-gein the volunte of thy wif, after that day that thow haste her wedded, and wite well yef thow do thus thow shalt haue profite, and now I take my leve for here haue I no more to do." And the Emperour be-taught hym to god seth it myght no better be, and ther-with he wente on his wey, and whan he com to the halle dore he wrote letteres on the lyntell of the dore in grewe that seide, "Be it knowe to alle tho that these letteres reden, that the sauage man that spake to the Emperour and expounded his dreame, hit was Merlin of Northumberlande, and the hert brancus with xv braunches that spake to hym in his halle at mete a-monge alle his knyghtes, and was chaced thourgh the Citee of Rome, that spake to Auenable in the foreste whan he tolde hir how she sholde fynde the man sauage; and lete the Emperour well wite that Merlin is maister counseller to kyng Arthur of the grete Breteyne." And than he departed and spake no mo wordes. Whan this sauage man was departed from the Emperour, he sente in to Province to seche the fader and the moder of Auenable and Patrik hir brother, in the town of monpeller, whider as thei were fledde; and a-noon thei com gladde and ioyfull of the auenture that god hadde hem sente, and whan thei were comen thei hadde grete ioye of there doughter that thei wende neuer to haue seyn. Than thei a-bide with the Emperour longe tyme, and the Emperour restored hem

to here herytage that ffrolle hadde hem be-rafte. But as ffrolle myght he it a-gein seide, ffor he was of grete power, and so endured the werre longe tyme. But in the ende the Emperour made the pees, and than he maried his doughter to Patrik, and hym-self toke Auenable to his wif, and grete was the ioye and the feeste that the Barouns maden, for moche was she be-loved bothe of riche and pore, and as the Emperour was in ioye and deduyt of his newe spouse, ther com a massage to hym oute of Greece for a discorde that was be-twene the barouns of Greece and the Emperour Adrian, that sholde hem Iustise, ffor the Emperour Adrian myght vn-ethe ride for febilnesse of age, and whan the messagers hadde spoke to the Emperour and don all that he sholde, he toke his leve to go, and as he caste vp his yie vpon the halle dore and saugh the letteres that Merlin hadde writen in griewe, and a-noon he redde hem lightly, and than he gan to laughe right harde, and shewed hem to the Emperour, and seide, "Sir, is this trewe that these lettres seyn." "What sey thei," quod the Emperour, "wote ye neuer." Quod the messenger, "Thei seyn that he that tolde yow the vntrouthe of youre wif, and youre dreme expowned, and spake to yow in gise of an herte, that it was Merlin of Northumbirlande, the maister counsellor of kyng Arthur of Breteyne, by whos counseile ye haue spoused youre wif Auenable." And whan the Emperour vndirstode *these wordes he merveiled sore; and than be-fill a grete merveile, whereof alle that were ther-ynne hadde wonder, and the Emperour hym-self; ffor as soone as the Emperour herde what the letteres mente, a-noon the letteres vanysshed so sodeynly that no man wiste how, and ther-of hadde thei grete wonder, and moche it was spoken of thourgh the contrey. But now cesseth the tale of the Emperour of Rome that a-bode in his paleise gladde and myry with his wif Auenable, and ledde goode lif longe tyme, for bothe were thei yonge peple, ffor the Emperour was but xxviii yere of age at that hour, and his wif was xxij, and yef thei ledde myri lif, yet Patrik and ffoldate, the doughter of the Emperour, lyved in more delite. But now returneth the tale a-gein to speke of Merlin.

their herit-
age to them.

He marries
his daughter
to Patrik,
and takes
Auenable as
his wife.

Discord be-
tween the
barons of
Greece and
the Emperour
Adrian.

A messenger
reads the
letters that
Merlin
wrote, and
laughs.

He read
them to the
emperour.

*[Fol. 155a.]
When the
emperour has
heard them,
the letters
disappear.

The emperour
and his wife
live together
happily;

as do Patrik
and Foldate.

CHAPTER XXIV.

BATTLE BETWEEN THE TWELVE KINGS AND THE SAISNES BEFORE THE CITY OF CLARENCE.

Merlin leaves
the emperor,

and comes to
Blaase,

and tells
what he had
done in
Rome,
and of the
twelve kings
before the
city of Clar-
ence,
and of the
battle before
Trebes,

and how
Ban's wife
was with
child.

The twelve
princes as-
sembled to
fight the
Saisnes.

They ride
forth by
night.
The first
ward led by
Aguysans ;

the second by
Tradili-
vauns ;

Here seith the book that as soone as Merlin was departed from Julius sezar, the Emperour of Rome, to whom he hadde tolde his a-vision, he toke his wey in to the grete Breteyne, and com in to Northumbirlande to Blaase his maister, that gladdede was whan that he hym saugh, but he was but litill while in comynge, ffor he com theder in half a day and oon nyght ffor he was full of grete art, and than he tolde hym all these thinges that were be-falle in Rome, and after he tolde hym how xij kynges and a Duke were assembled with xl^M men for to go fight with the saisnes be-fore the Citee of Clarence, and tolde hym of the grete bateile that hadde be vnder the Castell of Trebes in the reame of Benoyk of the kyng Arthur a-gein the Almaynes, and a-gein the Romayns, and a-gein the frenshe men of Gaule and of la desert, and how alle were discounfited, and how the kyng Ban hadde geten his wif with childe, soche oon that shall surmounte alle the knyghtes that shull be in his tyme ; and whan he hadde all tolde, and Blaase hadde all writen in his book, where thourgh we haue yet the knowynge ther-of. But now we moste reste of Merlin and of Blaase till a-nother tyme, and speke of the xij princes that were assembled as ye haue herde be-fore for to fight with the saisnes.

Whan these xij kynges and this Duke weren assembled with as moche peple as thei myght haue, thei toke counseile, and ordeyned her wardes, and than rode forth by nyght that thei were not seyn of no peple. The firste warde ledde Aguysans, the kyng de Cent chivaliers, that was a full noble knyght, vaillaunt and hardy, and right stronge as of his yowthe, and hadde in his companye vij^M men of armes. The seconde warde ledde the kyng Tradiliuauns of North-Wales that was a full goode man and a trewe, and with hym vij^M men

of armes. The thridde warde ledde¹ the kyng Belynans of South wales, his brother, that was also a noble knyght with vij^M men of armes. The fourthe warde ledde the kyng Carados brenbas with v^M men. The fithe warde ledde the kyng *Brangore with vij^M men, and the vj^e ledde the Duke Escam of Cambenyk with vij^M men. The seuenthe warde ledde the kyng Clarion, of Northumbirlonde, with vij^M men. The viij warde ledde the kyng ydiers of Cornewaile, that was a feire knyght and an amouse, and welbeloued a-monge ladyes with vij^M men, and the ix^e ledde the kyng Vrien that was a noble knyght, and a sure of his body; but sory he was and wroth for his sones that hu hadde loste, and full sore was he greved in the werre so that he hadde not but iij^M men of armes that he brought in his companye, but thei were bolde and hardy. The tenthe warde ledde the kyng Aguyans of Scotlonde, that was wonte to be so riche a londe, and so plentevouse of goode men, but he hath loste many in the werre that he hadde but thre^M men of armes. The xj^e warde ledde the kyng Loot of Orkanye, and hadde all loste bothe wif, and childeren, and all his feire meyne, wherfore he was so sorowfull that he hadde leuer dye than lyve, ffor so was he greved with the werre that his peple was but small, but tho were orped knyghtes, and the beste of all the hoste for to endure and suffre traueile of armes. The xijth warde ledde the kyng Ventres of Garlot, that was a full noble knyght and a sure, and he was full wroth in herte for his sone that hadde hym lefte that he loved so hertely, and hadde gretly be greved with saisnes, that he hadde in his companye but two thousande men and thre hundred, what on horsebak and on foote; and whan her peple were disseuered and her wardes devided, the barouns assembled and asked oon of a-nother how thei sholden don, and than thei a-corded to go fight be-fore the town of Clarence, and that thei sholde not ride but by myght and smyte sodeynly in to the hoste on all partes, ffor better is it for vs to dye with worship than to lyve in shame; and with that

the third by Belynans;

the fourth by Carados; the fifth by Brangore; * [Fol. 165b.] the sixth by Escam; the seventh by Clarion; the eighth by Ydiers;

the ninth by Vrien;

the tenth by Aguyans;

the eleventh by Loot;

the twelfth by Ventres.

The barons agree to fight before the town of Clarence.

¹ The word "ledde" is repeated in the MS.

When they
have supped
they com-
mand the
people to
make ready
to ride.
A spy of king
Hardogabran
overhears
the barons,

and tells
Hardoga-
bran.

When the
Saisnes learn
that there
are only
40,000 Chris-
tians they
are careless.

Hardogabran
has the host
watched day
and night.

*[Fol. 156a.]
The twelve
princes come
to the host
before day,
while all are
asleep.

They divide
their people
into three
companies.

They run
into the host
and out down
the tents.

departed the counseile of the barouns, and eche wente to his pavelon; and whan thei hadde souped thei comaunded her peple to arme hem and make redy for to ride; and a-noon thei were appareilled thou[r]gh the hoste and rode forth on her wey. And ther was a spie of the kynges Hardogabran that hadde herde all the doynge of the barouns. This asprie paste oute of the hoste previly, and com to the sege that was be-fore Clarence grete and merveilouse, and tolde to the kyng Hardogabran all the aray that he hadde seyn, and how that the cristin com with grete spede; and whan that the saisnes vndirstoden that the cristin were comynge, thei asked how moche peple thei myght be in all, and he seide that thei were not xl^{mi}, and than the saisnes ne sette nought ther-by, ne deyed not to arme the fourthe part of hem. But neuertheles the kyng Hardogabran made the hoste to be waicched bothe day and nyght; and also ther were xx kynges that after that thei herde that the cristin were comynge, thei wolde neuer be disgarnysshed of her armes. But now we moste returne to the cristin that com ridinge.

***T**hese xii princes ride so by nyght till that thei com nygh the hoste a litill be-fore day, and the weder was somewhat trouble and wyndy, and be-gan for to reyne; and thei in the hoste were the hevyer of slepe, and thei toke noon hedde that eny peple sholde come on hem at soche tyme, and whan the cristin saugh theire herberowe that noon ne come oute ne made no noyse, a-noon thei right theire armour; and whan thei were redy thei departed theire peple in to thre parties, and in that oon part was the kyng Clarion, and in that other part was the kyng Ventres of Garlot, and Carados, and Brangores, and Tradilyuans, and Belynans his brother; and in the thridde partie was the kyng Aguysas, and the kyng Vrien, and as soone as thei were disseuered thei rode a softe paas, theire hedes enclyned vnder theire helmes, and whan thei com nygh the tentes, thei lete theire horse go as faste as thei myght renne, and kutte a-sonder cordes and ropes of the loiggynges, and threwe down tentes and pavelouns, and slowh and maymed alle that thei a-raught at her comynge, and than a-roos the noyse and the

showte so grete that all the foreste resounded. Ther was grete martire and grete occision of saisnes, er the men of armes that sholde haue waicched the hoste were horsed, and whan thei saugh hem so surprised thei lepe to horse and rode to the kyng Hardogabrans tente, and blewe hornes on euery parte, and assembled to-geder bothe armed and vn-armed, and the xx kynges lepe to horse, and eche hadde x^Mi men at his baner, and ronne agein the cristen, and smote thourgh sheldes and hauberkes, that many ther were slayn on bothe partyes; and the xij princes suffred sore traueile, for thei were full noble knyghtes, and well hem helped Segurades, and Drias the lorde of salerne, and Mares, and Dorilas, and Brandins de la dolerouse garde, and Bruyns saunz pitee. These dide so well that neuer knyghtes myght do better, and on that other part were to-geder the Castelein of Gazell, and the lorde of blakeston, and the lorde of mares, and the lorde of wyndesore, and Aliers, and Gaudius, and the newew of kyng Vrien, these ought not to be forgeten, for a-gein hem myght noon armour endure were it neuer so harde. These x knyghtes drough to the xij princes as soone as thei saugh hem at the logges where thei stode stiffy, and foughten harde and sore, and so many slough the cristin that the horse wente in blode vp to the pastrouns. But the saisnes were so many and so thikke, that be fin force thei drof hem fro the tentes, but thei wente not vileyusly, but as noble men and hardy; ffor whan the worthi men saugh thei were putte bakke thei were a-schamed, and hadde ther-of grete dispite. Than thei assembled and mette hem in the visages. Ther was stronge shour, and sore eche of hem shewde her hardynesse and his grete prowesse, and eche of hem seide that neuer was he worthi to [be] cleped a knyght that failed at that nede for to helpe so well that it myght be spoke of all his lif after; with this wordes eche *smote his horse with spores and cried his ensigne, and thei smyte in so harde a-monge the Saisnes, that many ther were deed and wounded gapinge vp-right ther as thei passed; but the saisnes com oute of the tentes soche foyson that no man myght counte the nombre, and hardogabran, a saisne, moche and grete oute

There is great slaughter of the Saxons.

Horns are blown. The twenty kings leap to horse.

The twelve princes suffer.

They are helped by the knights.

The knights on the other side.

The Saxons drive the Christians away from the tents.

Each show great prowess.

*[Fol. 156b.]

The great number of the Saxons.

Hardogabran of mesure com formest; ffor the storye seith that he was xv
 is fifteen feet
 high. foote of lengthe, but he was yonge of xxviiij yere of age. This
 He sits on a kynge hardogabran satte vpon a grete gray stede with a spere
 grete steed. in his hande, grete and shorte, and hadde a staffe hanginge on
 his lifte side where-with that day he made many a knyght
 sory and wroth; and whan the cristin saugh this grete deuell
 comynge, thei doutet for to mete hym, the beste and the moste
 hardyest of all the cristin hoste, and made hym wey; and
 Carados of the perilouse tour hym mette, for he was the gretteest
 and the strengest of all the cristin hoste, and was xxx yere of
 age, and as soone as he saugh the grete devell he lete renne
 to hym for nothings he hym doutet, and thei mette so harde
 with there speres vpon the sheldes, and in passinge fourth thei
 hurteled so harde with her helmes and sheldes that bothe thei
 fall to the ground.
 They both
 fall to the
 ground.
 Both sides
 press to the
 rescue.
 Both sides
 press to the
 rescue.
 It rains
 night and
 day.
 It rains
 night and
 day.

The Christians set
 Carados on
 his horse.
 The battle
 begins
 afresh.
 The battle
 begins
 afresh.
 The Christians get
 the worst of the
 fight.
 The Christians get
 the worst of the
 fight.

Full grete was the bataile and the stour mortall for sore
 eche other dide hate. Ther dide the cristin well preve
 thereirowse, for magre hem thei sette Carados on horse, that
 Bloys of Plaisshie hym brought where-from he hadde smyten
 down the kynge Graalant, and matan and alibos, two yonge
 knyghtes, and the lorde of Nohaut, and the Castelein of Mole-
 haut, mayntened the stour so well that thei ought not to be
 blamed till that Carados was remounted, and than be-gan the
 stour all newe for many ther were of goode knyghtes on the
 cristin partye, and on the hethen side grete pride; ffor many
 ther were of riche men and pyssant, and hadde soche plente
 of peple that the cristen were not but litill shewed a-monge
 hem, and therfore hadde thei moche the werse, for thei were
 at grete myschef; and in this maner thei foughten till mydday

was paste, and than be-gan the day for to clere, and the sonne to shewe out his bemes and dried theire harneys, and than be-gan the stour to enforce more and more. But the saisnes were so many that of fin force thei droff hem oute of the feelde, and brought hem to the plaiesses, and ther thei stynted longe tyme; ffor the kynge de cent Chiualers with-stode firste and cleped his ensigne many tymes, and seide to the barouns, "What *lordynges, wheder will ye go. Certes full euell holde ye the promyse that we devised hedirwarde; ffor yet be we hool and sounde, and oure armoure hool also, and we be thus discourfited that noon of vs dar shewe his valour, wele ought we to be reproved, and well owe we to remembre that whan we be departed oon from a-nother, that yef we be oute of sorowe issed in to moche more dolour be we entred," and whan the barouns vndirstode that the kynge de Cent Chiualliers hem seide, thei returned a-gein fiercely, and eche of hem smote so the firste that he mette, that deed he fill to grounde, and ther be-gan the bataile more crewell than it hadde all the day be-fore. Ther dide the kynge de Cent Chyualiers so well that moche was he preised and be-loved of the high barouns; ffor er he departed his sheilde was all to daisht, that the thridde part ne left not hool, and his hauberke dismayled and his helme perced, and his armes all be-soiled in blode, and his horse heed and all the fore body was soyled with bloode and brayn, that he myght not be knowe, but by his speche; and also ther a-boode the kynge Vryen and Bawdemagn, his newew, and the kynge ydiers, and the kynge loot, and the kynge ventres, and Dorilas, these wolde neuer leve the stour as longe as thei myght a-bide in place, and ther thei dide the saisnes grete damage, ffor moo thei slowgh than that thei hadde don all the day be-fore; and whan the saisnes saugh the damage that thei hem dide, the[i] blewen hornes and trumpes, and made soche noyse a tempest that oon myght it heare two myle longe, and than com Orienx a saisne with foure thousand men of armes all fressh and newe, and frusht in to the medle so harde that they made hem alle to remeve place, and than a-roos the noyse and the

The day begins to clear.

The Saxons drive the Christians out of the field.

The king de Cent Chiualliers asks the barons why * [Fol. 137a.] they go.

The barons return again fiercely.

The king De Cent Chiualliers is much praised.

Urien, Bawdemagn, Ydiers, Loot, and Ventres do great damage to the Saxons.

Orienx comes with 4,000 men.

The chase
continues
till night.

The Saxons
return to
their tents.

The Saxons
lost 20,000,
and the
Christians
10,000 men.

The barons
dismount.

*[Fol. 157b.]

They leap to
horse,

and come to
the tents.
They find the
host asleep.

They throw
down the
tents, and
slay many of
the Saxons.

The Saxons
assemble at
Hardogabrans
tent.

chace all the day on ende till it was nyght that the cristin myght neuer recouer for to holde place, but were all discourfited, and yef the nyght were not so soone come vpon, more hadde thei myshapped, and whan the saisnes hadde loste the day light, thei returned to theire tentes and vn-armed hem, and esed hem, and sette hem to soper, and ete and dranke plente, and after soper thei slepe and toke theire reste as they that well wende to be sure on all partyes, but full angry thei were of the harme that the cristen hadde hem don that day, and gladly ther-of wolde thei ben a-venged, yef thei myght come in place, ffor the storie seith thei loste moo than **xx^M** men, and the cristen loste **x^M**. But now returne we to speke of the xij princes that be full of sorowe and angre for the discourfiture that is vpon hem turned, and seide a-monge hem that so wolde thei it nought leten, but that thei wolden don hem more damage er that thei wolde departed.

Now whan the barouns were so discourfited, and were somewhat fer from the tentes of the saisnes, thei a-light on foote, and a-mended theire armours, and refreshed theire horse; but thei were all be-soiled with bloode and myre, bothe theire armes *and theire horse that no colour myght be knowen; and whan thei were redy, thei lepte to horse and rode a softe paas cloos to-geder so stilliche, that noon ne spake a worde till that¹ thei com to the tentes a-boute mydnyght, and fonde the hoste all a-slepe; ffor tho thei wende to haue ben all saf for the discourfiture that thei hadde don; and whan the cristin com to the tentes thei ronned in with so grete raveyn, for thei were yet **xxx^M** of horsmen, and thei threwe down tentes and Pavilouns, and slowgh many of the saisnes, that noon ascaped that fill to theire handes; and the saisnes lepte oute of her beddes all slepy, and cried, "Treson, treson," and assembled at Hardogabrans tente, where oon blewe a trumpe, and the saisnes entended to nothinge elles but to renne to that trumpe, and than thei hem armed, and a-raied as faste as thei myght;

¹ The word "that" is repeated in the MS.

and thei light vp torches, and lanternes, and fire brondes grete plente, that the light myght haue be seyn iij myle longe.

The cristin neuer cessed to kille and to sle, and mangede alle that thei myght take, that the stremes of blode ran as of a welle springe, and thus the slaughter endured all the nyght till it was day; and whan the saisnes saugh the grette losse and martire that thei maden, thei were woode for wrath and ire, and than they com on freshly as though the[y] sholde haue all confounded in theire comynge, and the cristen hem deffended in the beste maner. But yet the saisnes droff hem oute from the tentes foule and lothly; and than be-gonne the horse of the cristin to feynte sore as they that two dayes hadde not eten, and ther-of were thei sore discourtorted; ffor thei saugh that alle were thei in a-venture of deth. Than fill the barons in corage as god wolde, the yonge knyghtes that I haue named be-fore, that thei wolde Iuste with the saisnes for to wynne hem other horse where-on thei myght ride, or elles thei were in grete pereile alle to perissh. Than eche of the barons toke a grete spere, and rode in to the renges a xl of knyghtes of pris, and hit is reson to reherse theire names of the worthi lordes. The firste was the kyng ydiers of Cornewaile, and the kyng Ventres of Garlot, and his newew that euer kepte hym a-boute hym; the fourthe was kyng loot of Orcanye; the v^e was kyng Clarion of Northumbirlonde; the sixthe was kyng *Christofer*, and his newew that hilde the depe Cite of Gaunt, and the lorde of the dolerouse garde, and Bruns saunz pitee, and the lorde of Nohaut, and the lorde of the forest perilouse, and the kyng de¹ Cent Chualiers, and the kyng Tradyluaunt of North wales, and Polydomas his newew, and the kyng Brangore, and the kyng aguysas of Scotlonde, and Gaudin his newew, and the Duke Escam of Cambenyk, and the lorde of salerne, and the kyng Vrien, and Badmagn his newew, and the kyng Belynans of South wales, and

The Christians kill all they can;

the slaughter endures all night.

The Saxons are wroth,

and drive the Christians out of the tents. The horses of the Christians faint.

Each of the barons takes a greatespear.

The names of the worthy lords.

¹ The words "kyng de" are repeated in the MS.

Carados de la dolerouse toure, and as many of other knyghtes
 * [Fol. 153a.] *that thei were well thre score.

These com in the first fronte with speres in fewtre for to
 Iuste, for grete myster hadde thei of horse, and eueriche
 of hem smote oon so harde that he fill deed to the grounde, or
 wounded, and sesed the horse by the reynes, and wente with
 hem a-side in to the feilde, and a-light from theire horse, and
 lepte on hem that thei hadde wonne, and returned a-gein in
 to bateile, and be-gonne to smyte down men and horse to
 grounde, for to remounte her company vpon fresshe horses that
 ther-to hadden grete nede, and all the day noon of hem wolde
 departe from other; ffull harde and felon was the bateile ther,
 as these thre score were newe I-horsed, and longe it endured;
 but the saisnes dide euer encrease more and more, and made
 the cristen to voyde the place, but that was with grete peyne,
 ffor the saisnes peyned hem sore to a-venge the harmes that
 thei hadden don, and the cristin were talentif to a-venge her
 frendes, that the paynymes hadde slayn; but in the ende were
 the cristin discourfited and chaced oute of the feilde. But ther
 endured grete traueile the thre score knyghtes; ffor thei kepte
 hem-self all-ther hinderest for to diffende the other that feyntly
 were horsed that myght no faster go than a paas; and these
 thre score knyghtes wisten well that alle were thei deed or
 taken yef thei hem for-saken, and so thei mayntened the bateile
 as longe as thei myght suffre till that her companye was well
 paste; and than thei wente her wey after, and whan thei were
 ouer-taken thei with-stode and foughten with the saisnes full
 harde, and whan eny of these knyghtes fill, thei alle a-boode
 till he were remounted; but nought for than moche thei losten
 at the laste, ffor right many of her men were slain and wounded,
 and taken prisoners. In this manere were the cristin dis-
 courfited, and the saisnes hem chaced fer in to the foreste,
 where-as thei hem leften be-cause of the nyght that com on,
 and than the saisnes returned to theire loigges with grete plente
 of prisoners; and alwey after that the saisnes made better
 waicche than thei hadde don be-fore, and the cristin were in

They smite
down the
Saxons, and
seize their
horses.

They re-
mount their
company.

The Saxons
increase,

and chase
the Chris-
tians out of
the field.

The three
score knights
keep up the
battle.

The Saxons
chase them
into the
forest,
and return
with plenty
of prisoners,
and keep
better watch.

the foreste for socour, and rode forth till thei com in to a feire launde, and ther thei a-light on foote from theire horse and made grete doell and sorowe for theire losse, and were so discourforted, that thei wiste not what for to do ne whider to go; but in the ende thei a-corded that eche man sholde go to his repeire, and yef the saisnes come hem for to assaile eche man deffende hym-self the beste wise that he may; with that thei lept to horse, and eche comaunded other to god and departed wepinge for pite that oon from that other, and eche wente hoom to his repeire, and stuffed hem with peple, and vitaille the beste that thei myght; and after that the saisnes hadde hem thus discourfited *thei douted hem nothinge, but ronne thourgh her londes, and brente and distroied and token prisoners, and brought in to the hoste many prayes; and neuer after were the kynges so bolde to isse out of her castelles and townes for to fight with the saisnes. But now we moste speke of the kyng Arthur that is in the see towards the grete Breteyne.

The Christians alight, and are sorrowful.

They leap to horse, and return to their homes.

*[Fol. 158b.]

The Saxons burn and destroy the lands. The kings dare not fight the Saxons again.

CHAPTER XXV.

ARTHUR'S MEETING WITH LEODOGAN; MARRIAGE OF ARTHUR AND GONNORR.

Now seith the storie, that whan the kyng Arthur and the barouns were assembled and entred in to the shippes, thei sailed till thei come to the bloy Breteyne; and as soone as thei were arived thei lepe vpon horse and ryde so day and nyght, till thei come to logres the thirde day, and ther were thei richely welcomed, and the moste ioye that myght be made to eny peple; and ther thei dide sojourne thre dayes with grete feeste; and the fourthe day remeved the kyng Arthur and Gawain, and his brethren, and the kyng Ban of Benoyk, and the kyng Bohors of Gannes, with thre thousande men of armes with-out moo, and rode so by her journeyes that

Arthur and the barons sail to the Bloy Breteyne.

They ride to Logres.

On the fourth day they ride to Carmelide,

where Leodogan so-journs. thei come in to the reame of Carmelide, a two myle from Toraise, where the kynge leodogan soiourned, and whan he herde tydinges that the kynge Arthur com, he rode a-geins hym, he and his meyne two myle or more, and whan thei were mette ther was made grete ioye, and welcomynge be-twene the¹ two kynges that well loved, and so dide alle the other barouns and lordes; and whan thei com in to the town thei fonde it all hanged with riche clothes, and strowed with fresh herbes, and fonde ladyes and maydenes carolinge and daunsinge, and the moste reuell and disport that myght be made; and on that other side these yonge bachelers of pris brake speres in bourdinge oon a-gein a-nother, and thus thei conveyed hem vn-to the town, where-as Gonnore, the doughter of kynge leodogan com hem for to meten. But who so made ioye she was gladdest of alle other; ffor as soone as she saugh the kynge Arthur she ran to hym with armes spreadde a-brode, and seide he was welcome and alle his companye; and she kiste his mouth tendirly, seynge hem alle that wolde, and than eche toke other by the hande and went vp in to the paleise, and whan it was tyme of soper thei etc and dranke grete plente, for I-nough thei haue where-of; and whan thei hadde disported hem a longe while after soper they wente to bedde for to resten hem, for wery they were of traucile; and on the morowe erly a-roos the kynge Arthur, and the kynge Bohors, and the kynge Ban, and Sir Gawein, and Ewein that gladly roos euer erly more than eny other, and wente to the mynster to here messe, and than com a-gein in to the paleise a-bove, and fonde the kynge leodogan that hadde herde messe in his chapell, and than thei asked horse and rode forth tho vj with-oute eny moo, and yede to disporte hem, and to se the medowes and the river; and than the kynge leodogan a-resoned the kynge Arthur, and asked hym whan he sholde spousen his daughter, ffor he seide *that it was tyme; and the kynge Arthur ansuerde that whiche hour that hym plesed, ffor he was ther-to redy; "but

Meeting of Arthur and Leodogan.
 Festivities in the town.
 Gonnore comes to meet Arthur.
 She kisses him.
 They have supper.
 On the morrow Arthur, Bohors, and Ban go to hear mass.
 They find Leodogan,
 who asks Arthur when he is going to espouse his daughter. * [Fol. 159a.]
 Arthur is

¹ The word "the" is repeated in the MS.

I moste a-bide the beste frende that I haue, ffor with-oute hym will I do nothinge in no manere;" and than he asked whiche was that frende, and he tolde hem how it was Merlin, "be whom I haue recouered londe and honour, and all the goode that I haue ellis," and whan sir Gawein vndirstode the wordes, he seide that he hadde grete reson for to love hym well, "and eche oon of vs oweth to desire his comynge, and wite it well he shall come er ought longe seth that ye hit desire." "Certes," seide the kynge Arthur "he tolde me that he sholde be here all in tyme." "Than ther is no more," quod Gawein, "but lete vs sette the day of spousaile;" and than toke thei day to-geder the vtas after, and com thus spekyng in to the halle, and fonde the clothes leyde, and all thinge redy, and than thei waissh as thei ought to do, and weren serued as noble princes sholden be; and after mete thei wente to disporte, thei that wolde, and thus thei soiourned alle the viij dayes full. But now resteth a litill to speke of hem at this tyme, and returne to the xij princes that were disconfit be-fore the town of Clarence.

ready, but says he must first ask Merlin.

Gawein says they all ought to wish for the coming of Merlin. They fix the espousals for that day week.

After that the kynges were thus discountfited, and were repleired eche of hem hom to his repleire; till that tydinges a-roos thourgh the londe that the kynge Arthur hadde passed the see, and hadde a-dubbed the sones of kynge loot, and the twey sones of kynge Vrien, and Galashin, the sone of kynge Ventre of Garlot, and Dodynell the sauage, the sone of kynge Belynant of South wales, and kay destranx, the newew of kynge Carados, and Seigramour, the Emperours newew of Costantynnoble, and his felowes that hadde brought with hym; and how the wif of kynge loot was at logres whider that his owne sones hadde hir brought and taken hir from the saignes; and how the brethren hadde sworn, that neuer hir fader the kynge loot sholde haue theire moder in companye till that he hadde made homage to the kynge Arthur, and lete hym wele knowe that he hadde no werse enmy than that thei wolden be; and how that kynge Arthur hadde foughten with the kynge Claudas and Pounce Antonye be-fore the castell of Trebes, and

News comes to the kings that Arthur had dubbed the sons of Loot, Urien, and the others,

and that the wife of Loot was at Logres;

that Arthur had discomfited Claudas,

Pounce,
Frolle, and
Randolf,

and Rion;
and that he
was gone to
Carmelide to
espouse his
wife.

*[Pol. 1596.]

The princes
repent of
their enmity
to Arthur.

Loot is glad
and wroth.

He will try
to take Ar-
thur's wife.

He sends out
spies.

The tale
speaks of
Merlin,

with frolle the Duke of Almayne, and Randolf the Senescall of Gaule, and hadde hem alle discounfited, and chaced oute of the feelde, and restored the two brethern to theire londes; and how he sholde take to wif the doughter of the kyng leodogan of Carmelide, and how he hadde discounfited the kyng Rion be-fore the Cite of Danablaise, and how he was gon in to Carmelide for to spouse his wif. Of these thinges spake the princes prively to hir counseile, and seide that thei dide grete synne euer hym for to wrath, ffor alle these harmes *that to hem was fallen was but for the synne that thei hadde don a-geins hym, and thei dide repente sore of the hate that was be-twene hem, yef thei myght other-wise haue don; and preiden god hertely that thei myght come in soche poynte that thei were acorded, be so that thei ther-by be not shamed; and so ran the tydinges of the kyng Arthur, that the kyng loot it herde, and wiste how that his wif was at logres, and his litill sone Mordred, and therfore in oon manere he was gladde and in a-nother he was wroth; gladde for that she was delyuered oute of the handes of the saisnes, and angry for that his children hadde sworn that neuer sholde he haue hir in companye of hym, ne haue theire love till that he hadde made homage to kyng Arthur; but he saugh not how he myght with hym be acorded with his honour, but yef god wolde helpe hym of counseile, and than he be-thought hym how Arthur wolde sende his wif to logres Chief Citee, and as soone as he myght knowe of hir comynge he wolde gon hir a-geins with as moche peple as he myght haue and fight with hym, and assay to take Arthurs wif, and for hir myght he haue a-gein his.

Thus thought the kyng loot, but other-wise sholde it go, yef god kepe the force of kyng Arthur and of Sir Gawein, his newew. Than the kyng loot sente his aspies fer and nygh, for to knowe whan the kyng Arthur sholde come from the reme of Carmelyde, and how moche peple that he hadde in his companye, and he hym appareiled for to ride hym a-geins. But of these thynges cesseth the tale at thys tyme, and speketh of Merlin, that was with Blaase in Northumbirlande, that alle

these thinges hath hym tolde, and he hath hem alle in his booke wreten; and the storye seith that as soone as the kynge Arthur hadde seide to the kynge leodogan that he a-boode nothinge elles but the comynge of Merlin, a-noon Merlin it wiste, and alle the wordes that were ther seide, and that he wiste the purpos of the xij kynges, and of the kynge loot, and how he hadde sente his aspies, and alle he tolde to Blase, and he wrote euer as he tolde; and Merlin com to Toraise in Carmelide, where-as the Barons hym a-bode, and that was the euen be-fore that the kynge sholde spousen his wif, and as soone as the Barouns hym saugh, thei were of hym right gladde and ioyfull, as thei that moche desired his feliship. But now we moste a litill turne for to speke of Gonnore the stepdoughter of Cleodalis, the senescall of Carmelide, and of his kynnysmen that right moche hated the kynge leodogan.

who knows
what is going
on.

He comes to
Toraise.

When the
barons see
him they are
right glad.
Gonnore,
the step-
daughter of
Cleodalis.

Here seith the book that Gonnore, the doughter of the senescallis wif, hadde right riche kynne of goode knyghtes that sore hated the kynge leodogan, for the grete *shame that he dide to Cleodalis of his wif, that he so longe hadde holden in a-vouterie maugre Cleodalis, and alle his frendes, and longe hadde thei kept prevy the hate that thei durste not ther-of speke; but thei thought well to be wroken whan thei saugh tyme, and it fill the same day that Merlin was come thei were assembled of hem xvj, and spake to-geder, but at this parlement was not Cleodalis, ne ther-of knewe no worde; and oon of hem asked in what manere thei myght beste greve or wrathe the kynge leodogan, and theire counseile was this: ffor thei a-corded in the ende that thei sholde so speke to the maistresse of Gonnore, that was Arthurs wif, that whan she sholde be brought to bedde to the kynge Arthur, hir lorde, this olde maistresse sholde brynge hir down in to the garden to disport, and ther while thei sholde sette ther the tother Gonnore, their cosin, in stede of hir that was Arthurs wif; and hir thei sholde sette in soche place that neuer man sholde here-after more of hir speke, ne no man sholde wite where she were be-come; and a-noon lete vs go and do so moche to the

Her friends
hate Leodo-
gan.
*[Fol. 160a.]

Sixteen of
them meet to
decide how
best to grieve
Leodogan.

They agree
to speak to
the mistress
of Gonnore,

and get her
to put the
other Gon-
nore in place
of Arthur's
wife.

They think
they will be
lords of the
king and
quene.

Seven of
them will
steal Gon-
nore away.

The mistres
will do their
will.

Merlin
knows of
their trea-
son, and tells
Ulfin and
Bretell.

He counsels
them what
to do.

They are to
speak to no
man.

*[Fol. 160b.]

The friends
come into
the hall.

maistresse that thus it may be don, and whan we haue brought this a-boute, we shall be lordes bothe of the kinge and quene, and of alle hem that be with the kynge.

Than thei ordeyned that vij of hem sholde do this thefte, and stele hir a-wey be the gardin, where-as thei sholde be hidde, and haue ther a shippe redy to putte hir ynne. To this counscile thei were a-corded, and thei dide so purchase a-gein the maistresse, that she graunted hir will to performe; and thei departed than gladde and mery as thei that wende well to haue spedde, and ordeyned the shippe and all that was myster; but a-noon as thei hadde this treson spoken Merlin it wiste, and tolde it to Vlfin and to Bretell, and toke hem a-side in counscile a-lone by hem-self, and tolde hem worde for worde all the vntrouthe that thei purposed to don; and whan Vlfin and Bretell herde the treson that these wolde haue don, thei hadde ther-of grete merueille, and than thei preied Merlin to telle how thei sholde spede of this thinge. "With gode will," seide Merlin. "To morowe, at even, whan ye haue souped, arme yow well vndir youre robes, and goth in to the chamber next the gardin vnder the greces that is ther, ffor thei shull come alle vn-armed saf hir swerdes, and shull come thourgh the gardin streight to the wicket, where-as ther shull bide till that the maistresse bringe hir to disporte. But loke a-noon as thei haue hir sesed that ye be no feynte her to rescowe, ffor than a-noon haue ye her loste for euer yef thei may bring hir to the shippe." "Sir," seide these two goode men, "yef god will, we shall not her lese, seth we knowe so moche ther-of." "And loke also," quod Merlin, "that ye speke here-of no worde to no man of nothinge that I haue to *yow I-seide, ffor than shall I neuer yow love." "Certes," seide these two noble men, "we hadde leuer be disherited and chaced oute of the londe."

Tho dide departe these thre frendes, and com in to the halle, and fonde that the knyghtes sholde departe and wente to theire loigginge till on the morowe that it was day, and than a-rise the barouns and the knyghtes, and assembled

faſte in the mynſter paleiſe ; and the kyng leodogan appareiled his doughter ſo richely, as that neuer quene ne myght be better araied, and ſhe ther-to was ſo full of grete bewte that all the worlde was gladdē hir to be-holden ; and whan ſhe was all redy, the kyng Ban toke hir on that oon ſide, and the kyng Bohors on that other ſide, and ledde hir to the mynſter of ſeynt Stephene the martir. Ther was many a baron hir to conveien holdinge be the hondes two and two, and formeſt that wente was kyng Arthur and kyng leodogan ; and the other tweyne was nexte after was Gawein and Seigramour, and than Galashiſh and Agrauiſh the prowde, and than Dodinell and Gueheret, and than Ewein le graunt, and Gaheries ; and after that Ewein a-voutres and kay deſtranx, and kay the ſtiward and antor his fader ; and after hem com the maiden that the kyng Ban and the kyng Bohors ledden, that was of ſo grete bewte ; and ſhe was diſcheueled, and hadde the feireſt heed that eny woman myght haue, and hadde a ſerle of goolde on hir heed full of preciouſe ſtones, the feireſt and the richeſt that eny man knewe, and was clothed in a riche robe that trayled to the grounde more than two fadome, that ſatte ſo well with hir bewte that all the worlde myght haue ioye her to be-holden ; and after hir com the ſtepdoughter of Cleodaliſh, that hight alſo Gonnore, whiche was right feire and auenaunt, and hir ledde Gifflet and lucas the boteller ; and after com the newe dubbed knyghtes two and two ; and after com the knyghtes of the rounde table ; and after that com the Barouns of the reame of Carmelide and the knyghtes ; and after the burgeys of the contrey, and than the ladyes of the contrey, and maydenes, and ſo thei com to the mynſter.

Whan thei com to the dore, thei fonde ther the goode Archebiſſhoppe that ther hem a-bode, and ſir Amniſtan the chapeleyn of kyng leodogan, that was a gode man of lyvinge ; and the archebiſſhop hem bleſſed, and be-fore alle the peple wedded the kyng Arthur and Gonnore to-geder ; and the goode archebiſſhoppe entred in to the chirche, and ſange the high maſſe ; and ſir Amniſtan hym ſerued, and ther was

Leodogan
appareils
his
daughter
richly.

Ban and Bohors
lead her
to the min-
ster of St.
Stephen.

The order of
the proces-
sion.

Gonnore has
a circle of
gold on her
head.

Gonnore,
the ſtep-
daughter of
Cleodaliſh,
follows her ;
then the new
knyghts, the
knyghts of
the round
table,
the barons,
the bur-
geſſes, and
the ladies,

the arch-
biſhop, and
ſir Amniſ-
tan.

Arthur and
Gonnore are
wedded.

Arthur and the barons return to the palace.

*[Pol. 161a.]

After meat a quintain is raised.

The forty knights and the knights of the round table show great skill.

Sir Gawain asks for his arms.

He puts on a breast-plate under his robes.

He and his fellows come to the tournament. The new knights are not wellled.

The forty soldiers are glad when Gawain joins them.

riche offeringe of kynges and princes, and whan the servise was ffynished the kyng Arthur and the Barouns returned in to the paleys where-as was grete plente of mynstralles, and iogelours, and other ; where-to sholde I yow devise the ioye and the deduyt that thei hadden, *for the fourthe part cowde I not telle. Thus endured the ioye and the melodye all the mete while ; and after mete, whan the boordes were vppe, than was a-rered a quyntayn, and thyder yede the newe a-dubbed knyghtes for to bourde, with sheldes a-boute theire nekkes, and the xl knyghtes that com in to Carmelide with the kyng Arthur wente with hem, and also com thider the knyghtes of the rounde table ; and whan thei were comen thei be-gonne to do maistries iolily and in myrthe as thei that were worthy me[n] and noble knyghtes. So that tidinges com to sir Gawein that satte at mete a-monge his fellowes that hadden serued ; and whan Gawein vndirstode that his frendes were ouer-sette, he a-roos vp and asked his armes and horse, and his shelde, and a-noon it was brought, and so dide alle his felowes, and Gawein dide on an habergon of double maile vnder his robes for that was euer more his custome euer as longe as he lyved. Nought for that he thought to do eny vilonye ne treson. But for he douted euer that debate sholde a-rise amonge his felowes thourgh the dedes of some musarde, or eny treson where-of ther were I-nowe in the londe ; but whan that Gawein and his felowes com in to the medowes where-as was the turnement well be-gonne. But the newe knyghtes were euell ledde, for the knyghtes of the rounde table ledde hem at her volunte, and whan that Gawein saugh that thei were so at the werse he was nothings gladde. Than he and his compaignye wenten in that were well foure s[c]ore a-counted, and a-noon these yonge knyghtes com to Gawein, and asked yef he wolde be with hem, and he seide ye, bothe now and also other tymes.

Whan the xl sowdiours herde that sir Gawein wolde be with hem at that same turnement, thei were wonder gladde and ioyfull, and the tother were full wroth, and than thei assured that neuer noon sholde faile other for deth ne for

life, and no more thei diden and that well shewed that day; ffor thei diden so well, that the knyghtes of the rounde table ther-of hadde envye; ffor dere sholde be bought the same turnement, in the turnement that was made at logres, ther-as Gawein was called lorde and maister for the wele doinge that he ther dide, as ye shull heren here-after whan that he was be-come the queenes knyght; and whan that Gawein hadde take the suerte of his felowes and of the xl knyghtes, of whiche ye haue herde. Thei renged hem, and a-raide hem, and girde a-gein theire horse, and Gawein sette hem in a-ray as he that was a wise knyght, and with-oute pride, and the moste curteise that was in the bloy Breteyne, and the beste taught in alle thinges, and euer trewe to god and to his lorde; and whan that Gawein hadde ordeyned his felowes in aray, thei rode two and two to-geder eche after other, and tweyne the firste was sir Gawein and sir Ewein le *graunt, the sone of kynge Vrien, that Gawein loved beste of alle other, for he was the beste after Gaheries; and the next tweyne were Seigramour and Galashyn, and than Gefflet and lucas the boteller, for to assemble theire sheldes a-boute her nekkes, and her speres streight in theire handes, and the kynge Arthur, and the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and Merlin, and Bretell, and Vlfin, and Antor were lefte with the kynge leodogan in the paleise, and were comen vp on high for to se and be-holde the bourdeyse, and with hem weren ladyes and maydenys grete plente, and saugh that thei were redy araide for to mete.

On that other side were the knyghtes of the rounde table redy araied, and weren an hundred and fifty, and sir Gawein sente hem xl Iusteres, of the whiche Seigramour was the firste; and on that other side com Nascien, and thei lete theire horse renne that oon agein that other; and sir Gawein smote be-twene hem two and hem departed, and cleped the knyghtes of the rounde table, and seyde, "Ffeire lordes, ye be right worthi men and goode knyghtes, the beste that eny knoweth. But doth wele, and lete vs be as many for as many oon a-geins another, by soche forwarde that yef we take eny

The knyghts of the round table envye them.

Gawein sets them in order.

They ride two and two.

*[Fol. 161b.]

Arthur, Ban. Bohors, Merlin, and the others, come to see the sport.

The knyghts of the round table are a hundred and fifty.

Gawein addressesthem, and says that their number should be equal.

They send
after their
arms.

The barons
praise Sir
Gawein.

The first of
the round
table is
Adragein.
Dodinell
comes a-
gainst him.

*[Fol. 162a.]

Both fall to
the ground.
Both sides
run to the
rescue.

of yours, that thei shall be with vs a-geins yow, and yef ye take eny of owres, thei shull helpe yow to oure noysaunce, and be it don in soche manere that as soone as ye take eny man of oures that we shull sette a-nother in his place, and ye also as soone as we take eny man of yowres to do the same,' Thanne a-noon thei graunted to holde¹ the couenauntes, and than thei sente after theire armes in the town; and as soone as thei were brought thei hem armed spedily in alle haste, and the tidinges therof com in to the barouns in what maner that sir Gawein hadde take the turnement a-gein the knyghtes of the rounde table; and thei preised hym gretely, bothe oon and other. But a-bove alle other hym preised the kynge Bohors, and seide ther was neuer seyn soche a knyght of his age, and yef he lyve longe he shall be the beste knyght that euer was, "and that I hadde levest to resemble." Thus spake the kynge Bohors of sir Gawein, and thei hem armed hastely and soone, and lepe to horse, and hem renged and a-ray, and eche roode a-gein other. The firste that renged hym of the rounde table was Adragein le noir, his shelde a-boute his nekke, the spere in honde, and vpon a blakke stede; and on that other side com hym a-gein Dodinell le sauage, as faste as horse myght renne, and smote vpon the sheldes with sharpe grounde speres so rudely that thei perced the sheldes thourgh the myght of theire armes, and theire horse that swyftly hem bare, that the heedes stynted at the hauberkes; but thei were so stronge *that thei faused no mayle that the speres moste nede breke at the passinge thourgh of the horse, for bothe were thei goode knyghtes, and the horse swyfte, and thei hurteled so to-geder with sheldes and helmes, that bothe thei fill to grounde, horse and man; and as soone as thei were bothe ouerthrowen, thei ronne to the rescowe on bothe parties, and mette to-geder with speres vpon the sheldes that thei splended on peces, and some ther were that passed thourgh with-oute fallinge, and some lay stille.

¹ The words "to holde" are repeated in the MS.

As soone as the speres were spente, thei drough oute theire swerdes, and be-gonne the medle on foote and on horsebak, and sir Gawein and Nascien mette to-geder with speres vpon sheldes with all theire force so rudely, that thei all to perced, and Nasciens spere brake in Gaweins shelde; and Gawein smote hym a-gein so rudely, that he bar hym from his horse and his legges vp-right; but a-noon he lepte on foote, for he was full bolde and hardy, and drough his swerde and couered hym with his shelde, and apparaild hym redy for to diffende; and Gawein returned and drough his swerde and com to Nascien, and a-light on foote; and whan Nascien saugh hym come with swerde drawen, he ne douted hym but litill, for he was a full noble knyght, and hardy, and right sure, and smote Gawein vpon the penon of the shelde that he clef it to the bocle, and Gawein paide hym vpon the helme that he fill vpon the palme of his handes, but soone was he risen vp a-gein and smote Gawein so grete a stroke vpon the helme that the sparkeles fly oute flamynge reade; and whan Gawein saugh that it a-noyed hym sore, and than he hitte Nascien vpon the helme that he made it cleve, and that Nascien fill vpon bothe knees, but he was of high herte, and lepte vpon foote, and in the a-risinge Gawein caught hym be the helme, and raced it from his heede so harde, that his nose and his browes were sore hurte, and caste it as fer as he myght in to the presse, and than he cried, "sir knyght yelde the, for thow seest well how it is," and he ansuerde that he was not yet come ther-to for to yelde hym, for no man that he saugh. Than he couered hym with his shelde, and smote Gawein so harde on the shelde, that a grete pece fill on the grene, and Gawein lepte to hym and smote hym so with the pomell of his swerde on the temple, that he fill to the erthe vp-right; and than he lepte to hym and a-bated down the coif of maile of his heede and scide, "Yelde the, or thow art but deed;" and he ansuerde that sle hym he myght wele; but ther-fore wolde he not yelde hym recreaunt while he myght lyve. "What, sir knyght," quod Gawein, "sey ye this for trouthe that ye hadde leuer be deed than ye

They draw
their swords.

Gawein and
Nascien
meet.

Gawein calls
on Nascien to
yield, but he
will not.

Gawein says
he will slay
him if he does
not yield.

sholde yelde yow ;" and he seide, "Ye, withoute faile."
 "Trewly," seide Gawein, "and I will not sle yow, for it were
 *grete damage, for ye be full noble and worthi, but I shall
 make yow to be so wele kept that this moneth ye shull not
 come on horsbak." "I wote neuer," quod he, "what ye
 will do; but I will neuer graunte me for outreyed while that
 I may lyve." Whan Gawein herde this, he saugh that he was
 of right high herte, and he be-thought hym on a fraunchise
 that many on wolde haue be full loth to haue do, and a-noon
 he toke hym vp by the armes and seide, "Sir knyght, haue
 here my swerde, and I yelde me to yow as he that is outrayed;"
 and whan Nascien saugh the grete gentilnesse that was in hym,
 he was right gladde and seide, "Ha, sir, I crye yow mercy,
 ne sey not so, but holde here my swerde that I yow here yelde,
 for alle peple se well I-nough how well it is; ffor this guerdon
 ne may I yow quyte ne deserue, and than thei enbraced in
 bothe armes, bothe bachelers, and eche to other made grete
 curtesye, and than returned bothe to-geder in to the turnement
 that tho was well be-gonne, and Nascien turned vpon Gaweins
 side.

Gawein
 offers to give
 Nascien his
 sword,

but he yields.

They em-
 brace each
 other.

Dodinell is
 remounted.

Seigramour
 smites down
 Herry.

Gaheries
 takes Mygo-
 ras.

Gawein's fel-
 lows take
 forty knights
 of the round
 table.

Forty come
 in fresh.

Whan Gawein and Nascien com to the turnement thei
 fonde that Dodinell was remounted, and hadde with-
 holde Adragain be fyn force, and the stour was right stronge
 and merveilouse; and Seigramour hadde smyte down herry de
 rivell, and hilde hym by the helme so harde with bothe hondes
 that his feith be-hoved hym to yelde; and Gaheries hadde
 taken Mygoras; and whan Gawein com he be-gan to do so
 well, that alle thei be-hoved to forsake place, and Gaweins
 felowes dide so wele, that the xl knyghtes of the rounde table
 hadde thei taken be strength, therefore were the tother full
 sory. Than com in other xl all fressh, and than recovered
 to-geder alle the foure score felowes, and yaf hem a-newe
 enuaye, and com full sory and wroth for theirre felowes that
 were thus taken, and these other com and receyved hem at
 spere poyntes full boldly. Ther was stronge stour and grete
 strokes with swerdes vpon helmes and vpon sheldes, and longe

it endured that oon cowde not sey whiche party hadde the werse; and so lasted the medle till that mydday was passed, and than issed sir Gawein oute of the turnement to recouer a-nother helme, for his was to rente that it was but litill worth to hym or to eny other; and as soone as he was newe helmed and hadde averted hym-self, he saugh how his felowes blenched on alle partes, and than he rode in as faste as his horse myght renne, and smote so the firste that he mette, that he fill from his horse in to the feelde, and a-noon as he was comen his felowes recouered that were in pointe to leve place, and he be-gan to do so well that alle men merveiled that hym be-heilde, and fill that he fonde sir Ewein on foote, and kay, and Gefflet, and lucas, and Bliobleris, and Osenain cors hardy, and launall, and Agraunin; vpon these viij was all the turnement stinted; ffor hem to take *coveyted the knyghtes of the rounde table, and whan Gawein saugh that, he dressed thiderward his horse with a spere in honde, and smote in a-monge hem so that thei fremyssh, and smote so the firste that he mette that he fill vp-right, and ther-with brake the spere that myght no lenger endure; and after that he overthrewe tweyne with the tronchon so felenoyusly that thei wiste not whethir it was nyght or day; and after that he drough his swerde and be-gan soche maistries in armes that alle thei were a-baished, ffor he slitte sheldes, and hauberkes, and helmes, so that noon durste a-bide his strokes, but made hym wey the beste of hem alle, and thei disparbeled here and there, and his felowes ther-while be remounted, and haue goode will to ben a-venged; and than be-gan sir Ewein to do so well that many were gladde hy[m] to be-holden, and so diden alle the other companye that thei were worthi to haue grete loos. Thus endured the turnement full longe, and wele thei diden in armes the newe knyghtes, and merveilously hym preved ther sir Ewein, the sone of kynge Vrien, and Galasshin, and Dodinell, and the viij felowes a-foresaide; these hielde hem vigerously be-fore alle the tother, and hem preised moche the foure kynges that weren vpon the walles, and scide thei sholde be noble men yef thei myght live to age;

Gawein comes out of the tournament to get a new helmet.

He smites the first he meets.

All men marvel at him. The eight chief knights.

*[Fol. 163a.]

Gawein overthrewe many.

None can abide his strokes.

His fellows remount.

Sir Ewein does well;

so do all the new knights.

The four kings praise them.

The knights
of the round
table are
angry.

Gawein's
deeds were
long spoken
of.

He puts up
his sword,

and takes a
spar of oak.

He smites
down all
he comes
against.

The knights
of the round
table run up-
on Gawein
and his fel-
lows, and say
*[Fol. 163b.]
they will do
their worst.

Merlin bids
Ban and Bo-
hors go to
the tourna-
ment.

Merlin rides
foremost.

but a-bove alle other was sir Gawein comended, ffor thourgh his prowess thei were putte bakke and chaced to the town, and ther with-stode the knyghtes of the rounde table that were wroth and angry, and seiden amonge hem-self that foule were thei demened, and than thei returned a-gein hem that kepte hem wonder shorte; and than be-gan the stour so mervelouse and fierce more that it hadde ben of all the day at the enterynge of the yates of Torayse, be-twene the knyghtes of the rounde table and the knyghtes that were newe a-dubbed, and ther be-gan Gawein soche a disray that longe was it spoken of after; and yet hadde he don well all the day, ffor whan that he saugh the knyghtes of the rounde table were stynted be-fore the yate, and diffended so harde the entre he was sore chaffed for anger. Than he putte vp his swerde in the scawberk, but it was not Calibourne, but it was a-nother turneyinge swerde; and than he caught a sparre of Oke with bothe hondes, and caste his shelde to the grounde for to be more light, and com in to the presse ther as he saugh thikkeste, and in his comynge he smote a knyght on the helme that he fill in swownynge, and than he smote a-nother that he fill to grounde, and than he leide on grete strokes on bothe sides that all that he raught voided the sadeles that noon ne ascaped, and he hurte many and maymed; and whan the knyghtes of the rounde table saugh that thei coveited nothings but hem for to greve, and than thei ronne vpon Gawein and his felowes, and seide that to-day more thei wolde not spare to do theire werste, *and that of turneyinge hadde thei no more cure; and thei be-gonne ther a stour grete and perilouse that grete myschef ther sholde haue ben hastely, yef Merlin ne hadde cleped the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors his brother, and badde hem departe the turnement, for it was high tyme; and whan the barouns vndirstode that Merlin seide, thei asked theire armes and theire horse hastely, and the squyres lepte wightly and brought hem be-fore the paleise, and thei ride a-noon thourgh the renges, and Merlin rode formeste that sore hym hasted; and these foughten full harde, that sore were chauffed with wrath oon a-gein a-nother

But Gawein dide moche harme with the sparre that was so harde, and thei hem diffended full vigerously, that in no wise wolde not voide the grounde; and whan Gawein saugh that thei mayntened hem so well he smote a-monge hem Irous as a wilde boor, and perced hem thourgh-oute maug[r]e hem alle; and than be-gan to do the werste that he myght hem to harmen at his power. Than Merlin and the thre kynges com hem to disseuer, and than fill that Gawein mette Meodalis that hadde smyte hym with a spere in the breste, that ner he hadde smyte down bothe hym and his horse on an hepe; and he was full wroth for the buffet that he hadde resceyved, and lifte up the barre to smyte hym on the helme; and he saugh the stroke come and blenched to eschewe the barre, but the stroke fill be-twene the sholdres and smote hym down to the erthe; and the kynge Arthur, that wele hadde seyn the stroke, cried pees, that wele was vndirstonde of may oon, and cried a-lowde, "Feire newew, ley down the barre, for ye haue don right I-nowgh;" and Merlin caught hym be that oon hande, and in that other hande toke the barre, and seide, smylinge, "Sir knyght, thow art take yelde thow to me, for ye haue don I-nough."

Than Gawein be-helde and saugh it was Merlin; than he seide full debonerly, "I am take seth that it yow pleseth, and ther-with he lete falle the barre, and than he asked why he dide hym take." With that worde com the kynge Arthur, and seide, "Gawein, feire newewe, lefe the turnement, for ye haue don I-nowgh; ffor we se well that it is to be lefte." And he ansuerde a-gein that so be it seth that he dide comaunde, and than tho v wente forth, and a-noon as Gawein was oute thei departed and wente to there hosteles for to vn-arme hem. But full sory were the knyghtes of the rounde table, for that thei hadde the werse by the chaunge that thei hadde made; and seiden than whan thei turneyed eny more, thei wolde so be a-venged that thei sholde not hem scorne ne Iape, and that thei lete hem well wite the newe knyghtes and her companye. These wordes well vndirstode a yonge knyght that rode after hem, and tolde it to sir Gawein that Arthur

Gawein does much harm.

He is like a wild boar.

Merlin and the three kings come to sever the knights. Fight between Gawein and Meodalis.

Arthur cries peace.

Merlin tells him he has done enough.

Gawein lets the bar fall.

Arthur says that the tournament is to end.

The knights of the round table are sorry that they had the worst of the fight, and say they will be avenged.

*[Fol. 164a.] and *Merlin hadde brought to the paleise, and sir Ewein with hem, and Galasshin, and Seigramor; and whan this yonge knyght com he tolde as the knyghtes of the rounde table hadde seide, and Gawein vndirstode her manaces, and hir pride, and he hadde ther-of grete dispite; but he made ther-of no semblance, saf that he seide to his companye, that neuer he wolde hem faile in no turnement ne in werre. These wordes seide Gawein to his felowes, and he hilde it wele, ffor it was well shewed after who was the beste knyght that day that thei toke turnement at logres in the medowes, as shall be reherseth whan tyme cometh; as soone as the turnement was departed, and the kynge and his newew were in the paleise, the knyghtes of the rounde table wente to vn-arme hem at her ostels, and the mene peple of the town conveied I-nowgh sir Gawein, and seide oon to a-nother, lo here the goode knyght, and thei gadered a-boute hym on alle partes, and conveyed him to the paleise, and in to the halle, and thei asked oon of a-nother what he was; and Merlin hem ansuerde, and seide his name was Gawein, the newew of kynge Arthur, and the sone of kynge loot of Orcanye; and whan thei herden what he was, thei seiden as gladde peple that he shewed well fro whens he was comen, thus the peple of the town seiden her volunte, and than thei returned; and whan the knyghtes of the rounde table were vn-armed, thei clothed hem and a-raide hem in her beste robes, and com to court; and where thei saugh sir Gawein, thei drough a-boute hym and compleyned to hym of hym-self, and seide that he hadde hem euyll be seyn at that firste turnement, and that fro thens-forth he ought wele to be lorde and maister, and felowe of the rounde table; and Gawein hem herde wele, but he ansuerde hem no worde, and fro thens-forth he was a lorde and maister, and a felowe of the rounde table; and it was goode reson, ffor he was a noble knyght, and a trewe and full of alle vertues and goode tecches, and the moste curteise knyght that eny man knewe.

The knights of the round table go to unarm themselves. The people praise Gawein and ask who he is.

The knights of the round table array themselves in their best robes.

Gawein becomes a knight of the round table.

There are

With that were the tables leide, and the knyghtes wash, and ther were thre halles full of knyghtes, and thei

were well serued, and by leiser of alle thinges, and after soper whan the clothes weren vp thei enuoyseed the worthi knyghtes, and eche reported of other honour as was right, and than thei ronge to euesonge in the mynster of seynt Stephene, and thider thei wente to here the seruise, and after was the bedde of Arthur blessed as was right, and than departed the knyghtes, and wente to theire hostelles for to slepe and resten; and Gonnore be-lefte in the Chamber, she and hir maistresse alone, and that day was purchased the *treson wherby she sholde be taken and traied of the parentes of Gonnore, the stepdoughter of Cleodales the stiwarde, ffor thei hadde youen so moche to the olde maistresse of Arthurs wife, that she graunted to do theire volunte, and tolde hir thei wolde a-bide in the gardin vnder the paleise, and thei sholde haue the tother Gonnore in her companye; and all thus thei were a-corded and wente in-to the gardin, and hidde hem vnder the trees x of hem; but thei were not armed saf thei hadde eche of hem a suerde, and with hem was the false Gonnore, and ther thei a-bide so longe that the barouns were departed to her hostels, and thei made dispoile the queene to go to hir bedde; and than the old maistresse hir toke and ledde hir in to the gardin for to pisse, and whan the x traitoris that were quatte in the gardin vnder an ympe saugh her come, thei were stille and coy, and drough towarde the wall litill and litill, and Bretell and Vlfin hadde not foryete the wordes that Merlin hadde seide. But were well armed vnder her robes, and weren quat vnder the steyres ther as the queene sholde come down, and hilde hem so stille that thei were not a-perceyued of man ne woman, and herkened in this manere long while, and than thei saugh the queene that the maistresse brought by the hande and wente that wey, where-as the traitours hadde sette theire waicch, and whan thei saugh that thei weren oute of the chambre, thei lepe vp and sette hande on hir, and toke to the old maistresse the tother false Gonnore, and a-noon as the queene hem saugh she wiste well she was be-traied, and wolde crye as she that was sore affraied, and thei seide that yef she spake eny worde she sholde a-non

three halls
full of
knights.

They go to
even-song at
the minster.

•[Fol. 164b.]

The mistress
agrees to be-
tray Gon-
nore.

Therelations
of the other
Gonnore will
abide in the
garden.

Each of the
ten has a
sword.

The old mis-
tress leads
Gonnore into
the garden.

Bretell and
Ulfin are
well armed.

They keep
still, so that
they are not
perceived.

The traitors
leap upon
Gonnore, and
give the false
Gonnore to
the mistress.

They drag
Gonnore to
the river.

be slain, and ther-with thei drough theire swerdes oute and wente toward the river that ran vnder the gardin, where thei hadde a barge I-teyed where-in thei were come in to the gardin, and the gardin was right high a-bove the river, and noon myght come ther-to but by a lane or by a barge, and the lane was full thikke and comberouse to come vp or down for the rokkes, wherof was grete plente; and yef thei myght haue brought hir in to the barge the queene hadde ben loste with-oute recouer.

Ulfin and
Bretell leap
up.

Whan Vlfin and Bretell saugh that thei hadde so longe a-wayted, thei lepte oute of theire enbusschement and hem a-scryed and cleped hem traitours, and seide thei sholde dye; and whan that the traitours saugh thei were but tweyne, and dide hem a-scrye, and preised hem at nought, than v of hem toke the queene, and v a-bode for to fight with the tweyne that com with swerdes drawn; and whan the queene saugh hir ledde in soche manere, she hadde grete drede, and fill to grounde vpon the grene, and thei lifte hir vp and bare hir a-vey

Five of the
traitors take
the queen,
and the other
five stay to
fight with
them.

*[Fol. 165a.]

Gonnore lays
hold of a
shrub, and
the traitors
cannot get
her away.

maugre hire; and whan she saugh tweyne come *hir to socour, she braied rudely oute of theire handes and down the gardin till she com to an ympe, and clippe it in hir armes full harde and thise com for to take hir a-vey; but they myght not hir remeve, and yet thei pulde and drough, but more dide thei nought; and thei were nygh woode for sorowe and angre, that for a litill thei wolde hir haue slayn, and Vlfin and Bretell be come to these v that hem a-bide with swerdes drawn, and Bretell smote so the firste that he mette that he slytte hym to the teth, and Vlfin smote a-nother that the heede fill to grounde, and the other thre smyte at hem sore, but nought thei myght hem apeire, for thei were well armed; and thei wolde haue fledde, but thei kepte hem so shorte that alle thre, there were deed, and thei com to the tother fyve that peyned to lede a-vey the quene by force, but thei myght not haue hir a-vey from the ympe, and thei plucked at hir so sore that nygh thei rente bothe armes from the body, and whan that Vlfin and Bretell saugh the queene in soche turnement, thei ronne thider, and hem a-scried, and a-noon thei com hem a-geins, and yaf

Ulfin and
Bretell kill
three of the
men.

They go to
the other
five;

to-geder grete strokes with swerdes ther as thei myght atteyne, that thei slowgh tweyne of the v; and thei saugh thei were but thre, and thei turned to flight down the lane toward the barge; and whan Vlfin and Bretell saugh hem fleeen thei sette no force hem to enchace, but com to the olde deuell, the maistresse, and caught hir by the sholderes, and caste hir down the roche, and rolled fro roche to roche till she com to the river, and than thei caste in the bodyes of alle hem that thei hadde slayn, and than thei toke the queene and ledde hir to hir chambre sore affraied, and thei badde hir be nothings be dismayed. Than thei toke the false Gonnore and ledde hir to theire hostell, for thei wolde that noon apaceyved her covyne.

they kill two of them;

the other three run away.

Ulfin and Bretell cast the mistress down the rock into the river; also the bodies of those they slew.

They lead the queen to her chamber, and the false Gonnore to their hostel.

Thus as ye haue herde were the traitours demened by the counseile of Merlin, and the Queene was socoured by these two worthi men; and as soone as thei were gon, a-noon Merlin it knewe well, and than he badde the kyng sende two maydenes in to the chamber to the queene for to bringe hir to bedde, and the kyng asked wherefore is ther not I-nowgh of the maistresse, and Merlin tolde hym the trouthe all as it was be-fallen; and whan the kyng it herde he merveiled moche of this thinge, and seide he sholde not be in ese till he hadde spoken with his doughter; and than departed the kyng leodogan and com in to the chamber where-as Gonnore his doughter was, and brought with hym two maydenes to helpe hir to bedde; and whan she saugh hir fader she be-gan tenderly to wepe, and the kyng toke hir by the hande, and spake with hir sooll by hir-self, and he badde hir not to be dismayed, for she sholde no more haue no drede, and she tolde hym all the auenture that was be-fallen; and than the kyng comaunded the maydenes to make hir redy, and bringe hir to bedde, and thei a-noon dide his comaundement, *and the kyng leodogan wolde neuer departe oute of the chambre till that he saugh the signe of the crowne vpon hire reynes; and than wiste he verily that it was his doughter vpon his wif, and than he couered hir a-gein, a wente oute of the chambre and spake no worde; and the dameseiles merveiled sore whi that he dide

Merlin knowing what had happened, bids Leodogan send two maidens to the queen.

Leodogan comes to see his daughter

who tells him all her adventure.

*[Fol. 165b.]

He will not leave her chamber till he sees the sign of the crown on her body. The damsels marvel.

Arthur comes to bed with his queen.

so, and than com the kynge Arthur and his companye from theire disporte, and whan he com in to the halle, the kynge Leodogan and Merlin com hym a-geins, and badde hym go to his wif to bedde, ffor it was reson and high tyme, and he seide he wolde with good will, and com in to the chambre where the two maidenen weren that hadde brought the queene to bedde, and as soone as he was in his bedde thei departed oute of the chambre, and lefte no moo but hem two, and ther thei ledde myri lif togeder as thei that well loued.

The story will declare how the queen was with Galehaut, and how Arthur lived in adultery with the false Gonnore,

and how the Realm was accursed on account of Bertelak.

Thus sholde the queene haue be disceyued be these traitours, and thourgh hem after-ward hadde she grete annoye that longe tyme endured, as the storye shall declare how that the kynge hir lefte thre yer, that she com neuer in his companye; but was with Galehaut, a riche prince in the reame of Sorloys, for the love of launcelot; and the kynge Arthur hilde in a-voutrye the false Gonnore till that a maladie hir toke, and Bertelak, a traitour, that made he wolde hir not forsake for no man, till that she stanke and rotened a-bove erthe, and the reame was therfore nygh thre yere enderedit, and stode a-cursed that neuer manes body ne womans was byried in noon halowed place, but a-cursed be the centense of holy cherche, and all this trouble suffred oure lorde hem for to haue for hir synnes that were right grete, and all this com thourgh a knyght that died after vpon myschevouse deth, as ye shull here declared in the seconde book of this storie, and it is reson to telle what was the cause that it fill.

Leodogan is a noble knight.

Bertelak, a wise knight, hated a knight who had slain his cousin.

This was the trouthe that the kynge leodogan was a noble knyght, and kepte well Iustice and right, and he hadde with hym a wise knyght that hadde don hym goode servise; and he was come of high lynage, and hadde be a goode knyght in his tyme, and was cleped Bertelak, and he hated a knyght dedly, for that he hadde slayn his cosin germain for his wif, that he loved, and whan Bertelak wiste that he hadde his cosin slain, and his wif diffouled, he ne deyned not to make no playnt to the kynge leodogan, but com to hym and hym diffied, and a-waited hym after many a day and many

a nyght; and it fill that same even that arthur hadde wedded his wif that the knyghtes departeden for the court, and wente to theire hostels, and happed that Bertelak mette that knyght and with hym two squyers, and a-noon Bertelak ran vpon hym and hym slowgh; and whan he hadde don he wente to his hostell, and the two squyers that were with the knyght made a grete crie, that *the peple ronne oute on alle parties with lanternes, and brondes of fire, and torches brennyng, and fonde the knyght slayn, and thei aske the two squyers that made so grete doell who hadde hym slain; and thei seide that Bertelak the rede hadde it don, and whan the squyers hadde cried and braied for theire lord longe while, thei toke hym vp and bar hym to theire hostell, and dide hym birie as oon sholde do a deed knyght, and dide the seruise at cherche as ther-to belonged; and on the morowe Vlfin and Bretell sente after Cleodalis, the stiward, for to come speke with hem in her hostell, and he com a-noon with goode chere as fre and debonair, and a-noon as he was comen, thei toke hym in counseile, and tolde hym all the a-uenture as it was be-fallen how his daughter hadde wrought; and whan he hadde herde the vntrouthe of hire he seide his daughter was she not, ffor yef she hadde be my daughter she hadde not don this for no-thinge that is in the erthe; and as thei spake to-geder a-monge hem thre. The kyng leodogan was a-risen erly, ffor sore was he affraied of the merveiles that were be-falle that nyght of his daughter, and Merlin was also a-risen, and seide, "Sir, god yeve yow goode morowe;" and whan the kyng hym saugh he made hym feire chere, and bad god hym blisse. Than eche toke othe be the hande, and wente spekyng of many thinges till thei com to the hostell of Vlfin and Bretell, and thei entred in so stilliche that thei ther-of wiste no worde till thei were euen comen vpon hem, and a-noon as thei were of hem war, thei yede hem a-geins as thei that nothings were a-baished to worship eny worthi man. Than thei entred in to a chambre alle v, and Vlfin brought forth Gonnore, and tolde how she and the traitours hadde wrought, not-with-standinge thei knewe it

He meets
him and kills
him.

The squires
make a great
cry, and the
people run
out and find
the dead
knight.

They bury
him.

Vlfin and
Bretell send
for Cleodalis,
and tell him
of his
daughter.

He says she
cannot be his
daughter.

Leodogan
rises early,

and meets
Merlin.

They come to
the hostell
of Vlfin and
Bretell.

Vlfin brings
forth
the
false
Gonnore.

Leodogan
tells Cleod-
alis that he
loves him,

alle wele, for Merlin hadde it tolde the kyng all as it was.
Than spake the kinge leodogan to his stiwarde, and seide,
“Sir, Senescall, I love yow well, and fayne I wolde purchase
yours worshippinge for to encrease, and so I shall do yef I may lyve;
for full well ye haue me serued and trewly, and therefore
wolde I do nothinge that sholde yow turne to shame or reprof,
and witte ye wherfore I it sey. Se here youre doughter that
wele hath deserved that ther sholde be don on hir Iustice.
But ye haue be so trewe to me that I ought it wele to pardon
for the love of yow, or a gretter thinge than is this. But for
that me be-hoveth for to take vengeance in some manere, hit
be-houeth yow to bringe hir oute of this reame In soche wise
that neuer she be sein of man ne of woman that hir knowe;
for so I will that it be don;” and the stiwarde ansuerde and
seide that his doughter ne was she neuer. But in as moche as
it was his wille and his *comaundement he wolde hit don, “for
so god helpe me,” quod he, “I hadde leuer she hadde be buried
all quyke than this hadde hir be-fallen. Ne to me she ne
aperteyned nothinge neuer.” “Now,” quod the kyng, “lete
be all this matier, and loke that it be don in soche maner that
I neuer here more speche of hir here-after, and that ye take
of myne what that is youre plesier.”

and will
pardon his
daughter for
love of him;
but he must
take her out
of the realm.

The steward
says he will
do so.

*[Fol. 166b.]

Cleodalis
takes his
stepdaughter
to an abbey,
where she
remains till
Bertelak
finds her.

Thus was take the counseile of the Barouns, and Cleodalis
appareiled hym and his stepdoughter to go with-outen
lenger respite, and rode forth by theire iourneyes till thei com
oute of the reame of Carmelide in to an abbey that stode in a
full wilde place, and ther he hir lefte, as seith the storie, till
that Bertelak the reade hir fonde, whiche by his art and his
engyn by hir lay longe tyme after. But of hir as now speketh
no more the tale saf that Cleodalis lefte hir there, and come
a-gein to Toraise in to the grete Court of the kyng leodogan
in Carmelide, wher-as was the kyng Arthur.

Cleodalis re-
turns to To-
raise.

CHAPTER XXVI.

BANISHMENT OF BERTELAK ; FIGHT AND RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ARTHUR AND LOOT ; ARTHUR'S COURT AT LOGRES ; VOWS OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE ROUND TABLE AND THE QUEEN'S KNIGHTS ; THE TOURNAMENT.

When the kyng leodogan hadde comaunded his stiwarde to bringe his stepdoughter oute of the reame, he and Merlin departed from Vlfin and Bretell, and com in to the halle hande to hande, where thei fonde the Barouns alle redy, and oon hadde ronge to masse, and so thei wente to the-mynster, and whan masse was seide thei com a-gein in to the halle, and than com the kyn of the deed knyght that Bertelak hadde slain, ffor to make theire complainte to the kyng; and the kyng leodogan sente for to seche hym at his hostell, and he com a-noon withoute daunger well armed vndir his robes, and brought with hym grete plente of knyghtes, ffor he was full of feire courtesie and a feire speker, and a-noon the kyng hym asked why he hadde the knyght slain in treson, and he seide that of treson he sholde hym wele diffende a-gein alle tho that wolde hym apele, "and I sey no nay but that I slough the knyght, but firste I dide hym deffie, and it was not withoute grete cause, ffor moche peple knowe wele that he slough my cosin germain for his wif that he diffouled, and me semeth that in alle maners that oon may oweth he to greve his mortall enmye after that he hath hym diffied;" and the kyng seide that that was not I-nough. "But yef ye hadde yow complayneth to me, and I wolde not haue it redressed than myght ye haue take vengauce, but ye ne spake ther-of to me neuer worde." "Sir," quod he, "ye sey *your* volunte. But a-geins yow mysdide I neuer, ne neuer ne shall yef god will." Quod the kyng, "I will that right be hadde." "Sir," seide Bertelak le Rous, "I se well that I moste be at youre volunte," and than comaunded the kyng leodogan that Ingement sholde be yoven be the rede of his barouns.

Leodogan
and Merlin
leave Vlfin
and Bretell,

and come
into the hall.
The relations
of the knight
that Bertelak
slew come to
complain to
the king.

Bertelak
comes with
many
knights.

He defends
himself.

The kingsays
he should
have com-
plained to
him.

The ten who
sit in judg-
ment.

*[Fol. 167a.]

Ban declares
the sentence
of the barons,
which is that
Bertelak's
land shall be
taken from
him, and he
shall be ban-
ished.

Bertelak
dares not
answer.

He comes to
the abbey
where the
false Gon-
nore is.
He thinks
how he may
be avenged
of Leodogan
and Arthur.

At this Iugement was the kyng Arthur, and the kyng Ban, and the kyng Bohors, and sir Gawein, and sir Ewein, and Galasshin, and Nascien, and Adragain, and hervey de rivel, *and Guyomar. These x were at the Iugement and spake to-geder of oon thinge and other, and thei a-corded in the ende that he sholde be disherited, and voyde the londe of the kyng leodogan for euer more; and the kyng Ban that was of feire eloquense tolde the tale as he was charged, and he spake so high that he myght wele be herde, bothe of nygh and fer. "Sirs," quod he, "these barouns that beth here a-warded that Bertelais le Rous shall be disherited of all his londe that he holdeth in youre power, and shall for-swhere the contre for euer more; ffor that he toke the Iustice vpon hym-self of the knyght that he slough, and namly by nyght, ffor the Iustice longed not to hym, and on that other side ye holde court open and myghty that oweth to condite alle saf goynge and saf comynge to alle tho that come at this high feste," and with that sat down the kyng Ban that no more seide at that tyme; and whan Bertelays saugh he was for-Iuged, and that he ne myght noon othirwise do he returned with-oute moo wordes; ffor he durste not the Iugement with-sey, ffor the highest lordes of the worlde, and the moste puyssaunt hadde it don. But yef eny other hadde it don a-noon he wolde the Iugement haue falsed, and thus wente Bertelais le Rous, but many a knyght hadde he hym to conueye to whom he hadde yoven many feire yestes, ffor he hadde be a noble knyght and a vigerouse, and so he past forth on his iourneyes that he com to the same abbey, wher-as was the false Gonnore, and ther he a-bode and sojourned longe tyme, and was in grete thought as he that cowde moche euell, how that he myght be a-venge of the kyng leodogan and the kyng Arthur that hadde hym thus for-juged, and for that fill to Arthur grete trouble and so grete discorde be-twene hym and his wif, that he lefte her longe tyme, as ye shull here in the secunde book of this processe yef god will vouche-saf to graunte me so longe space to writen it. But now we moste cesse of this mater, and speke of the

goode kyng Arthur that is at Toraise, in Carmelide, with the kyng leodogan, and with the grete companye.

Full myry lif ledde the kyng Arthur with his wif viij dayes, and the neynthe day after that he was spoused he cleped his Barouns, and badde hem make hem redy to ride, ffor he was in talent for to repeire in to the reame of logres, and thei seide that thei were all redy for to ride; and than the kyng toke Gawein in counseile, and seide, "Ffeire newew, take with yow as many of youre companye that ther leve here but v hundred, ffor I will come ride after stilleche and esely, and ye shall go to logres my chief Citee, and ordeyne redy alle thinges that is necessarie, and of vitaille, and of deynteis, as ye may so that nothinge ne faute, and sendith fer and nygh that I will holde court this mydde August the richest that I may." "Sir," seide Gawein, "I haue drede lest ye be encombred be the wey of some maner peple." "Of that haue ye no drede," quod the kyng, "but go ye in all haste." Than departed sir Gawein from his vncl and com to his felowes, and bad hem to make hem redy for to ride, and thei wente to their hostelles, and hem armed; but firste thei toke leve of the kyng leodogan, and of the Barouns of Carmelide, and thus departed Gawein fro the courte, he and his companye; and the kyng Arthur a-bode with v hundre men, whereof two hundre and fifty were knyghtes of the rounde table; and Gawein and his companye com to logres; but Gawein was euer pensif for his vncl that he hadde lefte in Carmelide, that hym sholde eny thinge myshappe vpon the wey, ffor he hadde fer contrey to ride that marched to his enmyes er he com in to his londe in safte, and he hym hasted to do the kynges comaundement, and sent to alle hem that the kyng loved that thei sholde come to his Court at the myddell of August, and eche made hym redy to come to court as strongly as thei myght, and Gawein ordeyned that vitaille¹ com on alle parties with cartes and Chariettis that he stuffed so well the Citee as longed to soche a feste, as he

Arthur leads a merry life with his wife for eight days. He tells his barons to be ready to go to Logres.

He tells Gawein to go to Logres, and prepare the city.

*[Fol. 167b.] Gawein departs from his vncl, and bids his fellows get ready.

He leaves the court. Arthur remains with 500 men.

Gawein fears for his vncl's safety.

He sends to all those who love the king to come to his court at the middle of August.

¹ The words "that vitaille" are repeated in the MS.

He is one of
the best of
knights.

He goes to
his uncle.

Arthur and
his wife go
towards Bredigan.

Ban and Bohors
go with
them.

Sir Amnistian
goes with the
queen as her
chaplain.
Gonnore
takes also
her cousin,
and her
brother Sadoyne.

King Loot
hears of Arthur's journey,
and lays in wait for him in the
forest of Sapernye.

Leodogan
goes with
Arthur for
three days,
and then returns
*[Fol. 168a.]
Merlin takes
leave of Arthur.

that full well coude hym entermete that nothings ne failed ;
ffor as the storye seith he was oon of the beste knyghtes, and
wiseste of the worlde, and ther-to the leste mysspeker, and
noon a-vauntor, and the beste taught of alle thinges that
longeth to worshipp^e or curtesie ; and whan he hadde made all
redy he toke his wey toward his vncl^e, ffor grete drede he
hadde of that he sholde be distrobel^ed on the wey of som
peple. But now we shull a-while cesse of hym and his com-
panye, and speke of the kynge Arthur.

The thridde day after that Gawein was departed from the
kynge Arthur his vncl^e, the kynge toke his wey towards
the Castell of Bredigan, he and his wif, and in her companye
was the kynge Ban of Benoyk, and the kynge Bohors of Gannes
that was his brother, and the beste knyght that eny man neded
to seche, and so ther were CCL knyghtes of the rounde table that
alle were feed men with the kynge leodogan, and the queene
hadde so praid sir Amnistian that was chapelein with the kynge
leodogan hir fader, that he com with hir, and was sithen hir
chapelein longe tyme ; and so ledde Gonnore hir cosin that was
feire, and debonaire, and amyable to alle peple, and Sadoyne
hir brother that was elther than she, and Castelein of Dane-
blaise, the noble Citee ; and as soone as the kynge Arthur
was departed oute of the reame of Carmelide, the kynge loot
hadde knowinge by his asspies, and he and his knyghtes rode
a-gein hym, and hem enbush^ed in the foreste of sapernye, and
seide that ther sholde he a-bide the kynge Arthur, and take
from hym his wif, yef he myght. But of hym we shull now
cesse, and speke of the kynge Arthur that was departed oute
of Carmelide, and the storie seith how the kynge leodogan
conveyed hem thre dayes hole, and the fourthe day he returned
in to his reame, and than com Merlin to the kynge Arthur
and toke leve, and seide that he sholde go to *his maister
Blaase, for longe hadde he hym not seyn, and the kynge hadde
well spedde of that he hadde for to done. Than seide the
kynge, "Merlin, feire frende shull ye not be at my court at
logres ?" "Yesse," seide Merlin, "I shall be ther er it

departe," and ther-with eche of hem comaunded other to god, but he was but litill wey thens whan no man wiste where that he was be-comen; and Merlin wente to Blaase the same nyght, and he hym resceyued with grete ioye, whan that he hym saugh, and Merlin tolde hym alle the a-uentures that were falle seth that he departed, and he tolde hym how the kynge loot was enbusshed in the foreste of sapernye, and tolde hym other thinges I-nowghe that after be-fill in the reame of logres; and Blaase hem wrote as he tolde, and by his booke haue we the knowinge; but now cesseth to speke of Merlin, and Blase, and speke of Arthur.

Whan the kynge Arthur was departed from the kynge leodogan, and Merlin also, as ye haue herde, he rode with v hundre men of armes, and ledde with hym his wif Gonnore the queene, and he rode smale iourneyes till he com in to the foreste of sapernye, where-as the kynge loot was enbusshed with vij hundre men of armes; and the gromes that ledde the somers wiste neuer worde till that thei were fallen euen a-monge hem; and as soone as thei saugh thei were men of armes, thei wiste well thei were not well come. Than thei a-bode and wente no ferther, and sente to the kynge Arthur that thei hadde founde men I-armed; whan the kynge saugh that he was a-spied he a-light on foote, and made his peple come a-boute hym and ordeyned for bataile, and comaunded xl. knyghtes to kepe the queene, and bad hem lede hir to garison yef thei saugh nede. And than thei ride forth her heedes bowed down vndir theire helmes redy hem to diffende, yef thei founde eny peple to stoppe hem the wey, and so thei ride till thei dide falle vpon the wacche, and the kynge Arthur was be-fore in the firste frounte, and the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and the knyghtes of the rounde table; and the kynge looth spronge oute with vij hundre men of armes, and com hem a-geins theire spers, a-gein the assels of the sadeles, and the sheldes be-fore theire breste as faste as horse myght renne, and hem a-scride so high that all the foreste resounded, and these other com vpon hem boldely with sharpe trenchaunte

He goes to Blase and tells him his adventures, and how Loot was lying in wait for Arthur.

Blase writes down all that he tells him.

Arthur comes to the forest of Sapernye. The men that lead the sumpters see the armed men,

and send to Arthur,

who directs forty knights to protect the queen.

Arthur, Ban, Bohors, and the knights of the round table ride forth. King Looth springs out with 700 men. The two sides meet with spears.

They draw
their swords.

Arthur and
Loot meet
together.

[Pol. 1685.]

Arthur bears
Loot to the
ground.

Loot leaps
up and covers
himself with
his shield.

Arthur
comes to him
again.

Loot smites
Arthur's
horse, so that
it rolls over
him.

Loot tries to
smite off Ar-
thur's head ;

but Ban, Bo-
hors, and the
knights of
the round
table come
fiercely on
Loot's peo-
ple.
The two
kings are re-
mounted.

speres, and mette to-geder vpon sheldes that many of hem
perced and slitte, many were throwe to grounde on bothe sides,
and many ther were that brake theire speres and passed forth
with-outte fallinge ; and whan the spers were spent thei drowgh
oute theire swerdes and be-gonne the bateile right grete, that
neuer of so fewe peple ne saugh no man so fierce bateile, ffor
thei were full noble knyghtes vpon bothe parties ; and so longe
it lasted, that the kynge Arthur and the kynge looth mette
to-geder with speres in hande, and lett renne that oon a-gein
that other so harde *as horse myght renne, and mette so harde
to-geder with speres vpon sheldes, that the spere poyntes stynte
at the hauberkes, and thei ther-on shof with all theire force ;
and the kynge loot brake his spere, and the kynge Arthur
smote hym so harde that he bar hym to grounde ouer his
horse croupe ; but soone was he lepte vpon foote as he that
was of grete prowess, and drowh his swerde and couered hym
with his shelde, and was so doelfull that nygh he yede oute
of witte, ffor that he was overthrowe be the myght of a knyght
alone, ffor he was not a-customed for to falle often ; and the
kynge Arthur hadde made his returne and com toward the
kynge loot gripinge his spere, for he coveited to take hym
quyk ; and whan the kynge looth saugh hym come he glenched
a-side, and Arthur failed of hym and past forth, and in the
passinge the kynge loot smote Arthurs horse in the bely thourgh
the guttes, and Arthur fill to grounde, and his horse vpon
his body, that his thigh was be-twene the horse and the grounde,
so that he myght not a-rise ; and the kynge loot sterte to and
caught hym by the helme, and drough and pulled all that he
myght, and sore hym peyned for to smyten of his heede, and
soone ther sholde haue be so grete damage that neuer myght it
haue be restored ; but as the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors,
and the knyghtes of the rounde table com fiercely vpon the
peple of kynge loot, and be-gan sore bateile and harde, so that
ther was noon but that he hadde I-nough to done ; and so thei
peyned hem on bothe parties that the two kynges be remounted,
and be-gonne the stour grete and merveillouse ; but at grete

myschef were the peple of kyng Arthur, ffor the kyng loot hadde two hundre knyghtes moo than hadde kyng Arthur; with that com sir Gawein with foure score felowes well armed, and kay the stiwarde bar the baner; and Arthur be-hielde and saugh Gawein come and knewe hym well by his armes, and also kay the stiwarde be the baner that he bar in his handes that sore desired the assemble, as he that was hardy and enterpendaunt, and right sure ne hadde ben oon tecche that he hadde, ffor that he was copiose of langage in his disporte for the iolynesse that was in hym and the myrthe; for he was euer bourdinge and iapinge in game, and was the beste felowe in companye that eny man knewe, and for that euer he wolde of custome borde of the sothe hym hated many a knyght for the shame that thei hadde of his wordes, and therefore he myshapped in many a place, ffor the knyghtes that he hadde scorned in myrthe didde hym after grete annoye; but a trewe knyght was he euer a-gein his lorde, and a-gein the queene, euer in to the ende of his deth. Ne neuer in all his live dide he treson saf oon, and that was of lohoot the sone of kyng Arthur that he slough for enuye in the foreste perilouse, and for that Percevale ly Galoys was accused with grete wronge for the deth of the same hoot, like as an Ermyte hit tolde after that *hadde seyn all the dede.

When the kyng Arthur saugh Gawein, his newew come so fiercely, his herte a-roos for grete ioye that he hadde. Than he com to the kyng Ban, and seide, "Sir, se how riche socour to vs cometh, knowe ye not hym that rideth be-fore vpon the blakke stede that gripeth the grete spere vnder the shelde of goolde and azur ther-ynne, a lyon rampaunt;" and the kyng Ban be-heilde, and seide, "Who is it? telle me; ffor I knowe hym not saf that me semeth it sholde be Gawein youre newew." "Certes," quod Arthur, "he it is, and now may I me a-vaunten that in euell tyme come these vs for to assailen, ffor yef thei were yet as many moo thei myght not a-gein vs endure, yef god hym diffende from euell, he and his companye." "Trewly," seide the kyng Ban, "thei be not

Loot has 200 knights more than Arthur.

Gawein comes with four-score fellows.

Kay bears the banner.

He is hated by many knights;

but he is a true knight.

He slew Lohoot, the son of Arthur in the forest perilouse, and Percevale Galoys was accused of the crime.

Arthur is joyful when he sees Gawein, and comes to Ban to tell him of their succour.

wise yef thei hym a-bide till that he be a-monge hem medled ;”

Gawein sees his uncle, and while thei spake thus to-geder com Gawein all be-fore gripinge his grete spere, and whan he com nygh he knewe well his vncle, and saugh that he hadde grete myster of socoure,

and springs into the fight. He meets King Loot. and than he spronge in a-monge hem rudely as tempest of thunder, and fill that he mette with his fader the kynges loot that newliche was sette on horse, and heilde a stronge spere, and com a-gein hym as moche as the horse myght renne, and mette to-geder vpon the sheldes with all theire forces, and the kynges brake his spere vpon Gaweins shelde, and Gawein smote hym a-gein so harde that he perced shelde and hauberke, and wounded hym somewhat in the lifte side that the blode folowed after, and the kynges fill so harde to grounde that he wiste not wheder it was day or nyght ; and Gawein paste forth rudely with-oute a-restinge, and whan he was returned a-gein he fonde his fader lyinge on the erthe vp-right, and he rode ouer hym on horsebak thre or foure tymes, and broused hym sore and foule that nygh he was ther-with slayn ; and than Gawein a-light and pight his spere in the grounde, and drough oute Calibourne his goode swerde, that shone bright and clier, and com to the kynges loot that yet lay vp-right and plucked hym by the helme, and raced it of his heede so harde, that on his nose and his browes it was well seene, for he was hurte right sore ; and than he a-ualed the coyf of his hauberke be-nethe his shuldres, and seide that he was but deed, but yef he wolde yelde hym to prison, and he was so anguysshous that litill he hym ansuerde, neuertheles he dide hym-self enforce, so that he seide with grete sorowe at his herte, “ Ha, sir, gentilman, ne sle me nought, for neuer dide I forfet a-gein the, where-fore that thou sholdest me sleen.” “ Yesso,” quod Gawein, “ that haste thou, and alle thi companye that haue assailed myn vnkle for to distrouble him his weye.” “ How so,” quod kynges loot, “ who be ye that calle hym youre vnkle.” “ What is that to the what I am, me liste nothings the to telle, but do a-noon that as I the sey, or thou *art deed, and alle these other that ben in thi companye shull dye, and shull curse the tyme that euer

He wounds him in the side,

and rides over him three or four times.

He draws his sword Calibourne,

and plucks off Loot's helmet.

He asks him if he will yield.

Loot asks Gawein who he is.

*[Fol. 169b.]

thei were of moder born." "Telle me," quod the kyng loot, "who ye ben for the love of that ye love moste in this worlde."

"But what art thou?" quod Gawein, "that this doste me demaunde." Quod he, "Myn name is looth a caitife kyng of

Orcanye, and of leonoys, to whom nothings doth falle but myschef ne not hath don longe tyme. Now telle me youre

name, what ye be." And whan Gawein vndirstode verily that it was his fader a-noon he nempned his name, and seide his

name was Gawein, the nevew of kyng Arthur, and whan the kyng loot herde that a-noon he lepte vp, and wolde haue clypt

hym in his armes, and seide, "Feire sone, ye be welcome, and I am the sorowfull caitif youre fader that ye haue thus viliche

ouerthrowen," and Gawein bad hym drawe hym ferther a-rome, ffor his fader sholde he not be ne his goode frende till that he

were a-corded with the kyng his vncl, and hadde cried hym mercy for his forfet, and than do to hym homage seyng alle

his barouns; ffor othirwise loke neuer to truste in me, ffor elles shull ye leve noon other wedde saf youre heed, and than the

kyng looth sowowned and fill down to the grounde, and whan he a-woke of swownyng he cride him mercy, and seide, "Feire

sone, I will do all that yow may plesse, and holde here my swerde, for I yelde it to yow;" and sir Gawein that ther-of

hadde grete pite hit toke with gladde chere and myri, and wepte right tendirly water with his iyen vnder his helme, ffor sore he

repente in his herte of that he hadde so hurte his fader, but as moche as he myght he kepte hym so that he was not aperceyved.

Then thei com bothe to theire horse, and lept vp and com to theire peple, and hem departed. But fowle were

the kyng loothis men ouerleide, ffor the knyghtes of the rounde table and the felowes of sir Gawein hadde hem so euyl be seyn

at the firste metyng that moo than xl thei hadde felde to grounde that thei hadde no power to remounte, and sir Gawein

com and hem departed, and than wente Gawein to Arthur his vncl; and as soone as the kyng saugh hym come, he com

hym ageins, and seide, "Feire nevew, ye be welcome, wherefore be ye come in to this parties, wiste ye eny thinge of this

Gawein first asks who he is. He says he is King Loot.

Gawein tells him his name.

Loot leaps up and would embrace him,

but Gawein tells him he cannot be his friend till he has done homage to Arthur.

Loot swoons.

When he awakes he says he will do as Gawein pleases.

Gawein is sorry that he has hurt his fader.

They come to their people. Loot's men are in distress.

Gawein goes to Arthur,

who welcomes him.

Gawein tells
how his fa-
ther Looth
wishes to do
homage to
Arthur.

*[Fol. 170a.]
Arthur
thanks God.

Loot and his
knights
come with
their hel-
mets off.

Loot kneels
before Ar-
thur,

and becomes
his liege-
man.

Arthur
makes Loot
rise,
and pardons
him because
he is a wor-
thy man,

and for love
of his chil-
dren.

a-wayte;" and Gawein seide that he doutid hit sore, "ffor I myght neuer be in hertes ese till I hadde yow seyn, and oure lorde god," quod he, "now he thanked and honoured of this assemble, ffor it is the kynges looth my fader with whom that ye were in medle; and now hit is so be-fallen that he is come to crye yow mercy, as to his liege lorde erthly for the trespassse that he hath don a-gein yow, and therfore resceyveth his homage like as ye owe for to do, ffor he is here all redy hit to performe and do." Whan the kynges Arthur that herde he ioyned his handes toward heuene, *and thanked god of the worshipp that he hadde hym shewed; and with that com the kynges Loot and his knyghtes down the medowes alle on foote, and hadde don of theire helmes from theire heedes and valed theire coiffes of mayle vpon theire sholderes and com full symple; and whan Gawein saugh his fader come be-fore, he seide to his vncler, "Sir, lo here my fader cometh to yow for to do homage;" and a-noon the kynges Arthur sette foot to the grounde, and alle the other barouns after; and the kynges Loot com be-fore Arthur and sette hym on his knee, and hielde his swerde be the poynte as he that hadde forfeited, and seide, "Sir, I yelde me here to youre mercy as he that hath often a-gein yow forfeited, and dide yow neuer but grevaunce, and annoye, now do yowre plesire of me and of my londe," and ther be-com the kynges Loot liege man to the kynges Arthur be-fore alle his barouns, and assured his feith to do hym seruyse whan that he hym comaunded; than Arthur toke hym be the right hande and made hym to a-rise on his feet, and seide, "Sir, stondesth vp, for longe I-nough haue ye kneled, ffor I ought it yow to pardon, for that ye be so worthi a man, and a gretter forfeit than this is, ffor thowgh that I haue hated yow neuer so dedly, ye haue here soche children that haue do me soche servise that I may haue no will to do yow noon euell, and therfore I offre here to yow all thinge that is myn at youre volunte, ffor the love of Gawein youre sone, that I love beste of eny knyght that is in the worlde, and ther be here two knyghtes that I owe to love as wele, and bothe ben thei kynges that moche

haue me socoured in grete nede." And he stode vp and seide, "Sire, gramercy." Thus was made pees be-twene kyng Loo and the kyng Arthur, and than thei lepe to theire horse gladde and ioyfull of this a-venture, and riden so by here iourneyes till thei com to logres where thei were resceyved with the grettest ioye of the worlde, and euery day the peple dide encrease; ffor the dwellers of the contrey com thider for drede of the saisnes that hem distroyed, and the londe; and ther was so grete prees of peple that many be-hoved to loigge in the medowes, and whan the kyng Arthur saugh so grete plente of peple, he was gladd and myry, and seide that he wolde holde court open and enforced, and sente by his messangers that alle sholde come to his court roiall; and on the morowe the kyng Loo dide his homage to the kyng Arthur, and made his oth on the chief mynster seinge alle the peple that was right grete and hugo, and the kyng Arthur refeffed hym a-gein in his londe that he hadde be-fore, to hym and to hys heires for euer more, and who that dide hym eny wronge he sholde hym supporte to his power, and resceyved hym gladde and iocounde as a noble man, and fro that day forth were thei goode frendes all her lif; *and whan the masse was seide thei com a-gein to the paleyse, and yede to mete, and thei were well serued and richely, and after mete wente the knyghtes to se the medowes, and the river, and the tentes, and the pavilouns that were pight with-oute the town, ffor ther were many full feire and riche, and in this disporte and solace were thei viij dayes hool, and the peple dide sore encrease, ffor the kyng dide hit comaunde for that he wolde holde court roiall and plente-vouse, and bere crowne he and his wif at the mydde of august, and whan it com to the evene that the feeste sholde be-gynne on the morowe, Arthur yaf his yestes soche as to hym a-pertened of horse, and palfreyes, and armour, and money, as golde and siluer, for he hadde plente; and the queene yaf hem robes fressh and newe as she that well hadde therfore ordeyned, and moche cowde of honour and all curteysie, that alle peple hadde hir in so grete love that hem thought thei hadde recouered the

Thus was
peace made
between
Loot and Ar-
thur.

They come to
Logres,

where there
are great
numbers of
people.

Arthur sends
messengers
to tell that
he will hold
a court.
Loot does
homage to
Arthur,

*[Fol. 170b.]
and they re-
main good
friends for
life.

They go to
the meadows
and the pa-
vilions out-
side the
town.
The people
greatly in-
crease.

Arthur gives
horses and
money,
and the
queen gives
robes.

Their re-
nown
spreads
through the
countries,

and some of
the princes
wish they
were at
peace with
Arthur.

lady of alle ladyes, and yef the knyghtes hadde riche presentes, the ladyes and dameselles hadden also, and maydenes bothe fer and nygh; and so spradde the renoun thourgh every contrey of Arthur, that the princes that weren with hym wroth wisten of the pees that the kynge Loot hadde made with the kynge Arthur, and how he sholde holde his court roiall at the myddill of August, and that alle peple were thider somowned, and some of hem seiden secretly to theire counseile that thei wolde gladly haue spedde in the same manere as the kynge Loot hadde don; and some ther were of hem that thoughten in theire hertis and praied to god that thei sholde neuer dye on no deth er thei were acorded with the kynge Arthur, ffor all this trouble and myschef that is fallen vn-to vs, is com thourgh the synne that we have don agein god and forfet to hym.

The knyghts
come to court
in the middle
of August.
The queen
and her la-
dies are
richly
appareled.

All go to the
minster,
where Ar-
thur and
Gonnore, and
Ban and
Bohors are
crowned.

The names
of those who
served at the
high dais.

*[Fol. 171a.]

Thus seide oon to a-nother; and the kynge Arthur was in his maister Citee in ioye and solace as ye haue I-herde, and whan it com to the day of the myddill August, thider com all the knyghtes to the courte clothed and a-raied in the richest robes that thei hadden, and the Queene was appareiled, she and hir ladyes, and maidenys, and dameseles richely as longeth to soche an high feeste; and whan thei hadde ronge to high masse thei wente alle to the mynster and herde the servise that the archebisshoppes dide singe; and that day bar Arthur crowne, and the queene Gonnore his wife, and the kynge Ban and the kynge Bohors were crowned also for the love of hem; and after masse thei com to the halle where the clothes were leyde, and the lordes were sette thourgh the halle as thei owe for to be. That day serued Gawein at the high deyse ther as the foure kynges seten, and kay the stiward, and lucas the boteller, and sir Ewein le graunt the sone of kynge Vrien, and Gifflet, and Ewein *a-voutres, and Segramor, and Dodinell le sauage, and kay destranx, and kehedins ly bens, and kehedins le petit, and Ayglyns des vaux that was his brother, and Galegantius the walsh, and Blyoberis, and Galescowde, and Colegre-naunt, and launal, and Aglonall, and Ewein Esclains, and Ewein de lionell, and Ewein white hande, and Guyomar, and Synados, and

Gosenain hardy body, and Agraunain the prowde, and Gueheret, and Gaheries, and Acon de bemonde, and alle these **xxi** served at the high deyse, and **xl** other yonge bachelers serued at other tables ther-ynne, and thei were so well served of alle maner thinges that neuer peple were better, and whan alle the meesse were served in, than spake the kynge Arthur so lowde that alle that were in the halle myght it heren, and he seide, "Now lordinges, alle ye that ben com here in to my courte me for to gladen and counforte, I yelde yow graces and thonkinge for the honour and the ioye that ye haue me don, and that ye be come for to do; and I do yow to wite that I will stablissh to my courte alle the tymes that I shall bere crownè. That neuer from hens-forth shall I not sitte to mete in to the tyme that I here some straunge tydinge, or elles some aventure. Be soche forwarde that yef it be myster I shall do it to be redressed by the knyghtes of my court, whiche for prise and honour hider to repeire and ben my frendes, and my felowes, and my peres." And whan the knyghtes of the rounde table herde this a-vow that the kynge hadde I-made, thei spake to-geder and seiden, "Seeth that the kynge hath made a-vow in his courte, hit be-hoveth that we make oure a-vow," and thei a-corded alle to oon thinge, and therwith thei charged Nascien to reherse it be-fore the kynge.

Forty other young bachelors serve at the other tables.

Arthur speaks loud,

and thanks all that have come to his court.

His knights will redress wrongs.

The knights of the round table say that it behoves them to make a vow.

Than wente alle the knyghtes of the rounde table, and Nascien be-gan to speke be-fore the kynge so high, that thei alle myght here that were in the halle. "Sir," seide Nascien, "the knyghtes of the rounde table be come here to god, and in youre audyence, and to alle the barouns that here ben. In-as-moche as ye haue made a-vow thei make here a-nother that shall euer endure while her lif lasteth. That yef eny maiden haue eny nede or come to youre courte for to seche helpe or socour by so that it may be a-cheved by the body of oon knight a-gein a-nother, thei will with goode will go in to what contrey she will hem leden hir for to delyuer, and make alle the wronges to be redressed that to hir hath be don;" and whan the kynge this vndirstode, he asked of the knyghtes of

Nascien speaks so that all may hear, and says that the knights of the round table will help and succour any distressed maiden.

The knights

agree to
what
Nascien says.

the rounde table yef thei dide graunte to that as Nascien hadde seide; and thei seiden, "Ye;" and to this thei wolde be sworn hit for to mayntene, and not to spare for lif ne for deth, and than be-gan the ioye gretter than it hadde be byfore; and whan Gawein vndirstode the ioye that thei maden for the a-vowes that were ther I-stablisshed, he seide to his felowes as he that cowde all *norture and curtesie. "Sirs," seide Gawein, "yef eche of yow will a-corde to that I shall seyn, I shall ofre soche a-vow wher-of shall come to yow and to me grete honour alle the dayes of oure life;" and thei ansuerde and seide that thei wolde graunte and assente to all that euer he wolde speke with his mowthe. "Than," quod he, "assureth me youre feith to holde me companye;" and a-noon thei hym assured, and were xxiiij be counte."

The twenty-
four agree.

Gawein
comes to the
queen, and
prays her to
let them be
her knights.

Whan that sir Gawein hadde take the feith of his felowes he come be-fore the Queene, and seide, "Madame, I and my felowes be come to yow, and praye yow and requere that ye will with-holde vs to be youre knyghtes and youre meyne. That whan thei come in eny strange contrey to seche loos and pris, yef any man hem aske with whom thei be, and of what londe. Than thei may seyn of the reame of logres, and be the knyghtes of Queene Gonnore, the wif of kyng Arthur." Whan the Queene vndirstode this, she dressed hir vp-stondinge, and seide, "Feire newew, gramercy to yow and to hem alle; for I yow resceyve with gladd chere as lordes and my frendes, and as ye offre yow to me, so I offre me to yow with trewe herte; and I pray god lete me so long lyve that I may yow guerdon of the worshippe and the curtesie that ye promyse me for to do." "Madame," seide Gawein, "we be alle youre knyghtes, and ye haue us with-holde god it yow quyte. Now shull we make a-vow; That what man or woman cometh to yow for to seche socour or helpe a-geyn the body of oon knyght, he shall not faile to haue oon of vs to delyuer hym body for body, and go with hem in to what contrey thei will vs bringe; and whiche of vs so it be that take eny soche journey on hande, and hit happe that he come not a-gein with-

The queen
thanks Ga-
wein,

who vows
that one of
them will
succour
whatever
man or wo-
man comes
to her for
help; and if
he does not
return, an-

ynne a moneth, eche oon of vs shall go for to seche hym
sool by hym-self, a yere and a day with-oute repeire to courte;
but yef with-ynne that terme he can bringe trewe tydings of
his felowe, and whan thei be come to court eueryche shall telle
his a-ventures that hym be-falleth in the tyme what-so-euer thei
be, gode or euell, and thei shall be sworn to sey the trouthe of
all bothe in the goynge and in the comynge."

other shall
go to seek
him.

When they
return to
court they
shall tell
their adven-
tures.

Whan the queene vndirstode the a-vow that Gawein hadde
made, she was the gladdest woman in the worlde, and
the kynge was glader than eny other that was in the courte,
and for the kynge wolde comforte the queene, he seide, "Dame,
seth god hath ordeyned yow this honour to haue so feire a
companye, some curtesie moste I do for the love of hem, and
also for the love of youre-self, and wite ye wher-of I putte in
yours gouernaunce my tresour in soch maner that ye be lady
and partynere of all at youre plesier;" and whan the queene
this herde, she kneled be-fore the kynge and seide, "Sir,
gramercy." And than the queene called sir Gawein, and seide,
"Feire *newew, I will that foure clerkes be stabliished here-
ynne that shall do nothinge elles but write the a-ventures that
falle to yow and youre felowes, so that after youre deth it
may be remembred the high prowesse of the worthi men here-
ynne." "Madame," seide Gawein, "I graunte;" and than
were ther chosen foure clerkes to write the a-ventures as thei
fill in the courte fro thens-forth; and than seide Gawein that
he sholde not here speke of noon a-venture, but he sholde go to
seche it; and he and his felowes sholde do so moche that thei
sholde bringe ther-of trewe tidings to courte, and so seiden the
knyghtes of the rounde table in the same manere; and all-wey
fro thens-fourth was sir Gawein and his felowes called the
queenes knyghtes. With that were the clothes taken vp, and
than be-gan the ioye right grete of oon and other ther-ynne.
But ouer alle other that were ther-ynne was I-herde Dagenet
of Clarion; for he made gret myrthe amonge hem, so that alle
thei be-helde hym for merueile. But a fooll he was of nature,
and the moste coward pece of flessch that was in the worlde;

The queen is
very glad.
So also is the
king.

The queen
says she will
*[Fol. 172a.]
have four
clerks to
write the ad-
ventures of
Gawein and
his fellows.

Four clerks
are chosen.

Sir Gawein
and his fel-
lows are
called the
queen's
knights.

Dagenet of
Clarion is a
fool and a
coward.

He says he
will go and
seek adven-
tures.

The knights
laugh at him.

He hangs his
shield on a
tree, and
hacks it in
many places,
when he
says he has
slain
knights.

He is of
high lineage,
and does not
look such a
fool.

There is
great joy;
and Kay asks
if they shall
tourney.

Segramor
leaps up.
Mynoras
says they
will tourney
against the
queen's
knights.

*[Fol. 172b.]

There are to
be five hun-
dred on each
side.

They go to
their hostels
to arm them-
selves.

this Dagenet be-gan to trippe and daunce, and cried so lowde with high voyse, and seide, "to-morow shall I go seche these a-ventures," and seide to Gawein, "will ye come? and ye, sir Ewein and Segramor will ye come thider that be so feire and moche, and ye lordinges of the rounde table. Certes, I trowe not that ye haue the herte ne the hardynesse me for to sewen, ther I shall go to-morowe." Thus seide Dagenet the coward, and the knyghtes ther-at lowen, and hadde grete game; and with-oute faile he hym armed many tymes, and wente in to the forestes, and henge his shelde on an Oke, and smote it so that alle the colours were faded, and the shelde to haked in many places, and than wolde he seyn that he hadde slayn a knyght or tweyne; and whan he mette eny knyght armed he turned to flight as fer as he myght here hym speke at the leeste; and many tymes fill yef he mette eny knyght erraunt that were pensif that spake no worde he wolde take hym by the bridell, and lede hym forth as he hadde hym taken; of soche maners was Dagenet, and yet he was right a feire knyght and of high lynage, and yet it semed not by his countenaunce that he was soche a fool.

Grete was the ioye and the feeste the day of myddill of August, at logres, whan these a-vowes were made, and whan thei that hadden serued hadde eten, com kay the stiwarde, and seide, "Sirs, what thenke ye to do; shull we not *tourney* to be-gynne some myrthe at soche high feeste as this is?" Whan Segramor herde this he lepte vp, and seide that recreaunt and shamed be he that will not turneyn; and Mynoras ansuerde that thei wolde turney a-gein the queenes knyghtes, "and lete vs take so many knyghtes what oon and what other that we be euen like many," *and sir Gawein asked a-gein how many knyghtes thei wolde turney, and Adragain seide thei wolde haue V° in her companye, and Gawein seide that he wolde take other V° in his companye. "Than lete it no lenger be taried," quod Pynados, "for the day passeth." Than thei wente to there hostels and armed hem with grete spede, and yede in to the medowes with-oute the town, and ther thei assembled

what oon what other that thei were x°. Than was the ban cried that eche man sholde go on whiche part that he wolde, and thei disseuered and wente eche to his baner; and than com Gawein to hervy de rivell, and departed theire meyne, so that in eche partye ther was v hundred, and than the heraudes be-gan for to crye, *Cy est lonours darmes Ore y parra qui chescun le ferra*; and whan it com to the assemble, a knyght cam to sir Gawein, and seide, "The kynge yowre vncle sente yow worde that ye sholde come speke with hym at the wyndowe ther-as he yow a-bideth;" and sir Gawein wente thider and ledde with hym sir Ewein his cosyn, and Segramour, and Gyfflet, and the curroyes were tho redy assembled for to mete.

Each goes to his banner.

The heralds cry out.

The king sends for Gawein.

The first that was renged was Pynodas, a knyght of the rounde table, and on that othir side com a knyght of the queenes that was brother to Gawein, and his name was Agravaïn the prowde, and he was wondir well horsed, and thei smote to-geder with speres vpon the sheldes so harde that thei perced that the steill heedes stynted at the hauberkes, and thei were bothe stronge and hardy, and the hauberkes of towgh mayle that the speres splyndred in peces, and in the passinge forth thei hurteled to-geder so harde with sheldes and helmes, and with theire horse, that bothe two fill to grounde, horse and man to-geder; and thei pressed to the rescue on bothe partyes and mette to-geder with sharpe speres; and sir Gawein hath so riden till he com on the diche brynke a-gein the wyndowe ther-as kynge Arthur dide lene, and the Queene Gonnore, and the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and ladyes and maydenes, a grete companye for to be-holde the bourdeys; and than the kynge seide, "Feire newew, I praye yow for the feith that ye owe vnto me that ye rule so this turnement that ther a-rise no debate, ne wrath amonge hem, ne ma[l]telente." "Sir," seide he, "as for me shall ther nothings be mys-don, but I may not kepe hem alle from theire folyes. But yef ye se it turne to folye, ordeyne ye that it be departed, ffor I may not suffre that the companye of the rounde table diffoule, and ouer-lede my felowes be-fore me, but that I moste helpe

Pynodas and

Agravaïn the Proud smite together.

They both fall to the ground.

Gawein rides to the window where is Arthur and his court.

Arthur prays Gawein not to allow any debate or wrath.

Gawein cannot promise.

Ban advises Arthur to arm a party of his people to be in readiness.

The king commands that three thousand * [Fol. 173a.] sergeants and squires be armed. Gawain comes to the tourney, which was well begun.

The knights of the round table try to discomfit the fellows of Sir Gawain,

who are succoured by the knights of king Looth.

The knights of the round table are succoured, and drive out Gawain's fellows.

When Gawain hears the shout of his fellows, he says to Ewein that they have tarried too long. Seigramor and Gifflet speak.

Gawain tells them to follow him, and

hem at my power." "Sir," seide the kynge Ban, "sir Gawein seith wisely; ffor it is goode reson that ye take a party of youre peple, and do hem to be armed as many as nedeth that yef myster be, thei to be redy to lepe on horsebak to do youre comaundement." "In godis name," seide the kynge, "so shall it be as ye haue seide." Than the kynge comaunded to arme thre thousande what of Sergauntes and squyers, and hym-self was armed, and the thre other kynges that were in his *com-panye; and Gawein was come to the turney, that tho was well be-gonne vpon the two knyghtes that were throwe to grounde, and so hadde bothe parties spedde that thei haue hem bothe remounted and sette on horse; and than the turnement be-gan sore to enforce, and the knyghtes of the rounde table that were CCL peyned hem sore to discourfite the foure score felowes of sir Gawein that were at grete myschief, and hadde sore the werse, but moche thei suffred as thei that full well eche dide other helpe feithfully. But their well doynge ne gayned hem but litill, ne hadde be the knyghtes of kynge Looth that hem socoured full vigerously. Ther was made many feire Iustinges and many a knyght vn-horsed that fill to the grounde, and the horses fledde thourgh the feeldes. Ther were the knyghtes of the rounde table euell I-ledde, but as vij score knyghtes that com hem for to socoure, and than hadde the knyghtes of the rounde table the better, ffor thei were more peple than the tother, and thei made hem to voyde the place wheder thei wolde or noon; and than a-roos the cry and the shoute vpon hem that fledden.

And whan Gawein vndirstode the shoute and the crye that was vpon his felowes, he be-helde and saugh hem at grete myscheif, and that for thought hym right sore, and seide to sir Ewein, "A-voys, cosin, we haue taried to longe." "Ewein" now quod Segramor, "neuer be he holde for a knyght that faileth to helpe at this nede." "I preise not at a boton," quod Gifflet, "the speche, but the dede be shewed. Now lete se who shall do beste;" and Gawein lowgh whan he herde this, and seide, "Sueth me;" with that he smote his

hors with the spores, and spronge forth as sperhauke after partriches or quayles, and bar to the erthe foure the firste that thei mette. Than these foure be-gan to do soche maistries that the chace stynte, and in a while were thei knowen of hem that neuer hadde hem seyn; and whan the Queenes knyghtes hadde founde sir Gawein thei drough a-boute hym, and so dide the knyghtes of kynges looth that were full notable knyghtes and goode; and Segramor be-gan to do soche merveiles that thei that weren at the wyndowes marked hym with the fynger, and seide, "Lo yonder, Sir Segramor, ffor yef he be feire of body and membres, yet is he better knyght at devise, and well may she that shall hym haue, a-vaunt hir that she hath oon of the beste knyghtes of the courte; and on that other side Gifflet dide right wele, and Galashin that gretly thei were be-holden of oon and of other, and to hem com the thre bretheren of Sir Gawein that were full noble and hardy. These dide mervelously wele, and so dide Sir Ewein, that a better knyght than he neded no man to be-holde; and whan the knyghtes of the rounde table saugh how the chace was a-rested, thei be-gan to traueile sore for to drive these other oute of the place, and ther they dide wondres in armes. But who that dide well, or who nought, a-bove alle other *dide sir Gawein merveiles, ffor he fonde no presse were it neuer so thikke ne cloos, but he it perced through be fin force, ffor he smote down knyghtes and horse, and raced of helmes from heedes and sheldes from nekkes, ne noon myght in-dure a-gein his strokes, and yef the companye of the rounde table hadde the better, now haue thei the werse; ffor sir Gawein and his felowes haue holde hem so shorte, that thei drof hem discourtfited to the water side, and ther thei withstode stifly; and the storye seith that so moche thei suffred that x of the beste of hem were throwen to the erthe, wherof that oon was mynoras, and the secunde Natalis, and the thirde Pynados, and the fourth Bloaris, and the v^e Karismanx, and the vj^e Partreux, and the vij^e Grandoynes, and the viij^e ladynell, and the ix^e ladymus, and the x^e Traelus. These x were take with force, and hem hilde sir Ewein, and Segramor, and Agra-

they bear to the earth the first four they meet.

The queen's knights and Loo's knights draw towards Gawein. Seigramor does such marvels that those at the windows point him out.

Gifflet and Galashin do well.

So does Sir Ewein.

*[Fol. 173b.] Gawein does marvels, so that none can endure against his strokes.

He and his fellows drive the knights of the round table to the water side. Ten of the best are thrown to the ground, and taken prisoners by Ewein, Seigramor, and others,

who send
them to the
queen.

These ten
knights
yield them-
selves to the
queen,
who gives
them each a
rich jewel.

The knights
of the round
table are
doleful;

but they
come again
into the field.

Gawein and
his fellows
drive them
again to the
river.

The knights
of the round
table say
they will do
their worst,

and smite as
in mortal
war.

They smite
down twenty
of the
queen's
knights.

*[Fol. 174a.]
Sir Ewein
speaks to Ga-
wein and Se-
gramor.

vain, and Gueheret, and Gaheries, and kay the stiward, and sente hem to the Queene on sir Gawains be-halue, that thei dide holde for her lorde and maister, and thei hadde reson, for he was a worthi man and wele hem helped and socoured in euery nede, and these x knyghtes that were taken com to the queene and yelde hem to hir on sir Gawains be-halue, and she hem resceyved with grete ioye, and yaf eche of hem a riche Iuwell, and than thei wente and lened oute at the wyndowes of the paleise to se the turnement.

Whan the knyghtes of the rounde table saugh thei hadde loste x of hir felowes, thei were doelfull, for thei hadde neuer be-fore be made to voide the place. Than com theire grete bateile from the bregge that hem socoured vigerously, that thei putte hem a-gein in to the playn feelde, and the partie that was with Gawein com a-gein hem that were all fressh and newe, and that oo part smote thourgh that other and be-gonne a grete stour and traueiled so that thei gonne waxen wery, and Gawein and his felowes dide so well that thei drof hem a-gein to the river.

And whan the knyghtes of the rounde table saugh thei turned to discourfiture, thei seiden that to-day more wolde thei do theire werste seth it is so fer forth be-fallen. Than thei toke speres, grete and rude, and putte hem in fewtre, and that is the grettest crewelte that oon may do, ffor turnement oweth to be with-oute felonye, and thei meved to smyte hem as in mortall werre; and as soone as thei hadden speres thei smyten in a-monge the queenes knyghtes that thei sore hated, and at the firste shof thei smote down soche xx that were full worthi men, but soone were thei lept on foote and drough theire swerdes, and these rested vpon hem for to take hem prisoners, and ther be-gan the medle grete and fierce, and so thei myght a-noon haue loste *all; but as sir Ewein toke ther-of hede, and shewed it to Gawein and Segramor; and whan thei saugh the felonye that thei hadde be-gonne on her felowes; than seide sir Ewein, "Lorde, se the feire playe that these yonder haue be-gonne vpon vs;" and than seide Gawein that thei dide

nothinge curteisely as worthi men ne that wolde he not suffre. Than he cleped Griret de lamball and Guyomar, and seide, "Go to the knyghtes of the rounde table, and sey that I and my felowes sende hem worde that thei haue mys-taken hem at this this tyme a-gein vs, and bidde hem cesse of that folye that thei haue be-gonne, and for that thei haue don we playne vs gretly, and shull hem a-pele be-fore the kyng, and yef ther be eny of oure felowes on this side that haue agein hem mysdon, we shall make hem a-mendes at hir volunte;" and whan these herde the comaundement of sir Gawein, thei turned with-oute moo wordes, and com to the knyghtes of the rounde table and dide theire message, and thei ansuerde that thei sette no force of all that he seide, ffor thei wolde noon other wise do, and who that ther-with wrathed lete hym chese, for yet we will do more than we haue don be-fore, and so may ye sey to Gawein and to his felowes that soone may men se the moste hardy, and who shall beste furnyssh a stour; and whan these herde the bobance and the outrage thei returned and com to sir Gawein that in that tyme hadde his felowes remounted, and thei tolde hym the ansuere that¹ thei hadden, and whan Gawein it herde, he was right wroth. "What," quod he, "is that trewe, will thei nothinge do for us? Now I do hem well to witen that seth we be comen to earnest, soone shull we be at the assay whiche is the moste hardy." Than departed Gawein oute of the turnement, and his thre brethern, and Segramor, and Ewein, and Galasshin, and Dodinell, and kay the stiward, and Gifflet, and lucas the botiller, and than he seide, "Sirs, the knyghtes of the rounde table haue take a-gein vs a fell strif, ffor that thei be greved with oure partye, and therfore thei trowe all to haue wonne for shewing of theire crewelte and felonye, and ther-fore I will that eche of vs go fecche his hauberk, and the beste armes that he hath, and arme hym so that nothinge faile, and thei a-noon sente for her beste armours, and drough hem oute of the turnement and hem armed hastily, for longe hem semed er

Gawein sends Griret and Guyomar to the knights of the round table, to complain of what they have done, and to say that he will appeal to the king.

The knights of the round table answer that they will do as they have done.

Griret and Guyomar return to Gawein, and tell him the answer.

He is very wroth.

Gawein and his brethren and others go out of the tournament.

They arm themselves hastily,

¹ The word "that" is repeated in the MS.

and seek
after their
fellows.

*[Fol. 174b.]
Gawein and
his fellows
overthrow
more than
forty.

Adragain ad-
vises that the
tournament
should cease;

but he speaks
too late.

When the
knights of
king Looth
know what
the knights
of the round
table have
done, they
arm them-
selves, and
come to Ga-
wein.

thei were returned a-gein in to the turnement that was right grete, ffor the x hundred were assembled to-geder in bateile, and whan sir Gawein and his felowes were well araide, thei were well foure score only, and thei lepte to horse and ride a softe paas, and cloos a-gein the other felowes that well mayntened the turnement, and thei sought her felowes vp and down, and ben so sory for theire felowes that thei haue hem not founde, that nygh thei wax wode for angir, ffor thei of the rounde table hem ledde felonously in the werse maner.

***T**han com Gawein and his felowes so harde that moo than xl thei ouerthrowe in theire comynge, and whan Nascien and Adragein saugh them thei stynten, and seide to theire felowes, "Feire lordes, we haue euell and folily spedde of the atynes that we haue vndirtake a-gein the Queenes knyghtes for envye and for nought." "I rede," quod Adragain, "that the turnement cesse er it be werse, ffor the newewes of the kynge shull do vs damage fro hens-forth, and that may ye wete verily. Ne it may not endure with-oute grete losse, and also paraenture some to be slayn, and therefore it were good that it were cessed thus, ffor knowe it verily that ther be soche xx in the fore fronte of her companye that right soone thei shull xl of oure companye make to voyde place, and also thei be of high lynage, and the moste pyssaunt of the reame of grete breteigne," and the other ansuerde that it was spoken to late, "Now kepe hym that kepe may, for othir-wise now may it not be," and than thei smyte in to the medle, and the foure score felowes com hem a-geins, and eche hurte other with speres foule at theire metynge, and thei drowgh the swardes and be-gonne the medle on horsbak and on foote full crewell and fell; and whan the vij score knyghtes of the kynge Looth knewe the foly and the disray that the knyghtes of the rounde table hadde be-gonne, thei drough a-side and armed hem right wele, and than com a-gein to sir Gawein, and seide, "Sir, now may ye ride suerly a-gein the envyouse, for we shull not this day forsake yow ne youre companye for no distresse, ffor we se well the erneste that is be-twene yow and the knyghtes of the rounde

table. But thei haue to fewe peple to do that thei haue purposed, and we se well that thei be CCL., and ye be but foure score, and therfore is it no merueille yef thei haue the better. But thei may hem a-vaunte that thei haue geten CC enmyes this day that well shull lete hem parceyve whethir thei be folos or wise," and sir Gawein thanked hem hertely; and than thei renged hem a-bowte hym as he that full well cowde it demenen.

They offer to help him.

Gawein thanks them.

Than sir Gawein cleped an high gentilman that was cleped by his right name Galescowde, and seide, "Go a-noon to my lorde, myn vncler, and sey to hym that he not displese though we vs diffende from them of the rounde table that haue be-gonne the foly a-gein vs, and tell hym how the caas stant all as it is," and whan that Galiscowde vndirstode the comaundement of Gawein, he turned and dide his message; and while that Gawein entended a-boute these thinges the queenes knyghtes hadde moche the worse, and the knyghtes of the rounde table rescowed hir felowes, and sette hem on horse and chaced the queenes knyghtes be fin force out of the felde, whan Gawein saugh that he com hem a-geins with alle the knyghtes of his fadres, and smote in a-monge hem so harde that alle the renges gonne fremyssh; and sir Gawein cried, "Vpon hem, gentill *knyghtes, for in euell tyme haue thei be-gonne this folye."

Gawein calls Galescowde to go to his uncle, and tell him what the knights of the round table have done.

The knights of the round table chase the queen's knights out of the field.

*[Fol. 175a.]

Whan the queenes knyghtes herde sir Gawein thus speke, and saugh the feire companye of knyghtes that hym sewed, thei returned as thei that were gladde and ioyfull of the socour, for tho knewe thei well that the werse sholde no be hers, and than thei recovered alle to-geders theire sheldes before theire brestes; and sir Gawein was in the fore frount with swerde drawen, for he hadde broken his spere, and smote so Dorilas vpon the helme that he smote thourgh, and the coyf of mayle, that he made hym a grete wounde in the heede, and a-stoned hym so sore that he fill flatte to the grounde, and his felowes cried, "He is ded; he is ded;" and thei ronne vpon hym on alle partyes, and he smote so the firste that he mette thourgh the helme that he yaf hym a grete wounde and fill to

When the queen's knights hear Gawein, they are glad of the succour.

Gawein smites Dorilas with his sword, and wounds him sore.

His fellows run upon Gawein, who smites them hard.

Nascien falls
to the
ground.

He rises up
and draws
his sword.

He com-
plains that
Gawein
fights as if
he was in
mortal war.

Gawein
answers.

He says
Nascien's
fellows com-
menced the
folly.

Nascien says
it is time to
leave off, and

prays Ga-
wein to part
the com-
batants.

Gawein re-
fuses and
defies the
knights of
the round
table.

*[Fol. 175b.]

grounde all bloody; and than he smote a-nother right harde, and he saugh the stroke come and plukked his bridill to hym, and the stroke descended on the horse shuldres be-fore and smote the horse a-sonder, so that to grounde fill bothe horse and man, and whan Nascien saugh hym-self so fallen, he lepte on foote full delyuerly as he that was a full noble knyght and a sure, and drough his swerde, and couered hym with his shelde, for sore he douted a-nother stroke er he were redy hym to diffende; and whan that Gawein saugh that he was so redy appareiled, he returned with suerde in honde, and a-noon Nascien knewe the swerde, and seide, "A-voy, my lorde, sir Gawein, ye ne be not so wise a man ne so curteise as men of yow doth recorde; ffor ye be thus garnysshed of youre armes as ye were in werre mortall, and ye haue also brought youre goode swerde, and I do yow to wete that it shall be to yow reprof in many other places than here." Quod Gawein, "I knowe no knyght that me will a-peche of vntrouthe, but I shall me well deffende a-gein hym that dar it sey or a-gein tweyne yef nede bee oon after a-nother. But ye and youre felowes haue don vntrouthe, and haue be-gonne the folye; ffor we sente yow oure messages, but ye wolde hem not heren ne vndirstonde, but ye dide youre werste." "Sir," seide Nascien, "hit is go folylly hiderto, and hit were tyme that it were left yef it yow plesed, ffor soche haue it spoken and be-gonne that nothings ther-on haue wonne, ffor I trowe he be wounded to the deth. But I praye yow at the reuerence of god that ye hem now departe, and than do ye well and curteisely er that eny more harme ther-of be-falle."

"I knowe not," quod Gawein, "what harme ther-of shall falle, but neuer for me shall thei not be departed. Ne neuer shall the companye of the rounde table be-gynne malice a-gein vs; but I with as goode will shall by-gynne the first a-gein hem *with spere a-reised, and for that I will that ye it hem telle, and haue ye no drede of me at this tyme, and telle hem wele that neither kynge ne queene ther-of entermete, for we be soche companye that shall fynde hem hote I-nough, kepe

thei hem neuer so wele owther fer or nygh." "Sir," seide Nascien, "other tyme than now haue ye do to me honour so moche that I may not yow guerdon, ne ye ther-to haue no myster. But as to this that ye sey we shull haue I-nough medle a-gein yow ne sey it nought, for ye be alle of high lynage, and men of grete puyssaunce, and thei be more alle of baas lynage than ye and youre companye, and therefore thei haue no power a-gein yow whan it com ther-to, that ye will hem greue or anoye," and with that departed Gawein, and lefte Nascien on foote, and he and his felowes smyten in to the bateile, and brake the presse, and smote down knyghtes, bothe horse and man, and ledde hem so euell that thei drof hem oute of the place all discourfited euen to the river that was right depe, and brode, and many fill in to the water a-gein theire will, ffor ther sholde ye haue sein speres and sheldes flote down the river, and the horse all quyk with-oute maister her reynes trailinge with the strem.

Whan Gawein saugh thei were goinge, and that thei myght not recouer that saugh he well, he put vp his goode swerde for doute leste he slough eny man vn-war, and as he put it in to the scauberk, he saugh knyghtes of the rounde table that were enbusshed on the chauchie, and he caught a plante of an appell tre, and caste his shelde to grounde, and toke the barre in bothe handes, and seide he wolde make hem to remeve. Than he smote a-monge hem so fiersely the firste that he mette be-twene the sholdres that he rolled to grounde vp-right, and after the secunde, and than the thirde, and the fourthe, and he ne smote no man were he neuer so stronge, but he fill to grounde; and whan thei saugh that he ferde with hem so euell thei were full wroth, and ran vpon hym with swerdes drawen for sore thei hym hated, and thei smyte at hym on alle sides ther thei myght a-reche so that thei slough his horse be-twene his legges, and he lepte vp on foote full delyuerly, for he was full of prowesse and of hardynesse, and he made a shelde of his staf and drough his swerde Calibourne, and seide, "Euell happe haue thei that holde yow the beste knyghtes of

Nascien says
Gawein has
done him
honour at
other times,

and that Ga-
wein's fel-
lows are
of higher
lynage than
the knights
of the round
table.

Gawein
leaves Na-
scien on foot.

Many fall in-
to the water.

Gawein puts
up his sword.

He sees the
knights of
the round
table in the
road, and he
catches up a
spar of wood.

He fells
several to
the ground.

They run up-
on him with
swords, and
kill his horse.

He leaps up
and draws
his sword
Calibourne.

the worlde; ffor here," quod he, "haue thei it nothinge shewe, whan thei haue myn horse slayn," and ran vpon hem vigerously, and slitte sheldes, and helmes, and hew on hauberkes, and sholdres, and armes; and kutte of legges, and heedes that it blussht to grounde all that he raught, and in short tyme he

He cuts off
legs and
heads.
*[Fol. 176a.]

hath xx so a-raied that thei *lay at grounde that hem nedeth to haue goode leches yef thei sholde ascape with the lif; with that

His fellows
come to the
fight and find
that he has
killed more
than forty.

com to the medle the foure score felowes and ten, and the vij score knyghtes of kyng looth that all day hadde hem sewed, and thei smote in a-monge hem with so grete randon that thei fonde sir Gawein on foote, and his suerde in his honde all blody of horse that he hadde slayn mo than xl. Ther was sir

Gawein is
remounted,
and puts up
his sword.

Gawein remounted and sette on horse, and he putte vp his goode swerde and toke the staf with bothe hondes, and ran vpon hem crewelly, and smote he rought not where, and discourfited

He puts the
knights to
flight.

hem alle in short tyme, and put hem to flight thourgh the yates of the town, and the tother V^o that were left vpon the river fought with hem that were of the same partye; and as soone as the knyghtes of kyng looth hadde hem lefte, and the foure score of the queenes knyghtes ther be-gan the stour grete and crewell, and ther were many feire lustinges that were gladly be-holden of ladyes and maydenes that were on the walles of the town, and so endured the turnement longe tyme, ffor thei were goode knyghtes on bothe sides. But at the end myght not

The ladies
on the walls
see the
jousts.

the knyghtes endure that were on Gaweins side, for thei were not so many as the tother, and so thei be-gonne to ruse oon hour vp and another down, till that tidinge come to sir Ewein that was stinte with-oute the yates of the town, and xxiiij felowes with hym, and whan he vndirstode that his fellowes hadde the werse, he rode thider hem to socour, and as soone as thei were

The knights
on Gaweins
side begin to
retire.
Sir Ewein
and twenty-
four fellows
come to suc-
cour them.

come thider thei be-gonne to do so well that in all the day ne hadde thei do better, and so thourgh hir prowesses thei perced hem thourgh thre or foure tymes, and hem discourfited and made hem voide the place, and drof hem in at the yates of the town thourgh the stretes where thei dide hem ouerthrowe, and fowled hem vndir hir horse feet, for noon wolde thei take

They do well,

and drive the
knights of
the round
table into
the town.

ne with-holde thei were so wroth, for the outrage that the knyghtes of the rounde table hadde be-gonne vpon hem vn-curteisly thourgh her pride.

On that other side was Gawein and the knyghtes of Orcanye, that hadde chaced so the knyghtes¹ of the rounde table till thei com be-fore the chirche of seint Stephene, and thei with-stode and kepte the paas while thei myght. But in short tyme ther sholde haue ben do harme. But as the kynge Arthur com, and the kynge Ban and the kynge Bohors com thider as sone as Galescowde hadde tolde his message; and the squyers that were thre thousande armed, and the thre kynges turned toward seint Stephene, and a party of the squyers a-boute a thre hundred turned down the high strete where-as thei mette the knyghtes of Orcanye that sewed sir Gawein that full euell ferde with the knyghtes of the rounde table, as ye haue herde; and as soone *as thei saugh the squyers thei wende it hadde ben a-wayte that hadde be leide for hem; and a-noon thei be-gonne to medle and be-gonne a newe trouble right huge and crewell, but at grete myschef were the felowes of sir Gawein, ffor oo part of hem foughten with the squyers at the straite entre of the strete, where-as many were ouerthrowen and diffouled right euell. Than com tidinges to Gawein that his frendes were in soche pereill; “ffor I wote neuer,” quod he that brought the message, “what peple it ben that hem assaile be-hynde, and don hem grete damage;” and as soone as Gawein herde that his felowes were assaile be-hynde, he lefte the fight with the knyghtes of the rounde table to his felowes, and com thider ther as thise weren. But first he sette goode wardes to kepe the stretes ende, that thei of the rounde table ne turned not a-gein bakke, and than he com to the strete ther these were fightinge; and as soone as he hem saugh, he swor in euell tyme come thei thider, and whan thei saugh hym come thei cried to hym and badde hym cesse, or he was but deed; and whan Gawein herde hem manace hym of deth, he wax right wroth,

Gawein and the knyghts of Orcanye chase the knyghts of the round table to the church of St. Stephon.

Arthur, Ban, and Bohors come to the place.

Three hundred squires meet the knyghts of Orcanye,

*[Fol. 176b.]

who fight with them at the entry of the street. A messenger comes to tell Gawein that the knyghts are assailed behind.

Gawein comes to the street.

He is very wroth.

¹ This word is spelt “knythes” in the MS.

and with Calibourne he smites down all he meets.

They turn to flight, and Gawein delivers his fellows.

Gawein goes to the place where the knights of Orcanye fight with the knights of the round table, amongst whom he springs.

He smites Adragain des vaux,

and Pindolus,

*[Fol. 177a.]

and Idonae.

and cleped hem "fitz a-putayn traitours cowardes haue ye leyn in wayte. I do yow to wite er ye me ascape, the moste hardy wolde not haue come hider for this reame." Than he hilde Calibourne his goode swerde all blody, and these ronne vpon hym with axes, and billes, and swerdes right vigerously; and he spronge in a-monge hem, and smote the firste that he mette that the heed fill on the pament, and than he smote a-nother, and than the thridde and the fourthe, and smote of handes and armes that in a litill while noon durste a-bide his strokes, but turned to flight wroth and angry, and cried, "Fle, fle, lo here a devell that is broken oute of helle chaynes;" and whan Gawein hadde his felowes thus delyuered, he turned a-gein and toke xl. knyghtes at sette hem at the stretes ende that noon ne falle vpon hem, and seide, "Yef eny come and yow ouer-lede come fecche me." Than he wente to the tother ende of the strete ther¹ the knyghtes of Orcanye faught with the knyghtes of the rounde table, and a-noon he spronge in a-monge hem, and cried a-lowde, "Traytours;" for well he wende that thei hadde leide that a-wayte, and whan thei herde hym so seyn thei wiste not what to ansuere, ffor thei wende well that he hadde it seide for that thei be-gan firste the earnest whan thei iusted with speres in fewtre, and sore thei repented yef thei myght, ffor so hadde the shame be doubled, and therefore seith the wise man in reprof of soche. "Many oon weneth his shame to a-venge, and he it encreseth," and therefore were thei shame-fast and mate; and Gawein smote in a-monge hem crewell as a lyon, and smote Adragain des vaux de gailore thourgh the helme that he kutte the quoyf of maile to the bare flesh that he fill to the erthe all a-stonyed that he wiste not whether it was nyght or day, and than he smote Pindolus on the sholdre that he kutte the gige that the shelde henge by and the hauberke and the flesh right depe that ner he was *maymed, and so fill the shelde on that oon side, and the knyght on that other; and after he smote Idonas on the iowe that he fill to grounde in

¹ The word "ther" is repeated in the MS.

swowne, and whan thei of the rounde table saugh how he dide hem so grete damage, that noon armour myght endure a-gein his strokes, thei turned alle toward the cherche, and Gawein and his felowes hem enchaced, and fill that Gawein overtoke herry de rivell, and wolde haue smyte hym on the helme, and he couered hym with his shelde, and all thei turned to-geder toward the mynster, and herry seide to Gawein, "Cesse, sir knyght, ye haue done I-nowgh, and therefore ye may well stynte at this tyme, and trewly ye be right moche to blame for the crewelte that is in yow, ffor men were woute to sey of yow all honour and curtesie, and now may men sey the contrarie, ffor ye ought to helpe and to socoure these a-gein all the worlde that hem wolde greve or annoye, and ye hem sle and diffoule at youre power; and thei haue yow nought offended." "Herry," quod Gawein, "haue thei me not offended whan thei haue be-gonne the folý and the treson vpon my felowes to whom I moste bere feith, and ther-by wolde thei not cesse, but leide other peple for vs in a-wayte, and the turnement was not taken in that manere." "Sir," seide herry, "yef thei haue hem mystaken a-gein yow at this tyme, thei shull a-mende it to yow at youre plesir, ffor the love of yow that from hens-forth thei will holde yow for theire frende and felowe." "To me," quod Gawein, "shull thei make noon a-mendes, for I shall hem neuer love, ffor I do hem well to wite where thei haue envye or werre a-gein eny of my felowes thei haue the same a-gein me. Ne neuer shull thei take turnoy ne Aatine, but we foure score shull turneyen a-geins vij score of the beste of hem, and thei will it vndertake, and lete hem well knowe that I shall neuer come in place in this contrey ne in noon other where ther is eny turnement or Aatine, yef eny of hem be there, but I shall greve hem at my power." "Sir," seide herry, "ye sey euell and synfulliche, but soche is now youre talente; but here-after it shall not be so; ffor it were to grete damage yef so many worthi men sholde turne to euell for this folýe, ffor rather thei shull cleue forsake the court of youre vncle." "I can not sey," quod Gawein, "what thei will do, but for me shull thei it not

Gawein and his fellows chase the knights of the round table, Gawein overtakes Herry de Rivell.

Herry says Gawein is cruel.

Gawein says it is the fault of the knights of the round table who began the treason.

Herry says that they will make amends,

but Gawein will not accept any.

He says four score of his fellows will tourney against seven score of the best of the knights.

Herry tells him he speaks sinfully.

Gawein says if the knights of the round

table leave
his uncle's
court, they
shall be over-
taken.

Hervy tells
him to cool
his temper.

Arthur com-
plains that
*[Fol. 177b.]
Gawein has
not done as
he promised.

Gawein says
no one can
accuse him,

for he sent
Galescowde
to Arthur.

King Looth
'ells his son
to be quiet
and let Ar-
thur speak.

The men of
Sir Gawein
and the men
of the round
table are
separated.
Galescowde
comes to
the tourna-
ment to part
the fighters,

forsaken, and yef that thei do, thei ne shall not go in to no londe, but thei shall be ouertake, ffor we shall neuer here speke of place ther thei be conversaunt, but we shall go thider." "Sir," seide hervy, "a-slake youre mode and pese youre matalent a litill, ffor so god me helpe thei that haue be-gonne the foly thei haue it dere I-bought, ffor many ther be hurt and wounded full dolerously, ffor ther ben xxx that neuer shall bere shelde, where-of is right grete doell and pyte, ffor thei ben full noble knyghtes and worthi men;" and as thei spake thus com the kynge Arthur that hadde I-herde a partie of her wordes that thei hadde spoken, and seide, *"Gawein, feire newew, is this the prayer that I praied yow to-day? Certes now it sheweth well that ye love me right litill whan a-gein my diffence, and in dispite of me as me semeth ye ale thus my peple, wite it well that it is a thinge that hevieth me right sore." "Sir," seide Gawein, "he that be-gan the foly it is reson that he repent. Ne in dispite of yow haue I nothinge do, and who ther-of will me accuse he is not vnder heuene, but I shall me well a-gein hym diffende; ffor as soone as the foly be-gan to a-rise I sente yow witinge by Galescowde oon of oure felowes, ffor er that tyme hadde thei vs sore diffouled, er that we wolde eny thinge do;" and the kynge looth his fader com to hym and toke hym by the bridill, and seide, "Gawein, sone, cesse of this foly, for ye haue don I-nowgh, and suffre the kynge to sey his wille, for it shall well be a-mended by leiser the wrath be-twene hym and yow, ffor well we haue sein a partye of the deede;" and the kynge Ban and the kynge Bohors com to hym, and seide so to hym of o thinge and other that thei hym apesed.

Thus were disseuered the meyne of sir Gawein from the meyne of the rounde table, and the thre kynges hym dide bringe a-wey, and Galescowde com to the gret turnement that was with-ynne the yates that was grete and merveilouse. But to foule were thei be-seyn be-twene segramor and sir Ewein, and her other felowes; but Galescowde made hem be departed, and that was with moche peyne and sore annoye; ffor thei were sore chauffed that oon vpon that other, and than eche wente

to his hostell and hem vn-armed, and waishsh her nekkes and theire visages with warm water, and clothed hem in her fresshest robes, and wente to court alle tho that myghten, and thei that were hurt and wounded a-bode at theire hostelles for to hele theire woundes, and on that other parte wente Gawein and his felowes hem for to vn-arme in oon of the Queenes chambres that was assigned for hem to repeire; and whan thei were vn-armed and waishsh, thei clothed hem richely, and yef thei were well serued it nedeth not to aske, ffor ther were ladyes and maydenes hem for to serue grete foyson. Ther was Segramor moche be-holden of oon and of other, ffor he was a feire knyght and semly, and so was also Dodinell le sauage; these tweyne were sore prised of alle that hem be-helden.

As soone as thei were a-raied, thei com in to the halle two and two to-geder, holdinge be the handes oon after a-nother, and thus com the foure score and x felowes, and sir Gawein and Ewein albefore in to the halle be-fore the kyng that to hem made gret ioye; and whan he saugh hem come he a-roos on his feet a-gein hem, and toke sir Gawein be the right hande, and the queene toke hym by the tother hande and wente to sitte alle to-geder, and the other knyghtes satte thourgh the halle, and pleied and disported oon with a-nother of dyuerse thinges, and were gladde and myry. But a-bove alle other was the quene ioyfull *of her knyghtes that hadde the victorie of the turnement. But the knyghtes of the rounde table be nother gladde ne iocunde, but were shamefast and mate for her felowes, that many were hurt and wounded, and so thei spake of many thinges till thei acorded to send hervy de rivell, that was a goode knyght and wise of counseile, and Nascien, for tweyne better myght thei not take to performe the message, and mynados that was a wise knyght and a feire speker; whan these thre knyghtes saugh thei most do the message, thei toke eche other by the hande and com be-fore the kyng; and whan the kyng saugh hem comynge he a-roos a-gein hem as he that beste cowde eny worthi man honouren and worshipen, and seide thei were well-come, and also a-roos sir Gawein. Than spake

who go to their hostels to wash themselves. All that can go to court. The wounded remain at their hostels. Gawein and his fellows unarm in one of the queen's chambers, and ladies serve them.

Segramor and Dodinell are fair knights, and are much praised. The ninety fellows come to the hall.

The king rises and takes Gawein by the right hand, and the queen takes him by the other hand.

*[Fol. 178a.] The queen is joyful that her knights have had the victory in the tournament; but the knights of the round table are sad. They agree to send Hervy de Rivell, Nascien, and Mynados with a message. They come to the king.

Hervy
speaks,

Hervy to the kynge, and seide, "Sir, plesse it yow to sitte, ye and youre companye, and we shull telle yow wherfore we beth come." Than sat down the kynge and his companye, and hervy be-gan his reson, "Sir, the companye of the rounde table have sente vs to speke to sir Gawein, and to my lady the quene, to whom he holdeth a partie, and first of all to yow that be oure souereigne lorde; and thei pray and be-seche yef thei haue ought mys-taken a-gein my lorde sir Gawein, or a-gein eny of his companye in what maner that it be, thei ben redy it for to amende as ye and my lady will a-warde. Be soche a maner that alle matalent be pardoned on bothe partyes;" and the kynge lokod on the quene, and seide that sholde not be refuced; and the quene ansuerde and seide that it plesed hir wele, yef that sir Gawein ther-to a-corded, but he kept scilence, and spake no worde.

and says that
the knights
of the round
table are
ready to
make amends
for what they
have done.
The king and
queen agree,
but Sir Ga-
wein keeps
silence.

The king re-
proves Ga-
wein,

Whan the kynge saugh he stodied, he seide, "Gawein, feire newew, what thin[k] ye of this thinge that ye be so wroth and angry; ffor in this haue ye but honour, whan the beste knyghtes of the worlde obbey hem to yow and offre to a-mende all that is mysdon." "Worthi men!" quod Gawein. "Ye feire newew worthy men, and noble ben thei trewly." "Thei ought well to be so," quod Gawein, and with that he hilde his pees; and the kynge that saugh well he was a-gein hem Irous and angry, he lokod on the quene, and seide, "Dame, praye ye hym at this tyme;" and the quene seide, "Sir, with gode will." Than she toke hym be the hande, and seide, "Nevew, be not so wroth, refroide youre maltalente, ffor wrath hath many a worthi man and wise made to be holde for foles, while the rage endureth. Now yeve credence to my wordes, and do that I praye yow at this tyme, and as my lorde doth yow pray also; ffor it is youre honour and youre profite, and ye knowe well that this londe is in sorowe and turment of the saignes, and ye here be but a small peple, and I shall telle yow what ye shull thinke and do, ye shull love eche other and helpe a-gein alle peple; and yef youre enmyes come a-gein yow to hem ye sholde be fierce, and not to hem that to-morowe shull

and asks the
queen to
speak to him.

She takes
Gawein by
the hand,

and prays
him

put her bodyes in a-uenture of deth for my lorde that is here and for me, *and for there foly that thei haue do now lightly shull ye not hem failen. But, feire newew, pardon hem for I pray yow, and so doth the kynge youre vncle, that is right wroth ;” and sir Gawein loked on the quene and be-gan to smyle for the wordes that she hadde seide, and seide, “Madame, who that will lerne lete hym come to yow, and blissed be that lorde that so yow hath ordeyned, and that the companye of so goode a lady, and so wise hath vs graunted, and well may the kynge hym a-vaunt that yef ye lyve to age ye shull be the wisest lady of the worlde, and so be ye now as I beleve; and wite ye what ye haue wonne, ye may do with my body and myn herte all youre volunte, saf myn honour and myn vncle the kynges.” “Now trewly,” seide she, “that lady were nothinge wise that ther-of yow requered. Ne, I ne shall neuer, yef god will.” Thus a-peesed the quene sir Gawein, and so was the pees grauntid, and than wente Nascien and Hervy de rivell for to fecche theire felowes of the rounde table, and com be-fore the kynge; and the quene dide clepe sir Ewein, and Segramor, and the thre brethern of Gawein, and a party of other, and tolde hem how the pees was made, and how it was required by the companye of the rounde table; and sir Ewein seide it was well don, and better it were to haue the love of hem than the hate.

With that were the knyghtes of the rounde table come be-fore the kynge, and as soone as thei were come thei kneled to sir Gawein, and folded the panes of her mantels; and than spake hervy de rivell, “Sir, we shull a-mende to yow for vs, and for oure felowes alle these thinges with-oute more seyinge, wher-of we haue a-gein yow mystaken, wher-fore we be-seche yow of pardon;” and sir Gawein lept vp on foote and seide he pardoned hem alle forfeles, and reised hem by the armes, and so dide Ewein, a[nd] Segramor, and the thre brethren of Gawein, eche of hem reised a knyght, and made alle the reuenaunt to stonde vp and a-coled eche other in armes, and for-yaf all wrath and maltalent, and fro thens-forth was sir Gawein

[Pol. 1786.]
to forgive them.

Gawein smiles, and says that the king is blessed in her.

He will do what she bids him.

So peace is agreed. Nascien and Hervy fetch their fellows.

Sir Ewein says it is better to have their love than their hate.

The knights of the round table kneel to Sir Gawein.

Hervy speaks for them, and asks for pardon.

Gawein, Ewein, and Segramore raise the knights.

The queen gives new robes to the ten knights, who were prisoners. The knights of the round table and the queen's knights agree not to tourney together.

When the knights of the round table took the queen's knights into their company, there were but ninety of them; afterwards they increase to 400.

*[Fol. 179a.]

a lorde and a maister and felowe of the rounde table; and the quene quyte cleymed the x knyghtes that were prisoners that hir knyghtes hadde her sent, and yaf eche of hem newe robes and fressh. Thus assaied the knyghtes of the rounde table, the quenes knyghtes be soche forward that neuer after noon of hem sholde turney a-gein other; but yef it were oon that wolde assay hym-self in eny straunge turnement by stelthe vnknownen whan thei were disguised that thei wolde not be knowe till thei hadde renomee of grete prowess; and whan the knyghtes of the rounde table hem toke in her companye for the prowess that in hem was shewed; and the story seith that the companye of the quenes knyghtes was but foure score and x. But after thei encreased as the storie shall declare, till thei were foure hundred er the quest of the seint graal was a-cheved; wherfore thei suffred after many grete payne and traveile, for to a-cheve the *quest that long endured, and in other questes thei traueyled many dayes, and I shall telle to yow the cause and whi.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE MISSION OF KING LOOTH AND HIS FOUR SONS TO MAKE TRUCE WITH THE REBEL KINGS; AND THEIR BATTLES WITH THE SAXONS.

The tidings of the Saint Graal spread through the realm,

and of the holy spear,

This was the trouthe that tidinges spredde thourgh the reame of grete Breteigne of the seint Graal, In the whiche Ioseph ab Aramathie hadde geten the holy blode that dropped oute of the side of oure blissed lorde Ieshu crist whan he henge on the gloriouse crosse, he and Nichodemus, and the holy vessell that com from heuene a-bove in the Citee of Sarras. In the whiche he sacrefied first his blissid body and his flessch by his Bisshoppe Iosephe that he sacred with his owene hande, and the holy spere, the whiche Ieshu the sone of marie his side was with opened, was left in the Cite of Logres that Ioseph thider hadde brought. But noon cowde wite in what place, ne

neuer ne shall, neuer be founde but by prophesie ne the merveiles of the seint graal, ne of the spere that thourgh the poynte of Iren dide blede. Till that the beste knyght of the worlde com, and by hym sholde be discovered the merveiles of the seint Graal, and herde and seyn. These tidinges were spredde all a-boute in euery contrey, and so no man cowde neuer wite who sholde it bringe first forth, and whan the companye of the rounde table herde sey that thourgh the beste knyght of the worlde these thinges sholde be brought to fin. Thei entred in to many questes for to knowe whiche was the beste knyght, and serched many a londe and many a contrey, and eche man hym peyned for to be the beste knyght; and whan thei herde speke that ther was eny goode knyght thourgh the contrey, thei entred in to a quest hym to seche a yere and a day withoute soiour in a town more than oon nyght, and whan thei hadde hym founde, thei sholde bringe hym to court; and whan he was well preved of goode recorde that he was of high prowesse thei toke hym in to her companye, and than was his name writen a-monge the other knyghtes that were felowes of the rounde table; and as eche of hem com from his quest at the yeres ende, thei sholde telle the auentures that were hem befallen in theire traueile, and the clerkes that were therfore I-ordeyned it wrote worde for worde, euen as thei tolde. Now haue ye herde why the questes were stabliished in the reame of the grete Breteigne. But now repeireth the tale to his mater that he hath lefte for to telle this thinge, that I wolde that it were not for-getyn.

Full gladdes and iocoundes were the companye of the rounde table for that thei were a-corded with sir Gawain, and full moche thei hym preised and comended for the grete prowesse that thei saugh hym do at this turnement, and seide a-monge hem in counseile that the beste knyghtes ther-ynne sholde not a-gein hym endure body for body. Thus the knyghtes ther-ynne seide theire volunte. But moche more *spake the ladyes and the maydenes in the chambers. Than was water asked, and whan thei hadde waisschen than sat euery

which can only be found by the best knight in the world.

The knights of the round table try to find which is the best knight,

and when they hear of any good knight, they go in quest of him, and take him into their company.

The tale returns.

The company of the round table are glad that they are in accord with Gawain.

The ladies praise Gawain much. * [Fol. 179b.]

The queen's
knights sit
with the
knights of
the round
table.
The kings sit
at the high
dais.

The forty
who serve.

The four
kings go into
a chamber by
themselves,
and enjoy
the air at the
window.

Ban speaks
to Arthur,

and counsels
him not to let
his knights
tourney a-
gainst each
other,

but to go into
the marches
to the barons.
The king and
queen agree.

knyght as hym ought for to do, and the quenes knyghtes were sette by the knyghtes of the rounde table, and the kynge Arthur, and the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and the kynge looth sat at the high deyse as thei ought for to do, and mo sat ther not but thei foure, and that day serued Gawein and kay the stiward, and lucas the botiller, and Gifflet, and other a-boute a xl., and were so well served that noon cowde better devise, as of mees that thei hadde it nedeth not to reherse, ne of the wynes and drinques that thei hadde in maners, and after the bordes were vp the knyghtes yede to disporte hem in the medowes vpon the river, ffor it was feire weder and clir. But the foure kynges a-bode and wente in to a chambre by hem-self, and lened out at the wyndowes ther-as thei myght se the medowes and the river ther-as was holsom aire, and a softe col[d]e wynde brought in the swete sauours of the erbes, that thei were at more ese than thei that were with-oute, for it was right hoot, and ther the foure kynges spake to-geder of many thinges as it com to theire pleiser.

Whan thei hadde be ther a-while, than seide the kynge Ban to the kynge Arthur, "Sir," seide the kynge Ban, "yef ye wolde do o thinge after my counseile that I haue thought in my herte me semeth it sholde yow moche a-vaile, and the more sholde ye be dred of straunge peple and of prive, and the more love ye sholde haue of the knyghtes of youre courte." "Sey on," seide the kynge, "ffor yef it be soche thinge that I may do with-oute shame or dishonour, I will it gladly do." "Sir," seide the kynge Ban, "in this shull ye neuer haue shame, yef god will, ne no reprof shall it be vnto yow, loke that neuer while ye will holde youre londe in pees and in reste that ye suffre not youre knyghtes to take no turnement oon a-gein a-nother; ffor soche wrath myght falle by envye for that thei be so goode knyghtes that neuer sholde be love a-monge hem. But at alle tymes whan thei will turneyen lete hem go in to the marches of youre londe to high barouns wher-of ther be I-nowe that be riche and puyssaunt;" and the kynge seide that he seide well, and that so

wolde he do with-oute faile; and ther-with com the quene that these worde hadde well vndirstonde, and seide how it was well seide and blessed be he of god that hath yove this counseile.

After that spake the kynge looth and seide, "Sir, hit were nedefull for the cristin peple that we toke soche counseile, that these false saisnes that beth in this reame and haue be-seged two Citees to-geder be their pride, how that thei myght be driven oute. But thei be so grete multitude that thei ar not like to be dryven oute, but yef oure lorde helpe, and ye knowe well that ye haue not peple *I-now with-ynne youre power for to enchace hem oute, ne holde bateile a-gein hem in felde. But yef that oon myght do so moche to purchase a trewis be-twene yow and youre princes that now be with yow at werre, In soche manere that we myght alle go to-geder vpon the saisnes, and eche to helpe other that thei were chaced oute of the londe. Me semeth this were the moste almesse and profite that myght be do in this contrey, and the trewis myght endure a yere, and than yef ther myght be made pees be-twene yow and hem, and yef it may not than eche man do his beste." "Ffor-sothe," seide the kynge, "that wolde I fayn, yef I knewe who to sende, soche a man that the barouns wolde yeve to credence, ffor thei be full fierce and full of pride." "Sir," seide the kynge looth, "the saisnes haue hem so greved that I trowe whan thei here speke of the trewis, and that thei shull haue youre helpe hit shall not nede gretly hem to prayen." "I can not sey," quod Arthur, "what I sholde ther-of to yow sey, ffor as well knowe ye the neethe of the londe as do I, and I am but a man as oon of yow be, and therfore loke and cheseth soche a man that may beste this message performe." "Sir," seide the kynge Ban, "yef I wiste the kynge looth wolde conne me no magre, I wolde sey that he sholde go, ffor he sholde do better the nedes than eny that ye sholde sende, and better he cowde enforme hem of youre volunta, for he is with hem a-queynted and their welwellinge." "Ye," seide the kynge Arthur, "and better he knoweth the passages than eny other that

Looth says they should take counsel how to drive out the Saxons.

*[Fol. 180a.] Arthur could drive them out if he had the help of his princes.

It would be well if they had a truce for a year. Arthur says he does not know who to send.

Looth believes that the princes will agree to a truce.

Arthur asks them to choose a man to go. Ban says Looth would be the best to go.

Arthur agrees.

The queen
asks whether
a knight
might not be
sent;

but Arthur
says that
they are too
proud to
listen to a
knight.

King Looth
agrees to go
and take with
him his four
sons.

Arthur sighs
and is sorry
to lose Ga-
wein.

The queen
asks him to
let Looth
take his sons
with him.

*[Fol. 180b.]

The king
agrees,
and prays
Looth to go
secretly.

Gawein and
his brethren
come,

and Arthur
tells them
what has
been agreed.

I myght thider sende;" and the quene seide "that noon other man sholde so well do the needes as the kyng looth, but yef it be for the saignes that all day gon robbinge thourgh the contrey. But ther were noon so grete losse of oon knyght in this reame as it were of hym yef hym mys-happe, as god diffende." "Dame," seide the kyng, "I knowe the princes so full of pride that ther is no knyght that sholde a-monge hem be herde that I myght sende."

Whan the kyng looth saugh how thei acorded that he sholde go vpon this nede, he knewe well how thei hadde reson. Than he seide he wolde go and haue with hym his foure sones. "Trewly," seide the kyng Bohors, "yef thei ben with yow than haue ye no drede of no man of moder born."

Whan [King Arthur] saugh that thei were to this a-corded that the kyng looth sholde lede with hym his foure sones, he yaf a grete sigh, for he douted of sir Gawein, in whom he hadde so tentefly sette his love, so that ther was nothinge in the worlde that he loved so moche, and the quene knewe a partie of his thought, and seide to the kyng, "Sir, graunte the kyng looth to lede with hym his children hardely, for thei shull haue no drede, yef god will, ffor the more thei be youre frendes the better, and withe the more tendir herte *shull thei do youre message as is nede, more than sholde a-nother that ther-of sette no charge and lever I hadde that my frende counseiled with myn enmyes than a-nother that were straunge." "Dame," seide the kyng Arthur, "I me a-corde, seth the barouns haue it ordeyned;" and than he seide to the kyng looth, and praide hym to appareile hym to go secretly that no man knewe whider he wolde go, with that was Gawein cleped and his brethren that were pleyng in the halle; and whan thei come to the quene she a-roos and wente hem a-geins, and seide thei were welcome, and thei dide yelde hir a-gein hir salew debonerly. Than Arthur tolde hem all as was devised, how thei moste go on the message, and why thei hadde it a-monge hem purveyed; and than thei ansuerde and seide that it was goode for to be done.

After that seide the kyng Looth to sir Gawein, "ffeire sone, goth forth and appareile yow and youre brethern that ye faile nought whan we shull go." "Sir," seide Gawein, "what a-ryment sholde we haue eny more, but oure armours, and oure horse; we shull neither haue somer ne male trussed, netther grete ne small, but goode stedes and swyft, on the whiche we shull ride that may bere vs to garison yef myster be. Ne here be-hoveth noon a-bidinge, for yef ye do my counseile we shull meve yet this nyght at the first somme, and ride as grete iourneyes as we may for soche a nede as this is sholde not be put in no delay." "Trewly, nevew," seide Arthur, "ye sey soth. Now, go reste yow a-while and slepe." Than Gawein turned hym to the quene, and seide, "Madame, I prey that ye thinke on my felowes that leven here with yow, for the knyghtes of the rounde table ne love not hem wele in herte. But haue to hem envye as ye knowe well youre self, and paraenture whan I and my brethern be gon, thei will make som bourde or som turnement a-gein hem, wherefore I praye yow as my goode ladye that ye suffre hem to make no party." "And I yow graunte," seide the quene, "that ther no shall noon be; yef my lorde will leve my counseile ther shall neuer be turnement as longe as the saignes be in this londe;" and than the kyng seide, "Be the feith that I owe vn-to yow no more ther sholde."

Looth tells Gawein to get ready.

Gawein says they only want their armour and horse.

He prays the queen not to allow her knights to tourney with the knights of the round table.

The queen grants his prayer.

With that thei departed, and wente to their chambres for to slepe and to reste; and thei that were in the halle went to their hostelles, and departeden. But who that departed, Gyomar ne departed neuer but a-bode spekyng with Morgain, the sustur of kyng Arthur, in a wardrope vnder the paleys, where she wrought with silke and golde; ffor she wolde make a coyf for hir suster, the wif of kyng looth. This Morgain was a yonge damesell fressh and Iolye. But she was som-what brown of visage and sangwein colour, and nother to fatte ne to lene, but was full a-pert *auenaunt and comely, streight and right plesaunt, and well syngyng. But she was the moste hottest woman of all Breteigne, and moste luxuriouse,

They go to their chambres to rest.

Gyomar speaks with Morgain, the sister of King Arthur,

*[Fol. 181a.] who is the most luxurious woman in Britain.

Merlin
taught her
astronomy.

She is called
Morgain le
fee.

She is well
shaped and
eloquent.

Afterwards
she injures
Queen Gon-
nore.

Guyomar
helps her to
wind the
thread of
gold.

They talk of
love.

He kisses
and embraces
her.

and she was a noble clergesse, and of Astronome she I-nough, for Merlin hadde hir taught; and after he lerned hir I-nough as ye shull heren afterward, and so moche she sette ther-on hir entent, and lerned so moche of egramauncye, that the peple cleped hir afterward Morgain le fee, the suster of kynge Arthur; ffor the merveiles that she dide after in the contrey, and the beste workewoman she was with hir handes, that eny man knewe in eny londe, and ther-to she hadde oon of the ffeirest heed, and the feirest handes vnder hevене, and sholdres well shapen at devise; and she hadde feire eloquense, and trefable, and full debonair she was as longe as she was in hir right witte, and whan she were wroth with eny man, she was euell for to acorde; and that was well shewed afterward, ffor hir that she sholde moste haue loved of all the worlde dide she after the moste shame, wherof it was after alle the dayes of hir lif, and that was the quene Gonnore, as that ye shull it heren here-after and wher-fore it was.

Whan Guyomar entred in to the chambre ther as was Morgain the ffee, he hir salued full swetly, and she hym salued a-gein curteisly, and he sette hym down by hir and helped to wynde the threde of golde, and asked hir what she sholde ther-with make, and he was a feire knyght and comly, well shapen, and his visage well coloured, and his heer crull and yelow, and was feire and plesaunt of body and of chere laughinge, and he a-resoned hir of many thinges; and she be-hielde hym gladly, and was well plesed with all that he seide and dide; and so longe thei spake to-geder that he praied hir of love, and the more that she hym be-hilde, the better she was with hym plesed, and that she gan love hym so well that she refused nothinge that he wolde hir require; and whan he aperceyued that she wolde suffre gladly his requeste, he be-gan hir to enbrace, and she hym suffred, and he be-gan to kysse hir tendrly that bothe thei be-gonne to chauffe as nature wolde, and fellen down on a grete bedde, and pleyde the comen pley, as thei that gretly it desired; ffor yef he were desirouse she was yet moche more, so that thei loved hertely

to-geder longe tyme that noon it wiste; but after it knewe the quene Gonnore as ye shull here telle, wherfore thei were departed, and ther-fore she hated the quene, and dide hir after gret annoye, and of blames that she areised that euer endured while hir lif lasted. But now retourne we to kynge looth and his sones that be go to slepe.

None know
of it, but
Gonnore
does after-
wards.

A noon as it was past mydnyght a-roos the kynge Looth and his foure sones, and appareiled hem of hir armours; and thei hadde chosen v of the beste horse *that thei cowde fynde in all the court, and hem thei made to be ledde with hem with v gromes on foote, and thei hadde v palfreyes right goode that thei dide ride on hir iourney; and whan thei were all redy thei lept on their palfreyes, and ride oute at the yat of Bertone and the v gromes wente be-fore and ledde the v horse couered with steill, and wente oute as softly as thei myght, for thei wolde not be a-parceyved of no peple; and whan thei hadde riden half a walsh myle, Gawein asked whiche wey thei sholde go; and the kynge looth seide he wiste not, for the contrey was full of werre. "Than shall I telle yow," quod Gawein, "what we shull do; we shull go to Arestuell in Scotlonde that is now the next londe, and moste full of wode of all this contrey, and it is better to drawe that wey than to eny other place;" and the kynge looth seide, "Feire sone, seth that it pleseth yow I will wele, for youre counseile is goode, and so shull we go be the castell of Sapine and be the playn of Reostok, and by the foreste of lespinoye vnder Carenges, and we shull go by the river of Savarne, and thourgh the playnes of Cambenyk, and fro thens we shull costinge to the Cite of North walis that longeth to the kynge Tradilyuaunt, and fro thens to Arestuell, iiij myle from the Saisnes;" and the children herto dide graunte.

King Looth
and his sons
rise up at
midnight.
*[Fol. 181b.]

They leap on
their palfreys
and ride out
of the gate
of Bertone.

Gawein asks
which way
they shall go.

He says to
Arestuell,

King Looth
agrees.

They shall
go by Sapine,
Reostok,
Lespinoye,
Savarne, and
Cambenyk.

The children
agree.

Thus ride thise messagiers, spekyng of o thinge and other, till it was day, and on the morowe thei rode be the moste vncouth weyes that thei cowde knowe, and lay in the forestes, and in hermytages, and thus thei ride viij dayes that neuer hadde thei disturbier till thei com in to the playns of

Thus they
ride eight
days by the
most uncouth
ways.

At Roestok
they meet
7000 Saxons
with 700 pri-
soners.

Clarion rides
on his horse
Gringaleit.

When the
Saxons see
Looth and
his sons they
stay for
them.

Gawein, his
father and
brothers leap
on their
horses,

and come
towards the
Saxons.

*[Fol. 182a.]

When they
draw nigh
Gawein ad-
vises his
father and
brothers.

Looth tells
the Saxons
what they
are.

The Saxons
say they keep
the ways,
and com-
mand them
to deliver
themselves
up.

Roestok, and than it be-fill hem a-boute the hour of mydday that thei mette vij^M Saisnes that brought grete prayes and a vii^O prisoners, that the feet were bounde vnder the horso belies, and thei dide hem beeste full lothly with staves and other wepnes, and hem dide condite Sorbares, and Monaclyns, and Salebruns, and Ysores, and Clarion. This Clarion rode on Gringaleit, an horse that was cleped so far the grete bounte that he hadde; ffor as the storye seith for x myle rennyng abated he neuer his corage, ne hym neded no spore ne no skyn of hym ther-for ne sholde not swete; and whan the saisnes hem saugh ridinge on her weye, thei knewe well by theire armes and hir conysshauce that thei were noon of her compagne, and thei hoked and a-bode; and whan Gawein saugh that, he hoked stille and bad his fader and his brethren to lepe vpon theire horses, and so thei dide a-noon delyuerly; and the gromes toke the palfreys and lepte vp and rode in to the foreste that wey streight as theire wey turned, and thei com toward the saisnes as the wey hem ledde, for thei deynd not to glenche; and mydday was than passed, and drough towarde noone, and so rode the kyng looth formest, and Gawein after, and his brethern hym be-side, a softe *paas; and whan thei hadde so riden that thei be-gan to come nygh, than seide Gawein to his fader that he ne sholde entende to noon other thinge ne coveite but to perce hem thorough-out, and to his brethern he seide the same till thei were come on that other side. Than the saisnes hem ascride, and seide, "Ye knyghtes that come ther, yelde yow and telle vs what ye be and what ye go seching;" and the kyng looth ansuerde, "We ben fyve messagiers of the kyng Arthur that go on his erunde ther he hath vs sente, and more will we not sey;" and thei seide, "Cesse and go no ferther; ffor we kepe the weyes in the name of the kyng hardogabran, and Orienx the sone of Brangue of Saxoyne, and in the name of Margrat, to whom we lede this pray and these prisoners, and of yow also shull we make present." "Ye," quod the kyng looth, "whan ye may;" and thei seide in to that tyme was but litill space. "But yelde yow, and than do ye wisely er it

falle yow eny werse;" and thei ansuerde that sholde neuer be. Than thei lete theire horse renne with as grete randon as thei myght go, and these a-gein to hem that nothings hem ne douted, but smote in a-monge hem, and echc of hem bar oon deed to the erthe, and after smote other v that thei were deed vp-right; and at foure cours thei haue hem perced thourgh with-oute eny other discombraunce, and than thei ride a walop with theire speres in theire handes all bloody; and whan the saisnes saugh hem goinge, than a-roos the shoute and the noyse after hem right grete, and be-gonne hem to chace that the duste a-roos so thikke that harde it was oon to knowe a-nother; with that com the vj kynges prikinge after, that hadde herde the tidinges and cried vpon her men, "Now upon hem and lete hem yow not ascape;" and thei hem-self priken after, for thei were well horsed, and so thei chaced hem fiercely, and thei wente forth a grete walop till thei be come to a Mille, where ther was a passage at a forde full of cley, and ther moste thei stinte and ride a softe paas; and ther ouer-toke hem the v kynges that dred nothings the euell passage, and of saisnes after hem mo than v^o, and ther thei brake theire speres vpon hem in her comynge, and Ysors that com be-fore smote the horse of kyng looth that he fill deed be-twene his legges.

Whan the kyng looth saugh his horse slain he lept vp lightly on his feet, and drough his swerde, and drough hym to a banke for the clay that was grete; and thei ronne vpon hym and assailed hym full harde, and he hym diffended so fiercely that thei hadde no power hym to take; and whan Gawein saugh his fader on foote, he was full of sorowe, and smote the horse with the spores that the blode ran oute on bothe sides, and smote Monaclyn thourgh the shelde and thourgh the hauberke that he fill deed to the erthe, and in the fallinge his spere brake. Than he drough his swerde that was cleped Calibourne, and loked on his fader that hym diffended a-gein mo than xl saisnes, and he ran vpon hem with his swerde, and smote soche strokes on bothe *his sides, that he kutte heedes and legges, and armes, and dide soche merueiles that thei fledde

Looth and his sons will not.

They ride in amongst them, and each bears down one dead.

They galop thourgh.

The Saxons chase them.

The six kynges call to their men not to let them escape.

Five kynges overtake them at a mill.

Ysors kills Looth's horse.

Looth leaps up and draws his sword.

Gawein kills Monaclyn,

and draws his sword Calibourne. He defends his father against forty Saxons, * [Fol. 182b.] and makes them fly.

He kills a
Saxon and
takes his
horse to his
father.

from hym and made wey; and Gawein smote a saisne that peyned sore to take his fader, that he slyt hym to the breste bon, and than hente the horse and ledde it to his fader, and the crye and the noyse a-roos for hym that was deed, and ther-while is the kynge looth remounted magre alle his enmyes. Than com the thre brethern of Sir Gawein that hadde made soche slaughter of the saisnes, that alle her armours were be-steyne with blode and brayn; and whan thei were to-geder thei be-gonne a stronge medle, and slough so many that it was gret merveile to se, and the saisnes com on euermore, for thei wende ther hadde be moche peple for the grete slaughter that thei hadde made.

The three
brothers of
Sir Gawein
make great
slaughter.
When they
come to-
gether they
slay many of
the Saxons.

Looth says it
is time to go.

Whan the kynge looth saugh so moche peple come on alle parties, he cleped his sones, and seide it was tyme to go, ffor it were no wisdome to a-bide lenger for to resceve xl strokes for the yeringe of oon. "But go we hens," quod he, "and yef thei vs enchace let vs turne vpon hem be-tymes when we se oure leiseir; with that thei wente theire wey and passed the forde delyuerly, and whan thei were ouer thei ride forth on her wey; and whan the thre kynges saugh hem departe, thei cried vpon her men, "Now after hem, and lete not the traitours ascape." Than thei passed the forde, and chaced hem harde, and the kynge Clarion that satte vpon the Gringalet chaced hem formest the lengthe of an arblast, and Sir Gawein was be-hynde alle his felowes his swerde in his hande all blody; and the sarazin that sore peynes hym to ouer-take a-seried hym, "Wy yelde the or thow art but deed;" and Gawein loked and saugh the horse so swyftly renne that he gate grounde sore after hym, and gretly he hym coveited in hir herte, and seide yef he myght gete soche an horse, he wolde not yeve it for the beste Citee that kynge Arthur hadde, and than he gan to ride a softer paas, and rode walopinge, and Clarion hym enchaced faste after; and whan Gawein saugh he was come so nygh, he turned his shelde and Clarion smote so harde hym vpon the shelde that the spere fly on peces; and Gawein hym hitte vpon the helme that he slytte thourgh

They pass
the ford.
The three
kings cry to
their men not
to let them
escape.

Clarion
chases them.

Gawein
covets his
horse.

Clarion
breaks his
spear on Ga-
wein's shield.

the coyf of mayle and the flessch to the harde boon, that he was so astoned that he fill in swowne to the grounde out of his sadill, and Gawein caught Gringalet be the bridell, and ledde hym to a grove ther faste by of half a myle, and his fader rode alwey forth be-fore and his thre sones, and entended to nought elles but to go theire wey, and wende thei hadde alle foure be by hym, and the duste and the powder was so thikke that oon myght not se fer from hym, and so thei hadde lefte Gawein be-hynde the space of half a myle; and whan Gawein was come in to the grove, he saugh the v gromes come oute of the foreste that rode on the v palfreyes, and than was he gladde and preised hem moche for that thei hadde peyned hem sore hem for to sewe. Than he a-light of his horse and lepte on the Gringalet, and toke his horse to oon of the gromes for to lede, *and comaunded hem to go after his fader and his brethern that were gon be-fore, and bidde hem spede hem faste on hir iourney, and I shall folowe a-noon after, but I will se where these peple will be come. But he a-bode for nought, for thei chaced no ferther, after thei fonde the kynge Clarion lyinge, but stode a-bowte hym, and wende well he hadde ben deed, and made gret doell that sir Gawein myght here the crye ther he was.

Thus a-bode Gawein longe in the bussches to loke yef eny wolde come after, and the kynge looth and his thre sones rode forth till thei come to a litill grove, and as thei sholde entre thei loked bak and [saugh] not Gawein; and at the firste worde he seide, "Ha! I haue loste all;" and thei hym behelden, and seide, "What eyleth yow, sire;" and he ansuerde, "My sone, youre brother, my sone; ha! certes yef he be deed I shall sle my-self, ffor after hym recche I not to lyve oo day." "Sir," seide Agravain, "ne weymente ye not so, ffor yef god will he ne hath noon harme;" and while the kynge loot made this waymentacion com the v gromes that brought the palfreies, and that oon ledde Gaweins horse on his right honde; and whan the kynge hem saugh he knewe hem wele, and whan thei approched nygh Gaheries hem ascried, "Where lefte ye

Gawein fell^h him to the ground, and takes his horse, which he leads into a grove.

Here he sees the grooms.

He leaps on to Gringalet,

*[Fol. 183a.]

and stays to see whether the Saxons will chase them further, but they remain with Clarion.

Gawein abides in the bushes. Looth and his three sons ride on. When Looth cannot see Gawein, he bewails his loss.

The grooms bring the palfreys.

Gaheries asks where

they left Gawein.
They say he is among the bushes on Gringaleit.

Looth and his sons are glad when they hear of Gawein's safety.

Gawein springs out of the bushes among the Saxons,

and smites them down.

His shield is slit.

The Saxons chase him, but cannot overtake him. He returns upon them with his sword in his hand.

*[Pol. 1836.]

When Looth sees Gawein he cries out

my brother?" "Sir," seide the gromes, "amonge the yonde bussches where he is lepte vpon the beste horse of the worlde, wher-from he hath smyte down a kynge, and thei that weepe and crye, sey that his name is kynge Clarion, and the name of the stede is Gringaleit, and he toke vs this horse, and sente yow worde that ye sholde ride forth, for soone shall he yow ouer-take, whan he will; whan thei herde he was hool and sounde thei were gladde, and be-hielde toward the bussches, and whan Gawein saugh thei rode no ferther he seide he wolde shewe hem the¹ gode horse er he paste eny ferther. Than he spronge out of the bussches, and thider as he saugh grettest plente of peple that entended yet to make doell and sorowe, and saugh a saisne that hilde a merveilous short spere, and the shaft was grete and short, and the heed was a foote and a half of lengthe that was clier and trenchaunt. Than he put Calibourne his swerde in the scauberke and launched toward the saisne with grete raundon, and raced it oute of his handes so felly that he pulled hym to grounde, and with the same cours he smote a-nother that he fill stark deed, and plunged in depe a-monge hem, and after returned thourgh hem as tempest of thunder; but er he past oute his shelde felte it well, for it was all to slitte and hewen, but er he departed he hath mo than xiiij so araied that neuer sholde thei ride on horse in hele; and than he wente and a-bode no lenger, and the crye and the shoute a-roos so grete, and the chace that merveile was to se, but for hem myght he ne be ouertake; and whan he hadde lefte hem be-hynde he returned with his swerde in his honde, and smote so the firste that he mette that deed he fill on the grene, and thus taried sir Gawein longe while; and he wente and com in *soche maner till thei be come nygh the wode with-ynne a bowe draught where the kynge and his thre bretheren were.

When the kynge Looth saugh the saisnes come soche foyson after his sone Gawein that he desired to se a-bove

¹ The word "the" is repeated in the MS.

all thinge, he cried, "My sones, what do ye? is not that Gawein youre brother that here cometh that these glotouns chace; lete it be to hem dere solde." With that the kynge looth laced his helme hastely and smote the horse with spores, and his thre sones also, and com a-gein the saisnes; and the kynge Loot mette with Gawein, and seide, "Feire sone, grete wronge haue ye do that thus leve me and youre brethern, and where haue ye thus longe taried. Coveyte ye alle these saisnes to discourfite, though ye slough at eche stroke x, ye sholde not haue do in a moneth." "Sir," seide he, "I haue wonne soche an horse that I wolde not yeve for the castell of Glocedon, and therefore I wolde hym preve, and I haue founde hym soche that me nedeth to seche noon better in no londe, now go we for I shall not leve yow no more to-day fer nothings that may be-fulle." "Blame haue he," quod Agraunain, "that thus shall go seth we be thus be-fore er we haue slain moo of these saisnes." "Ye is that soth," seide Gawein, and thei ne hadde no speres, and thei drough oute their swerdes, and these com prikinge and wende hem to take and to holde, and brake their speres vpon their sheldes and thei smote hem vpon the sheldes and helmes or ther thei myght hem a-reche, and fyghted fiercely that thei slough mo than xl er thei wente.

And whan the kynge Looth saugh it was tyme to go he seide, "Gawein, goode sone, bringe a-wey youre brethern, for ye se well it is nyght, and therefore take we oure iourney, ffor to batailes we shull come I-nowe that we shull haue bothe handes full;" and Gawein com to his brethern, and seide that now is tyme to go, and than thei departed, but first thei toke v speres of the saisnes and put vp their swerdes; and as thei departed vij saisnes haue their speres leide in fewtre, and com overtakinge Gueheret, and tweyne smote hym be-twene the two sholderes, and the other tweyne on the side, and other two vpon the sleues of the hauberk, and the vije smote the horse thourgh the body and bar to the erthe, bothe the toon and the other. Than returned the kynge Looth and wende well he hadde be deed, and seide, "Ha-las now be

to his sons
to assist him.

Looth meets
Gawein; and
asks him why
he has tar-
ried so long.

Gawein says
he wished to
try his horse.

Agravaun
wishes to
kill some
more Saxons.

They slay
more than
forty.

Looth tells
Gawein to
bring his
brothers
away.

They take
five spears
from the
Saxons.
Seven Saxons
overtake
Gueheret,
and bare him
to the
ground.

Looth
grieves.

Gueheret
leaps on his
feet, draws
his sword,
and smites
the Saxons.

*[Fol. 184a.]

Gawein kills
one, and
takes his
horse to his
brother.

The seven
fly.

Gaheries
kill one, and
returns to his
brothers.

The Saxons
return to
Clarion, who
asks whether
they have
taken them.

He is sor-
rowful.
Loot and his
sons ride
forth on their
way.

disparbled the foure frendes; ha! goode sone Gawein, this harme haue I thourgh yow, ffor yef ye hadde come with vs Gueheret ne hadde I had noon harme;" and while the kyng spake these wordes lepe Gueheret vpon his feet, ffor he was a noble knyght and an hardy, and he enbrace his shelde, and drough oute his swerde and made hym redy to diffende hymself; and the vij saisnes were returned, and ronne vpon hym; and he smote so the firste that he toke that he kutte his thigh a-sonder; and he smote another on the helme, but he myght not well come by hym, and the stroke descended *be-twene the body and the sholder, and kutte the gige with all the arme; and Gawein smote so hym that he mette that deed he fill to grounde, and than he caught the horse that was goode and ledde to his brother, and he lept vp lightly and hente his spere, for that wolde he not for-yete; and the kyng Looth, and Agrauiain, and Gaheries haue felde other thre, and the vije turned to flight; and whan Gaheries saugh hym go, he priked after, and ouer-toke hym down in a valei, smote hym with the spere a-gein the herte so harde that the heed passed thourgh-oute, and than returned a walop that wey ther his brethern be, and rode forth her wey, and it was nygh nyght; and the saisnes be-taught hem to the deuell all quyke, ffor for them sholde thei no lenger be chaced, and seide yef ther were x^m of soche men in the contrey, the kyng hardogabran and all his puyssaunce myght neuer a-gein hem endure; with that the saisnes returned ther the kyng Clarion lay, and founde his wounde stanchyd; and whan he saugh hem come a-gein, he asked yef thei hadde the glotouns take, and they seide, "Nay," and tolde hym the harme thei hadde don after, and that thei myght not be take by no man of theires; and than was Clarion sorowfull and dolent, and returned toward the sege that was be-fore Clarence; and the kyng loot and his sones saugh it drough to nyght and rode forth their wey, but who hadde sein their armours he myght haue seide thei hadde not ben at sojourne, ffor their sheldes were slitte and their helmes to hewen, and their armours all to rente, and their horse all

blode and brayn, and it semed that out of stronge stour thei were departed, with that thei be come to the grove ther the gromes hem a-biden, and thei a-light of their horse, and lepe on the palfreyes, and the gromes ledde their horse and bare their speres, and their sheldes, and their helmes, and rode thorough the wode that was grete till it was fer in the nyght, and the mone shone right clier till that thei come to a forester that was a goode man, and hadde foure sones that were feire yonge bachelers, and hadde a wif that was a goode lady.

They get off
their horses,
and leap on
the palfreys.

They come
to a forester's
place,

which is
strong.

This foresters place was stronge and well closed with depe diches full of water, and was environed with grete okes, and ther-to to it was so thikke of bussches and of thornes and breres that noon wolde haue wende that ther hadde be eny habitacion. Thider com the kynge Loot and his foure sones at the firste cok crowinge, and happed that her wey hem ledde to a posterne wher-by men entred in to the place, and made oon of their gromes to crie and knocke till the gate was opened; and oon of the foresteres sones hem asked what thei were, and thei seide thei were V erraunt knyghtes that wente vpon their grete nede. "Sirs," seide the yonge man, "ye be welcome, and ledde hem in to the middill of the Court, and thei a-light of their horse, and ther were I-nowe that ledde hem to stable, and yaf hem hey and otes, ffor the place was well stuffed; and a squyer *hem ledde in to a feire halle be the grounde hem for to vn-arme, and the Vavasour and his wif, and his foure sones that he hadde, and his tweyne doughtres dide a-rise, and light vp torches and other lightes ther-ynne, and sette water to the fier, and waissched their visages and their handes, and after hem dried on feire toweiles and white, and than brought eche of hem a mantell, and the Vavasour made cover the tables, and sette on brede and wyne grete foyson and venyson, and salt flessh grete plente; and the knyghtes sat down and ete and dranke as thei that ther-to haue grete nede, and the Vavasours two doughtres be-hilde sir Gawein tenderly, and his brethern, and sore thei merveiled what thei myght be; and the fforesters foure sones serued be-fore the

They knock
at the pos-
tern gate.

One of the
forester's
sons wel-
comes them,
and leads
them in.
*[Fol. 184b.]

The Vavasour
and his
family light
up torches.

They wash
them,

and set meat
on the tables.

The two
daughters
look at Ga-
wein ten-
derly.

They sit at table.

The forester asks Looth whothey are.

Looth asks first to whom the forest belongs. The forester says it belongs to King Clarion of Northumberland.

Looth says he does not know a better man.

The forester speaks of the court of King Arthur, and the queen's knights.

The sister of Meranges de Porlesgues.

The forester's name is Mynoras.

knyghtes and the maiden es serued of wyn, and the lady satte be-fore sir Gawein, and the hoste be-fore Agrava in, and Gueheret, and Gaheries to-geder; and the kynge loot satte euen be-side his hoste a litill a-bove, and thei were well serued as a-boute soche hour, for it was full nygh mydnyght, and whan the clothes were vp the forester seide to the kynge looth, "Sir hoste, yef it sholde yow not displese, ne to these worthi men that be here, I wolde gladly knowe what ye were, and what is the cause that ye traueile yef it be not shame to aske." "Trewly," seide the kynge loot, "we shull neuer ther-of haue shame yef god will, but telle vs be-fore to whom longeth this forest and this contrey a-boute." "Certes, sir," seide he, "it is the kynges Clarion of Northumberlonde, and I it kepe vnder hym, and am forester and his liegeman, and these squyers that both here be my sones, and these maiden es be my doughters." "For-sothe, sir," seide the kynge, "I knowe not a better man of his age than is the kynge Clarion, ne he myght no better haue be-sette the baille than vpon yow as me semeth, ffor ye haue a feire meyne a well lerned." "Sir," quod he, "yef thei will be goode men, thei haue worthi knyghtes of theire lynage that ben now in the Court of kynge Arthur of the moste preised and beste be-loved, and as it is tolde me thei beth newly be-come the quenes knyghtes, and by my lorde sir Gawein, the sone of kynge loot is this company made, and it is seide how the kynge Looth is a-corded with the kynge Arthur." "And who be thei," seide the kynge Loot, "that aperteyneth to youre sones?" "Trewly, sir," seide the forester, "this lady that is here is suster to Meranges de Porlesgues, I can not sey yef ye knowe hym, and is cosin germain to Ayglin des vaux and to kehedin le petitz, and to Ewein lionell [that] is my newew, for he is my brother sone Grandilus, the Castelein doucrenepar, and I my-self hadde I-nough of londe ne were these saignes that haue all wasted." "And what is youre name?" quod the kynge to the forester. "Trewly, sir," seide the forester, "my name is mynoras, and am lorde of the new castell in Northumbir-land." Than seide the kynge loot, "Alle these that ye

haue named knowe I well, and ye sey soth thei be goode knyghtes at devise these that ye haue nempned, and wolde god that *the kyng Clarion satte by me as nygh as ye do."

*[Fol. 135a.]

"How so?" seide Mynoras, "ar ye a-queynted with hym?"

Mynoras asks if Looth is acquainted with Clarion.

"Ye," seide he, "I shall neuer cesse of traueile till I haue spoke with hym."

"Sir," seide mynoras, "so moche desire I the more to knowe what ye be, more now than I dido before."

"And I shall telle yow than," quod the kyng looth; "ye may sey to alle hem that yow aske who was loged with yow, that it was the kyng looth and his foure sones."

Looth tells him who he is.

"Ha! sir," quod the forester, "we ar worthi to be deed, for we haue yow no better serued," and than thei aros from hym.

Mynoras says they ought to have served them better.

"Sitte ye stille," quod the kyng, "and meve yow not, for so moche haue ye doon that ye haue wonne oure love for euermore, and youre meyne shull haue profite."

"A sire," seide Mynoras, "what seche ye in this contrey?"

Quod the kyng, "We seche that we myght speke with the Barouns of this contrey that we myght haue a Parliament to-geder on the kyng Arthurs be-halve to se how that we myght put oute these saisnes of this londe, and eche of vs to helpe other as brethern."

He asks what Looth seeks. Looth answers to get the barons to agree with Arthur.

"And where trowe ye for to assemble hem," quod Mynoras.

"In Arestuell in Scotlonde," quod the kyng looth, "that is the nexte marche, and ther we shull assemble yef we may."

They are to assemble at Arestuell.

"Sir," quod Mynoras, "yef it plese yow I shall wele lete my lorde haue witinge, and so moche shull ye haue the lesse to do, and tell me whan he shall fynde yow ther."

Mynoras will tell Clarion.

"Trewly," seide the kyng, "I can yow thanke, and ye sey full well, and therefore now telle hym that he shall fynde me ther on seinte Berthelmewes day, and bidde hym loke that he be ther, for ther shull be alle the other princes."

Loot will be there on St. Bartholomew's day.

And Mynoras seide that it sholde be don, and badde hym thinke on the remenaunt, for of that was he quyte, after thei spake of o thinge and other till the beddes were redy, and than thei wente to reste, for thei were wery of traueile, and it was fer in the nyght, and thei slepte till it was day.

They talk till bed time.

But now a litill cesseth of hem, and spekethe of kyng Pelles of lytenoys, the brother

of kynge Pellynor, and of kynge Aleon that were brethern germain.

The son of
King Pellis

will not be
a knight
till the best
knight in the
world gives
him armes,

and he will
show him the
way into this
country.
*[Fol. 185b.]

The king
says it is of
no use to
show the
knight the
way, for he
must come
by himself,
and inquire
after the
Saint Graal.

The squire
wishes to go
to the court
of King Ar-
thur,

and serve
Gawein.

King Pellis
says he will
find it diffi-
cult to get
there be-

This kynge hadde a feire sone that yet was no knyght, and he was of xv yere of age, but he was right semely and well barnysshed of body and bones, and ther-to was of grete bewte, and his fader hym asked whan he wolde be knyght, and he ansuerde that he wolde neuer be knyght before that the beste knyght of the worlde that eny man knewe hadde yove hym armes and the a-coole. "In feith, sone," than seide the kynge, "than may ye longe I-nough a-bide." "I can not seyn," seide the squyer, "but firste shall I serue hym thre yere er he make me knyght till that I haue lerned I-nough of armes a-boute hym, and wite ye whi. I will knowe and se of what prowesse he is and soche may he be, that I will teche hym the way in to this contrey, for to a-cheve the a-uentures that hastely shall be-gynne, as it is seide, and to youre-self hath it be *seide often tymes, and I wolde be right sory, yef I myght not se myn Vncle made hooll of his woundes that he hath thourgh his thighes." "Ffeire sone, seide the kynge, "neuer therfore shall he not spede, though ye teche hym the way, ffor hym be-hoveth to be of soche chivalrie, and so a-venturouse, that he come by hym-self and enquere after the seint Graal that my feire doughter kepeth, that is yet but vij yere of age, and so hit be-houeth on hir to be engendred that childe by the best knyght that eny man knoweth, ffor to a-chieve the a-uentures ther be-houeth to be thre, wherof tweyne shall be virgins, and the thirde shall be caste." "Sir," seide the squyer, "my volunte is soche that I will go to the Court of kynge Arthur, ffor I here sey that ther ben the beste knyghtes of the worlde, and ther is oon that is his newew that is cleped Gawein, whiche is the beste knyght of the worlde, hym will I go serue, and be his squyer yef hym plesse to haue my seruise, and yef he be soche as men recorde, I shall take of hym myn armes, and the a-coole." "Ffeire sone," than seide the kynge Pellis, "ther be so many passages be-twene this and that. That it is no light thinge to go thider, ffor the saignes be spradde thourgh

the contrey that all do distroye and waste, and on that other side ther is so grete discorde be-twene Arthur and the barouns of the londe, that I shall neuer be in ese till I se yow a-gein hool and sounde," "Ffader," seide squyer, "we be alle in auenture, ne we may not deye but on soche deth as god hath vs ordeyned, and knoweth it well that I shall neuer cesse of labour till I be there, and I will meve to morowe erly." "Ffeire sone," seide the kynge, "I se well thow wilt go and that nothings shall the lette, and me liketh it well for that thow coveytest prowesse and valour, and of gret corage it cometh, and on that other side me heveith, for that I trowe the neuer to seen. Nowe telle me whom thow wilt haue with the." "Sir," seide he, "I shall go sooll be my self, and haue with me but oon squyer to bere me companye. But aray me horse and armes soche as ye knowe be to me mystier." And the kynge seide as for that sholde haue no dowte, for all his thinges were ordeyned redy.

cause of the Saxons.

The squire says he will go on the morrow.

The king is glad that he has courage.

His son will only take one squire.

Thus ended the parlement be-twene the fader and the sone; and on the morowe his fader hadde appareiled hym horse and armes, and all thinge that was nedefull hym to diffende, and delyuered hym a squyer bolde, hardy, and wise, and well seringe; and this squyer trussed on a somer his armes, and his robes, and money I-nough, and whan he hadde all made redy, the childe lepte vpon an ambeler, and departed fro thens with-oute lenger a-bidinge, and comaunded his fader and his frendes to god, and thei hym also that god sholde diffende hym from euell and all aduersite, and than departed he and his squyer, and traueiled many dayes that neuer thei fonde no man ne woman that seide nought to hem but goode; and so thei traueiled be theire iourneyes till on a day as thei com thourgh the playns of Roestok in to a depe valey, and ther-ynne was a feire river that com rennyng from a welle springe oute of a thorn, where-as Pignarus and Monagins two kynges of the saignes that were restinge with v^e men of armes that were come from the roche of saignes, and wente to Clarence to the grete seige that xxx kynges dide holde, and ledde with hem xl

The father gives his son horse and arms, and a bold squire.

They depart.

*[Fol. 186a.]

When they come to Roestok they find two Saxon kings, with 500 men,

that are going to Clarence.

somers trussed with vitaille, and thei were sette vnder the hawethorn in the shadowe by the broke, and let theire horse pasture down the medowes while the heete was so grete, for it was a-boute mydday.

When the king's son sees them he is affraid, and puts on his arms.

His squire's name is Lydonas.

When Pygnoras sees them, he asks who they are.

They ride on, but the Saxons follow them, and call to them to yield themselves up.

They ride on.

The young lord bears down one of the Saxons, and follows Lydonas.

In to this valey that was so grete and depe entred this kynges sone and his squyer, and rode forth till thei come to an high hille, and fro thens myght thei well se the saisnes that ete vnder the hawthorne, and whan he hem saugh he was sore affraied, and asked his armes, and a-raied hym a-noon, and henge his swerde at the arson of his sadell, and than lepte on his horse, and comaunded his squyer to go be-fore that was cleped lydonas, and he dide his comaundement, and rode forth the streight wey till thei were euen falle a-monge the saisnes, and whan Pygnoras hem saugh, he made aske what thei were, and he ansuerde that he was of the other contrey, and wente on her iourney ther as thei hadde for to do; and Pignoras hit herde and comaunded his peple to arme and to lepe to horse, and comaunded hem to bringe hym a-gein other be force, or be otherwise, and this yonge squyer that rode forth the streight wey after his squyer hilde a grete spere, but he hadde no shelde, and rode softly. But er he hadde litill wey riden thei that folowe hym ascried hym with high voise, and seide, "Wy! yelde the, and thyn armes, and thyn horse to oure lorde that a-bideth under the hawthorne;" and he herde hem well and vndirstode, but he ansuerde hem no worde, but rode forth after his squyer and encresed his paas somewhat, and after that he rode a walop; and whan the saisnes saugh that he rode so faste, thei priked after, and manaced hym sore, and whan he saugh hem come he turned his horse hede, and a saisne com be-fore alle the other gripinge a grete spere, and hasted hym so faste in his comynge that he failed to smyte this yonge lorde, and he com so faste a-gein hym as his horse myght ronne and smote the saisne thourgh shelde and hauberke, and bar hym to grounde that he hadde no myster of no leche, and than he pulled oute his spere, and rode forth his wey a grete paas after lydonas his squyer that wente hym be-fore, for he desired not elles but

from the saisnes to passe; and the saisnes priked after faste, for in no wyse thei wolde lete hym so ascape, and he rode euener a[t] a grete walop, his spere in his honde, that hadde chaunged his colour fro white in to reade, *ffor it was all bloody of hym that he hadde slain, and thus he rode forth prayinge our lorde hym to diffende from deth a from prison, and the saisnes hym chaced with all the myght of theire horse, so that at laste thei hym atteyned, and x smote hym on the sholderes and on the sides, and he returned and smote so the firste that he mette, that the heed and the shafte of his spere shewed thourgh be-hynde, that he fill deed flat to the grounde, and a-nother he smote thourgh the throte, and he fill down of his horse in myddell of the wey; and the saisnes [com] hym a-gein with theire speres, that thei made hym to bend ouer his horse croupe, but he fill not from his sadell, for theire speres fly in peces; and he a-roos and with his spere smote oon of hem thourgh the body, that he fill deed to grounde a-monge his felowes, that were full wroth and angry, and ther-with brake his spere, and a-noon he leide honde to his swerde that henge at the pomell of his sadell, and drough it oute of the scauberke, and the saisnes ronne vpon hym on alle partyes, and he smote so the firste that he kute of his right sholdre, so that all the side opened that the bowels apered oute of the wounde, and he fill down deed, and than he smote a-nother that the heed fill of with all the helme, and than he smote the thridde that he slitte hym to the teth, and the remenaunt smyten hym full harde strokes; and whan he saugh he myght not longe endure a-gein so moche peple, but that he moste be take or elles deed, he lefte hem and smote the horse with the spores, and rode faste after lydonas his squyer; and than a-roos the showte and noyse vpon hym right grete, and whan he hadde over-take his squyer, he rode forth by hym, and seide he wolde not leue his harneys as longe as he myght it diffende; he helde his swerde in his honde all naked, and a saisne com with spere in fewtre, and smote hym a-bove the sadell that the hauberke dide folde, and he hadde fallen down ne hadde he holde hym by his horse nekke; and whan he was

The Saxons
will not let
them escape.

*[Fol. 186b.]

Ten of them
smite the
young lord.

He kills some
of them.

The others
break his
spear.
He draws
his sword,

and kills
several.

He spurs his
horse and
rides fast, till
he overtakes
his squire.

A Saxon
smites him,
but

vp redressed he loked on hym that hadde hym smyten, and
 hitte hym so sore vpon the heed that he slitte hym to the teth,
 and than thei come rounde a-boute hym on alle parties, and he
 hym diffended as he that was of grete herte, and be-gan to
 sle of hem bothe men and horse, and threwe to grounde all that
 he dide a-reche. But all his diffence a-vailed hym but litill
 a-gein so many as were a-boute hym, and so it myght not be but
 that he moste be deed or taken, ffor Pignoras and Monaquyns
 were come after hym; and than he turned from hem and priked
 his wey as faste as he myght after his squyer, and Monaquyns
 and Pignoras that saugh noon of her men returne, thei lept to
 theire horse a com ridinge the wey as the squyer wente and
 saugh the deed bodyes that were lyinge in the high wey that
 the squyer hadde slain, and thei asked who hadde this don; and
 thei seide that he hadde don all this *that com ridinge by hym-
 self, and than thei asked whiche wey he was gon; and thei
 seide, "Yonder down in a valey, where oure peple foughted with
 hym, but thei may hym not take." Than seide Pignoras, "Now
 after hym, and lete hym not thus ascape, for he hath don me
 grete harme;" and whan thei herde this thei lete renne after
 the squyer. Now god be his gide for his grete pite, for yef
 thei may hym take, he may not ascape in no wise with-uten
 deth. But he that in euery nede helpeth hem that in hym
 byleve, that is oure lorde Ihesu Crist, sente to hym a feire
 a-uenture, and ther-fore is seide a proverbe, that god will haue
 saued, no man may distroye, and here a litill stinteth the tale
 of hym, and returneth to the kynge Looth of Orcanye, and to
 his foure sones that be in his companye.

That nyght that the kynge looth and his foure sones were
 herberowed with Mynoras, the forester of kynge Clarion,
 thei slepte all nyght after thei were brought to reste as thei
 that all the day suffred grete traueyle, and erly on the morowe
 thei a-rise and toke theire armes that was brought in theire
 chamber, and thei armed hem smartly and soone, and lepe on
 theire horse that were brought to the halle dore, and Mynoras
 and his wife were at the takynge of theire horse; and the kynge

he slits him
to the teeth.

He defends
himself.

Pignoras and
Monaquyns
come after
him.

When they
see the dead
bodies they
ask who did
this.

*[Fol. 187a.]

Pignoras
says the
squire must
not escape,

but our Lord
succours
him.

The tale re-
turns to
Looth.

Looth and
his four sons
sleep well.

They arise
early in the
morning and
ride forth.

Looth and sir Gawein comaunded hem to god and thanked hem hertely of the herberow and the goode chere that thei hadde hem shewed, and than thei ride forth oute at the yate, and the forester and his foure sones rode with hem, and conveyed hem the wey; and the foure gromes rode be-fore and ledde the v horse couered vnder stiell, and bar theire helmes, and sheldes, and theire speres that the forester hadde hem yoven with heedes cler and sharpe; and whan Mynoras hadde conveyed hem a-while, the kyng hym returned and bad hym do his message to the kyng Clarion of Northumbirlonde as he hadde promysed, and Mynoras seide that he wolde do it trewly with-out faile, and a-noon toke his leve and returned to his manoir; and a-noon he made tweyne of his sones for to make hem redy and sette hem on two swifte horse, for doute of the saisnes yef thei mette eny on the wey that thei myght ride from theym yef it were mystier; and whan these tweyne squyers were redy, than seide Mynoras, "Ffeire sones, ye shull go to the kyng Clarion that is oure lorde, and telle hym how the kyng Looth of Orcanye sendith hym to wite that he sholde be with hym at Arestuell in Scotlonde on oure lady day in Septembre;" and thei ansuerde and seide this message sholde thei do well, and a-noon thei toke forth theire iournei and com to the kyng Clarion, and fonde hym at a manoir of his with a prevy meyne full pensif what he myght best do with the saisnes that so wasted his londe and his contrey; and whan he saugh the two squyers be-fore hym that the kyng Looth hym sente, he was gladde and mery, and for theire goode tidinges he yaf eche of hem a goode horse, ffor he loved the kyng looth right tendirly, and seide he wolde be ther *with-out faile, yef god hym diffende from myschief, and a-noon as thei hadde theire ansuere thei returned hem to theire fadres place myry and gladde, and presented the horse that the kyng hadde hem yoven, for love of kyng Looth that he hadde herberowed, and now we shull returne and speke of the kyng looth and his foure sones.

The forester and his four sones go with them.

Looth bids Mynoras return and give his message to Clarion.

Mynoras sends two of his sons to Clarion with the message.

They come to Clarion,

who is glad to see them. He gives them each a good horse, and says he * [Fol. 187b.] will come without fail.

The messengers return to their father.

When Looth and his sons ride through the forest,

Whan the kyng looth and his foure sones were departed from the forester, thei rode thourgh the foreste that

the birds
sing.

Gaheries
sings a new
song.

Gaheries,
Agravain,
and Geheret
sing.
The three
brothers say
what they
would do if
the two
daughters of
their host
were with
them.

Looth and
Gawein over-
hear their
talk.

Gawein says
that Gaheries
has spoken
the best, and
Agravain the
worst.

was grete and high, and delitable in for to traueile, and it was feire weder and stille, and that nyght hadde ben a grete dewe, and the briddes songen for swetnesse of the myry seson, and thei songe so myrily and so high in theire langage that all the wode ronge; and the kynge hem herkened, and his foure sones that were yonge and lusty, and remembred hem on theire newe loves, and so thei ride a two myle thinkinge on the briddes songe, and Gaheries that was amoureuse be-gan for to singe a newe made songe, and he songe right wele and merily, and well entuned; and whan the sonne was vp and he saugh his brethern were somewhat fer be-hynde hym he turned be-side the way to make his horse stale till thei were come to hym, ffor thei herkened hym gladly; and Gaheries com to Agravain and to Geheret, and seide, "Lete vs singe;" and than thei be-gonne to singe alle thre, and than seide Gaheries to Agravain and to Gueheret, "Now telle me by the feith that ye owe to the kynge looth my fader and yours, yef ye hadde the two doughtres of oure hoste that was this nyght, and thei were now here, telle me what wolde ye do." "So god me helpe," seide Agravain, "I sholde haue my wille." "So helpe me god," seide Gaheries, "so wolde not I do but I wolde bringe hem to saftee." "And ye, Gueheret, what wolde ye do?" Quod Gueheret, "I sholde make hir my love yef I myght therto hir entrete, but be force wolde I nothinge do, for than were the game nought, but yef it plesed hir as well as me."

While thei seide these wordes ouertoke hem the kynge looth and Gawein that wele hadde herde that thei hadde seide, and thei lough alle to-geder, and than thei asked whiche hadde seide beste. "Of that," quod the kynge, "shall Gawein youre brothers be Iuge." "And I shall soone haue seide," quod Gawein. "Gaheries hath seide beste, and Agravain werste, ffor Agravain sholde se that noon dide hem noon harme, but sholde helpe to diffende hem at his power, but me semeth ther were no werse enmy that he; and Geheret hath yet seide better than he, for he seith he wolde nothinge do be force, and that he seith so cometh hym but of love and

curtesie, and Gaheries hath seide as a goode man, for so as he seith wolde I do the same yef it were for me to do;" and than thei lough and laped with Agravain, and the kynge hym-self more than eny other, and rode to Agravain, and seide, "What Agravain, hate ye the doughter of youre hoste for youre foule delite, a feire rewarde yelde ye for the feire servise and the goode chere that she hath yow don, *ffor trewly she hath it evill be-sette." "Sir," seide Agravain, "thei sholde not therfore haue¹ no mayme of hande ne foote." "No," quod the kynge; "but thei shall lese all worshipp^e." "I can-not sey," quod Agravain, "of eny man that wolde hem spare, yef he hadde hem a-lone by hym-self, ffor after that he lete her passe she sholde hym neuer love." "But he sholde kepe and saue his honour," seide the kynge. "Certes," seide Agravain, "neuer after he hadde lefte hir she wolde but skorne and preyse hym the lesse." Quod the kynge, "I wolde not sette at a boton what oon seide, so that my worship were saued, so that I hadde no vylonye ne reprof." "Ya ther is no more of," quod Agravain, "but we shall vs yelden in to soche place ther we shall se no women." "Ha Agravain," quod the kynge looth, "yef ye yow thus demene as ye sey, wite ye well ye shall myscheve, and that shall ye well se;" and euen as the kynge seide so hym be-fill after that he langwissid longe a-boue the erthe for the vilonye that he dide to a mayden, that rode with hir frende with whom he faught till that he hadde hym discounfited and maymed of oon of his armes, and after wolde haue leyn by his love and fonde hir roynouse of oon of hir thighes, and seide hir soche vilonye that she after hurte his oo thigh and his arme, so that it sholde neuer be made hooll; but yef it were be tweyne of the beste knyghtes of the worlde to whom she sette terme of garison, as the booke shall yow devyse here-after, how that it was warissed by Gawein his brother, and by launcelot de lak that was so noble a knyght; but of this matter speketh no more at this tyme, but returneth how

Gaheries spoke as a good man.

Looth censures Agravain,

*[Fol. 188a.]

who tries to defend himself.

Looth tells him he will come to mischief,

which he does afterwards.

A maiden gives him the itch.

He is cured by Gawein and Launcelot.

¹ The word "have" is repeated in the MS.

the kyng looth speketh to his sone Agravain that was prowde and fell, and thus thei rode in the foreste till it was paste pryme.

Looth and
his sons meet
Lydonas,

who cries
and smites
his hands
against each
other.

Agravain
asks him why
he weeps.

He says his
lord is nearly
killed by the
Saxons.

He was going
to seek Sir
Gawein.
*[Fol. 188b.]

Lydonas tells
who his lord
is.

Gaheries and
Agravain
mock one

Than thei entred in to a feire launde that dured a-longe to Roestok a-longe by the wode side; and whan thei hadde a-while I-riden, thei mette lydonas comynge down the hille that was sore affraied for his lorde that faught at grete myschef as ye haue herde be-fore, and he drof the somer be-fore hym with the robes, and ledde his lordes palfrey in his right hande, and wepte and seide, "Lady seinte marie, vs helpe and socoure;" and thus he cried often, and smote that oon hande a-gein the tother; and whan the kyng looth and his foure sones hym a-perceyved thei hadde grete pitee, and Agravain hasted hym be-fore, and seide, "Why makest thou this doell and this sorowe;" and the squyer loked vp and seide, wepinge, "Sir, I haue cause I-nough wherefore, I wepe for a yonge lorde, the feireste creature that euer was formed on erthe that the saisnes haue asseilled in this valey be-nethe, and haue hym slayn, but god be his helpe and socours." "And whider wente he," quod Agravain. "Sir," seide lydonas, "he was goynge to the Court of kyng Arthur for to seche sir Gawein and hym for to serue that hath so grete valour as it is seide, ffor *so moche he hath herde spoken of hym that he will neuer be made knyght but of sir Gawein;" and than he seide at the tother worde, "Ha! las caytef, now I haue hym loste, and neuer I shall se hym more," and made so moche sorowe that for litill he wolde hym-self haue slayn, and Agravain hym asked of what contrey he was. "Sir," seide lydonas, "of the reame of lystenoy, and is the riche¹ kynges sone Pelles;" and Agravain loked on sir Gawein and seide, "Brother, here ye not what a-uenture yow a-bideth;" and he seide, "Yesse, he hadde it welle herde." Than thei laced their helmes, and toke their sheldes and lepte on their horse, and Gaheries seide to Agravain, "Now thenke vpon the maydenes that ye this morowe

¹ The word "riche" is repeated in the MS.

hane be so goode a werkere, and loke that ye be as goode a knyght at armes a-gein the saisnes that thei may conne yow gree." "Gaheries," quod Agravain, "I pray yow be as curteyse to the saisnes as ye were to the maidenens that ye durste not assaile ne se, and no more shull ye do to the saisnes as I trowe." "Sir," seide Gaheries, "ye be elther than I, and therefore it shall be sene how ye will do better." "So god spede me," seide Agravain, "I were but litill to preise, but I dide better than ye, and elles hadde I but little power, ffor I will neuer lette for youre cowardise." "Sir," quod Gaheries, "at the leste it is no curteisie a man to a-vaunte of hym-self, but whan ye come ther do the beste that ye can;" and whan Agravain herde this, he swore and seide he sholde go in to soche place where he durste hym not sewe, for the iyen in his heed; and Gaheries be-gan to lawgh, and was nothinge wroth, but seide all in game, "Go ye than be-fore, and ye can go in to no place but I shall yow sewe;" and Gawein lowgh of that thei hadde seide, for he wiste well that Gaheries pleide and Iaped, and tolde to Gueheret and his fader the wordes that thei hadde seide; and a-noon the kynge seide, "Ffeire sones, go we after hem that thei do no folye, ffor I wote well Agravain is wroth;" and whan lydonas saugh hem go he asked what thei were, and thei seide thei were of the meyne of kynge Arthur, "and he is here in our companye that ye go sechinge." "Ha! god mercy," quod lydonas, "than will I go no ferther till I wite how it shall be." "No," quod the kynge looth, "but turne a litill oute of the weye till thow knowe how it shall be-falle, and go in to the thikke of this foreste;" and the squyer seide, "So shall I do." And while thei spake so to-geder thei saugh this other squyer come prikyng faste with his swerde in hande all blody and CC saisnes after hym as thei myght ride, and often he turned and smote hym so that he dide a-reche that noon armour ne waranted hym, and whan he hadde don his power he rode forth his wey; and whan he hadde a while fledde he returned and faught, and thus he demened hym till he mette with hem that com

another
about the
maidenens.

Gaheries
says he will
follow wher-
ever Agra-
vain goes.

Lydonas asks
who they are.

Looth tells
him to turn
into the
forest.

The other
squire comes
with 200
Saxons after
him.

He calls to
the five to
* [Fol. 189a.]
help him.

ridinge hy[m] a-geins; and whan he saugh hem v. he cried with *lowde voyce, "ffor goddes love cometh and helpe me and haue pite of me, for ye se the grete nede that I haue;" and Agravain seide, "A-bide and haue no drede."

Agravain
smites the
first he
meets.

Than Agravain spored his horse and brandished his spere that was sharpe and kene, and smote so the firste that he mette, that shelde ne hauberke myght hym helpe that he sente the spere heed thourgh the breste, and he fill deed to grounde;

Gaheries
kills another,

and Gaheries that com after hym smote a-nother thourgh shelde and hauberke that he fill deed vp-right, and than brake the spere, and a-noon he drough oute his swerde, and seide with

and calls out
to Agravain.

high voise, "Agravain, brother, where be ye, now lete se what ye do, ffor I payne me for these ladyes sake for curtesie, and

ye payne yow for theire vilonyes." Of these wordes lough

Gawein and Geheret. Whan the kynge looth saugh hem laugh

and lape, he seide, "What do ye my children, se ye not youre

brethern a-monge youre enmyes." Whan the squyer vndir-

stode these foure knyghtes were his sones, and that he mones-

tede hem to do well, he asked what he was, and he hym tolde

that his name was kynge looth of Orcanye, "and these knyghtes

be my sones, and lo hym ther that thow sechest with the

shelde of synopre," and shewed hym sir Gawein; and whan

the squyer that vndirstode that the kynge hadde seide, he

hadde grete ioye of the tidinges that he tolde, and hilde vp his

handes toward heuene and thanked oure lorde that he hadde

hym so I-founden; and than seide he to kynge looth, "How

knowe ye whom I seche?" "I wote well," quod he, "that

thow goiste to seche Gawein, and lo hym there;" and with

that he smote in a-monge the saisnes and the squyer with hem

that thre the firste that thei mette thei drof deed to the erthe,

and than thei rode forth and smote other thre down deed to

grounde, and ther-with brake the speres, and than thei drough

oute swerdes and smote on the right side and on the lifte, and

the squyer lefte the kynge looth and pursued Gawein in euery

place where he wente, and Gawein hadde drawen oute his

suerde Calibourne, and be-gan to slee so moche peple that alle

The squire
asks the king
who he is.

He is joyful
when he
knows Sir
Gawein.

Looth and
the squire
smite in
among the
Saxons.

The squire
follows Ga-
wein, who
draws out
Calibourne,

that saugh hym do soche maistries fledde be-fore hym whan thei saugh hym come, and durste not a-bide his strokes, and he was gon so fer be-fore that he wiste nothings of his fader, ne his brethern; and Agravain hadde so chaced and Gaheries xx saisnes that thei surbated on Pignoras that com with an hundred saisnes; and whan thei saugh how thei were chaced and were but tweyne, he cried vpon his men and medled hym a-monge hem, and thei smote tweyne so harde that deed thei fill on the grene, and than renged hem x saisnes and smote hem on alle partyes that thei bar Agravain to the erthe, and thei smyte Gaheries so harde that he bente bakwarde in his sadill be-hynde, and whan the speres were broken he smote in to the presse and be-gan to do merveiles, and Agravain was *lepte on fote and griped his swerde in hys right hande, and hente his shelde hym be-forn, and thei hym assailed full harde, and he hym well diffended as he that hadde I-nough of herte and force, and Gaheries spored his horse that wey ther he saugh his brother, and rode be-twene hym and the saisnes that sore hym assailed, and he hym diffended vigorously, that noon durste hym a-bide for the strokes that thei saugh hym yeve, and in this manere thei fought longe while, ffor the saisnes coveited hem for to take, and thei hem diffended to warante theire lyves; and the kynge Looth and Gueheret fought right harde, and wente thourgh the bataile seching her felowes, and so thei fonde Agravain on foote a-monge the saisnes, his swerde in his honde all naked, wherwith he yaf hem many grete strokes, and Gaheries was by hym that dide grete peyne hym to helpe and for to remounte. Than the kynge looth smote in a-monge hem and fought sore a-gein the sarazins thei foure and sloughen many of hem, and sir Gawein hadde so gon that he was come vpon the hill with his swerde all blody in his hande. Than he loked bak and saugh he hadde alle perced thourgh, and the squyer was by hym at the spore and seide, "Sir, I wolde sue yow full gladly yef my servise myght yow plesse so that it liked yow for to make me knyght, whiche tyme I wolde yow requere;" and Gawein ansuerde that he was right welcome,

and kills
much people.

Agravain
and Gaheries
chace twenty
Saxons.

Pignoras and
his men bare
Agravain to
the earth,
and smite
Gaheries.
*[Fol. 189b.]
Agravain
leaps on foot,
and grips
his sword.

Gaheries de-
fends his
brother.

Looth and
Gueheret
fight hard.

They come
to the other
two.

Gawein says
he must seek
his father and
brethren.

He sees
them.

He and the
squire throw
down all be-
fore them.
The squire
cannot keep
up with Ga-
wein;

he says there
is not such
another
knight in the
world.

He follows
as well as he
can.

Gawein finds
Agravain
weary,

*[Fol. 190a.]

and Gueheret
borne to the
earth.

Gaheris
rescues his
father,

and with-hilde hym with-oute mo wordes, and than he hadde hym to kepe hym by him that the saisnes dide hym not hurte ne diffoule, "ffor I moste seche my fader and my brethren that I ne wote neuer where thei beth be-come;" and than seide the squyer, "Lo hem yonder in that grete prees, for I se swerdes lifte a-loufte that bright shyneth, and a-noon Gawein knewe his fader by the helme, and than he seide, "It is my fader, sue me."

And than he smote his horse with the spores on bothe sides that he spronge oute xviiij foote, and drof in fiercely a-monge the saisnes more than he hadde don all the day be-fore he and the squyer that thei throwe down all that be-fore hem stode, and the squyer cowde not so faste spore hys horse that he myght hym ouertake, and fonde the wey strowed full of hem that were ouerthrowen; and than seide the squyer, "Lady seint marie, I am a-ferde to lese hym here a-monge these mysbelevinge peple; ffull trewe seide thei that tolde me ther was not soche a-nother knyght in the worlde, ffor he ne gabbed no worde, for he hath in hym more goode than was seide, and yef the knyght be goode, he hath a horse at his device, and I trowe yef he will do all his power that he sholde discounfite soche xx as be here. Now wolde god that was born of the virgine marie that my fader the kynge hadde hym ones seyn, for I wote wele he wolde holde it a merveile." Thus devised the squyer what he wolde, and euer sued after Gawein as moche as he myght; and sir Gawein hath so gon that he fonde Agravain so wery for traveile that he lened on his shelde and his swerde in his honde, and myght not helpe hym-self but litill, and thei yaf hym ever *a-monge grete strokes with speres and swerdes as thei myght come to; and on that other side he saugh that Gueheret was smyte be-twene the sholdres with two speres that he was born to the erthe vp-right, and also he saugh xi saisnes that hilde his fader be the helme, and smote hym with the pomeles of hir swerdes; and Gaheris hadde caste his shelde to the ground and hilde his swerde in bothe handes, and yaf soche strokes that thei myght be harde

right clear, ffor he smote of handes, and armes, and hedes, and legges, and slitte hem to the teth, and shewde ther soche prowess that noon durste hym a-bide, but lefte the kynge Looth magre hem alle; and the kynge loked and saugh it was Gaheries his sone that hadde hym rescowed, he seide, "Ha! feire sone, yef we hadde youre brother Gawein with vs we shull nought lese this day for alle these false peple, and Agravain and Gueheret where be thei." "Thei be in their enmyes handes that nygh haue hem slayn."

and shows
great
prowess.

With these wordes com Gawein brekinge the presse, and sleinge all that he myght a-reche, as quarell oute of arblast for swyftnesse of his horse, and hilde his swerde in his hande and smote on eche side so hevy strokes oute of mesure that alle yede to grounde that stode in his weye; and the squyer was euer [nigh] hym that for nothings wolde hym leven, and yaf many a grete stroke with his swerde, wherfore he was be-loved after of alle the brethern; and [it befell] that mette Gawein Monaquyn that was oon of the goode knyghtes of alle the saisnes, and was a-rested vpon Gueheret for to take hym to pryson. But Gawein smote hym so harde with Calibourne that he slitte hym from the sholdre to girdell; and whan the squyer saugh that, he blissed hym for the merveile that he hadde, and blessed the arme that soche a stroke yeve; than he caught the horse be the reyne, and ledde to Agravain, and badde hym skippe vp lightly, and he dide so a-noon right as he that ther-to hadde grete nede, and the squyer helde hym the stirop, and Agravain hym thanked hertely, and seide he sholde hym quyte yef he myght.

Gawein
breaks into
the press.

The squire
is near him.

Gawein
meets Mona-
quyn and
kills him.

The squire
catches the
horse, and
leads it to
Agravain.

Whan Pignoras saugh his brother deed he was sory and wroth, and gripid an ax with bothe handes, and com towarde the kynge Looth, and smote hym so sore on the helme that he fill flatte to the erthe, but he hadde no grete harme but that he was sore astonyed, and than he smote Gaheries that he fill to the erthe vp-right, and than was Gawein full wo, and smote the Gringalet that wey with Calibourne in his hande, and whan he saugh hym come he covered hym with

Pignoras is
angry, and

smites Looth
and Gaheries.

Gawein kills
Pignoras.

The squire
catches the
horse, and
leads it to
Gaheries.

*[Fol. 190b.]

The Saxons
turn to flight
when they
see their two
lords killed;
but Maunda-
lis calls them
cowards, and
they return.

Gawein
smites those
he meets,
and kills
Maundalis.

The squire
leads the
horse to Gue-
heret.
The Saxons
turn to flight.

Gawein kills
many of
them.

They ride
into the
forest,

and say that
their enemies
are fiends of
hell.

his shelde and with his axe. But Gawein smote the axe helue a-sondre, and the stroke descended on the shelde and the right sholdre and slitte hym to the breste, and the squyer caught the horse and ledde to Gaheries, and he lepte vp delyuerly; and than he toke the horse that his fader was fallen fro, and brought it to hym hastely by the bridell, and hilde the *stirop till he was vp, and than he made a new assaute vpon hem that so short hadde hem holden. But the saisnes were so abaissched of theire two lordes that were ther deed that thei turned to flight, and toke no more hede hem to diffende, and Maundalis theire stiwarde hem ascried, "Ha, cowarde peple, what do ye that a-venge yow not on hem that haue youre two lordes slayn in this maner, and ye se well thei be but vj, and ye be yet thre hundred, and ye may be a-shamed that thei haue so longe endured;" and thei returned to the vj, and sir Gawein com be-fore and mette with hem as he that well knewe their corage, and hilde Calibourne, his goode swerde, and smote so the firste that he mette that he fill deed on the grene, and than the seconde, and the thridde, and than the fourth, and than he smote Maundalis that the heed fill from the sholderes, and the squyer caught the horse and ledde to Geheret; and whan the saisnes saugh theire stiwarde deed, thei turned a-noon to flight, who that myght sonest, so that noon a-bode other, and thei hem enchaced that sore hem hated a-bove all thinge, and slough and smote down all that thei myght a-take, and sir Gawein satte vpon the Gringalet that swyftly hym bar, and he made a-monge hem soche martire that it was wonder to wite, and hilde hem so shorte that thei myght hym not ascape vp ne down, ffor thei myght no side turne, but euer he was be-fore, and whan thei saugh thei myght not ascape, thei rode in to the depe of the forest for socour, and fledde oon here, a-nother there, that thei a-bide nother frende ne brother, and cursed the hour and the day thei with hem metten, "ffor thei be no peple as other be, but it be fendes of helle, for ther be but vj, and that fill neuer that so moche peple were discourfited with so small peple as we be now be hem, and therefore may we sey

that thei were neuer of carnell men conceyved, ffor neuer mortall man myght do that these haue vs don."

Thus seide the saisnes theire volunte, and were discountfited be the prowesse of sir Gawein, and the remenaunt that ascaped lefte neuer till thei come to the siege be-fore Clarence, and tolde theire grete damage to the kyng Hardogabran what the vj knyghtes hadde hem do, ffor thei haue oure two kynges slain, and oure stiward Maundalis; whan the kyng hardogabran herde this, he was nygh woode for wrath, ffor the tweyne were his cosins germain, and cursed the hour and the day that euer thei entred in to the londe, "ffor," quod he, "we haue resceyved grete damage." But now cesseth the tale of the saisnes and speketh of the kyng Looth.

The Saxons that escape come to Hardogabran, who is very wroth.

The tale returns to King Looth.

Whan the saisnes were discountfited in the valey of Rorestok, the kyng looth was gladde for the squyer that thei hadde rescowed, and than thei wente to the somers that the saisnes sholde haue ledde to the siege before Clarence, and gadered hem to-geder and be-helde hem gretly; and than seide Gaheries a worde that was well herde. "Lord god," *quod he, "why be ther so many pore bachelers in the contrey whan thei myght thus wyne I-nough. Certes thei lese nothinge but for slouthe and cowardise, ffor thei ne sholde not alepe in no bedde, but wayte a-boute on the marches." "Ffeire sone," seide the kyng, "so myght thei haue euell suerte, ffor who that soche thinge will vndirtake yef oon tyme hym happe wele, hit falleth hym foure tymes euell;" and than seide Gaheries to his fader, "Sir, aske Agravain my brother yef he haue eny talent now to rage within these maydenes yef he hadde hem here on this playn;" and Agravain loked on hym a trauerse full proudly, and seide to hym in reprof, "Gaheries, it is not longe tyme past that ye hadde no talent to iape whan the saisne smote yow down of youre horse with his axe, and ne hadde be Gawein ye hadde mette with hym in euell tyme." "Though I fell," quod Gaheries, "I may no more do ther-to. But I was not at so grete myschef, but I me diffended so as it myght be; and of that ye myght wele haue holde youre pees,

They gather the sumpters together.

*[Fol. 191a.]

Gaheries and Agravain mock each other.

Agravain is
very angry,

and smites
Gaheries on
the helm
thrice.

Gawein
blames Agra-
vain, who
swears that
he will not
forgive Ga-
heries.

Agravain
smites his
horse, and
runs upon
Gaheries
with his
sword
drawn.

*[Fol. 191b.]

for I saugh yow to-day at soche pointe, that though the feirest lady of the worlde hadde preide yow of love ye wolde not haue answered hir a worde, for a maiden of v yere of age myght haue take from yow youre breche;" and whan Agravain vndirstode this, he was wroth and angry, and for that he cleped hym recreaunt, wax he rody for shame, and loked on hym with maltalent, and yef thei hadden be a-lone he wolde with hym haue foughten; but the kynge turned the wordes in to other maner, for he wolde not haue in no wise distrif be-twene hem two, and than he asked what sholde be do with the somers. Sir," quod Gaheries, "asketh of Agravain;" and than be-gan Agravain sore to wrathe, and seide he sholde it a-beyen, and hilde a tronchon of a spere in his honde, and smote Gaheries on the helme that it fly all to peces, and Gaheries remeved not but suffred; and Agravain recouered and smote twys or thries, so that nought of the tronchon lefte in his handes, and his brother Gueheret ne hys fader cowde hem not so departe, but euer he ran vpon hym as he myght from hem ascape.

Than com Gawein from the chace, and asked what a-ray that was, and the kynge tolde hym all worde for worde; and Gawein com to Agravain and blamed hym sore for that he hadde so I-don; and Agravain swor all that he myght swere that neuer he wolde it hym for-yeve, and whan Gawein vndirstode the grete felonye, he seide he sholde abyen on his body, but yef he wolde be ruled. "Ffy," quod Agravain, "in dispite of the deuell this were of the newe that I sholde lette for yow to do ought." "Now shall it be sene," quod Gawein, "what thow wilt do." Than Agravain smote the horse with the spores and ran to Gaheries with swerde drawen, and smote hym on the helme that the fire sparced oute. Ne Gaheries ne remeved litill ne moche for nothings that he dide, and whan Gawein saugh this he drough oute Calibourne and swor by his fader sowle that in euell tyme he hadde it be-gonne, *and whan the fader be-hilde all this, he seide, "Now vpon hym feire sone, and go sle this harlot, for he is fell and proude;" and Gawein thought well what he wolde do, and com to Agra-

vain, and smote hym with the pomell of his swerde vnder the temple that he fill from his horse to the erthe so astoned that he wiste not where he was; and Gaheries seide to Gawein, "Sir, be not wroth for nothinge that he doth to me, for he is fell and proude, and therfore taketh nothinge to herte that he doth to me ne seith." "Ffle from hens," quod Gawein, "mysproude lurdeyn, neuer shall I love the whan thou wilt not spare for my lorde my fader ne for noon of vs." "Sir," seide Gaheries, "he is myn elther brother, and it sitteth me to do hym honour and reuerence. Ne for nothinge that I dide, ne seide to him ne dide I but Iape." "He is a fole and prowde," quod Gueheret, "but all that hast thow meved, and therfore have thow euell happe;" and Gaheries hym ansuerde, "Full euell sholde I pleye with a straunger whan I may not pley nother with yow ne with hym, and wyte ye well," quod he, "this is the firste tyme and the laste that euer I shall pleye or Iape with hym or with yow, and yef it were not for be-cause that we be comen oute to-geder, I wolde returne anoon right that no more companye sholde I yow holde;" and Geheret seide a-gein, "Euell happe haue Agravain, but he quyte yow this dere for this a-colee that he hath hadde for yow." "So god me helpe," quod Gawein, "yef owther of yow do eny thinge othir-wise than ye owe to do, I shall sette yow in soche place where ye shull not se nother hande ne foote this vij monethes, and therfore I diffende yow as dere as ye haue youre owne bodyes that ye loke ye do hym noon euell." "Sir," seide Gueheret, "we shull kepe vs ther-fro right wele seth ye it comaunde, ffor a-gein youre comaundement ne may we not do, ne we will not. But it hevyeth me whan ye will medle yow agein vs for hym, and that ye haue Agravain thus diffouled for nought." "Ffor nought is it not," quod Gawein, "whan a-gein my deffence he ran vpon hym in dispite of me in my fader sight and myn. Ne neuer Gaheries ne wrathed for buffet that he hym yaf. In dispite of the devell sholde he be so proude, ffor his pride shall greve bothe the and hym." "So helpe me god," quod the kynge Looth, "for litill I shall take

Gawein
smites Agra-
vain,

but Gaheries
tells him not
to be angry.

Gueheret
says that
Gaheries
provoked
Agravain.

Gawein says
that if Gue-
heret or
Agravain do
any evil to
Gaheries he
will punish
them.

Looth says

he will take
away their
arms and
leave them.

a-wey all the armes that thow haste, and of Agravain also, and leve yow in myddell of the felde like lurdeynes." "Sir," seide Gueheret, "ye speke not this of youre owen mouthe but of others; ffor of this that ye sey ye haue no talent for to do ne power yef other ne were." "Ha boyes," quod the kynge, "thow art fell, and for-swollen. Verile art thow his brother, for ye bothe be contrariouse, and I comaunde my sone Gawein that yef thow or Agravain do ought to my sone Gaheries that he do vpon yow as grete reddure as vpon harlottes or ribaudes."

The squire
comes to
Agravain,
and brings
him his
horse.
*[Fol. 192a.]

Gawein tells
Agravain to
go, for he
will no more
have him in
his company.

Looth asks
what they
shall do with
the sumpters.
Gawein says
they must
send them to
Mynoras,

and the
squire shall
lead them.

The squire
takes a yeo-
man with
him, and
leads the
sumpters
to Mynoras,
who is very

When the squyer saugh that Gawein hadde smyte down Agravain, that he bledde bothe at mouthe and nose, he ran to take his horse and brought hym by the bridill, and made *hym for to lepen vp, and Gawein com to hym and seide, "Harlot fle from hens, for with the haue I nought to do, and loke that I se the neuer more in my companye, and go where thow wilt for with me shalt thow come no more, and go ye alle forth with hym that love hym better than me and with me that love my companye;" with that Gawein rode forth his wey, and Gaheries and Gueheret and the kynge Looth asked what sholde he do with the somers. "Sir," seide Gawein, "ye shall sende hem to Mynoras the forester, that so well dide vs herberowe; ffor he serued vs well and feire in his place, and therfore well it is on hym be-sette, and better it is that the goodeman hit haue than it here be loste, ffor we it may not condite ne lede, and we may wele come in soche place that we myght all lese." "Certes," seide the kynge, "ye sey full well, but who shall it lede." "Sir," seide Gawein, "the squyer of this gentilman, and oon of youre gromes." "On godes name," seide the kynge; and a-noon was the squyer sought till he was founden, and charged with the message and the present that he sholde make, and after to turne after hem the right wey to Roestok; and he seide that all this wolde he well do, and toke a yoman with hym to conveye hym the wey, and wente forth with alle the somers, and ledde x stedes cowpled by the bridelis that oon to the tother, and hilde the streight wey till thei come to the rescette of Mynoras that grete

ioye made of this present, and served hem so well and so feire that no peple myght be better serued than thei were, and on the morowe thei toke theire wey as soone as thei myght se the day for to go after theire lordes as thei were comaunded.

joyful, and
treats them
well.

They return
to their
lords.

As soone as the kynge looth hadde sente these somers by lydonas, and by oon of his yomen to mynoras the forester, thei rode forth her wey alle vi toward Roestok, and lefte alle the wordes of reprof that thei hadde spoken, ffor that thei saugh Gawein was ther-with greved; and than thei ride to-geder, the kynge, and Gawein, and Gaheries, and asked of the yonge squyer of whens he was, and what was his name, and he seide how his name was Elizer, and was the sone of kynge Pelles of listenoys, and newew to the kynge Alain of the forain londes, and to the kynge pellynor of the sauage fountain that hadde xj sones that alle were of the age of xvij yere, and the eldest was newliche come to the court of kynge Arthur for to take armes, "these be my cosins germain, and I go toward the court of kynge Arthur to my lorde sir Gawein for to serven hym, and I thanke god I haue founde hym nerre, and he hath me with-holde in soche manere that he shall make me knyght whiche tyme that I hym requere." "Even so I graunte yow sir," quod sir Gawein, "for ye [be] right welcome." Thus thei rode till it was nyght, that thei fonde nether house ne herberowe, and the foreste was high and full of shadowe; but the weder was softe and stille; and than fill it that *after mydnyght thei fonde an hermytage all closed with diches, and with rayles, and the[i] cleped and called till it was opened to hem, and thei a-light from theire horse, and dide of theire brideles and the sadelis, and yaf hem grasse, for ther-ynne was nothinge elles, and thei ete soche vitale as the hermyte hem brought, and that was breed and water, and after that thei lay down to slepe vpon the grasse for other quyltes ne pilowes hadde thei noon, and thei were wery for traveile, and were soone a-slepe, alle saf Gawein and Elizer, thei wolde not slepe, but were euer in susspecion of the saignes that were so many in the londe, and

Looth and
the others
ride forth
towards
Roestok.

They ask the
yonge squire
who he is.
He says his
name is
Elizer,

and that he
came to seek
Sir Gawein,
and is glad to
have found
him.

They ride till
nyght, but
find no lodg-
ing.
*[Pol. 192b.
After mid-
nyght they
find a her-
mitage.

The hermit
brings them
bread and
water, and
they sleep on
the grass.

Gawein and
Elizer will
not sleep.

Gawein
hears the
cries of a
lady and a
knight.

He and
Elizer ride
fast,

and arrive at
the place
from whence
the cries
come.

The knight
is beaten by
five pan-
toners.
The woman
cries for suc-
cour.

Gawein does
not know
which to as-
sist first.

He rides to
the lady, and
finds her
held by seven
pantoners.

One of them
smites her.

soone after mydnyght thei herde a grete complaint of a lady and of a knyght that passed by, and Gawein ther-of hadde grete pite and comaunded to sadill the Gringalet and bridill hym in all haste, and Elizer lept vp a-noon and brought it hym redy dight; and Gawein toke his armes and lept vp delyuerly, and rode faste after hem that ledde the lady, and Elizer lept vpon his horse also that in no maner wolde hym leue as longe as he hadde where-on to ride; and thei¹ rode so longe till thei com in to a thikke queche in a depe valey, and than Gawein hoked stille, and herkened and herde dolerouse cries, that seide, "Ha, lorde god, what shall I do, where haue I deserued to suffre this turment and annoye," and praied oure lorde that he wolde sende hym hastely the deth ffor lever he hadde for to be deed than langour in soche maner, and [t]his was a knyght all naked in his breche that v pantoners dide bete with scorges that the blode ran down by his sides; and on that other side vndirstode sir Gawein a full dolerouse cry of a woman, and well it semed that she hadde grete nede of helpe, and she seide so lowde that Gawein myght it well heren. "Seint marie, blissed lady, socoure this wery caytif. Trewly," quod she, "sle me ye may well, for I shall neuer to yow concent."

Whan Gawein vndirstode the voyce, he wiste well she hadde grete nede of helpe, and be-thought hym whiche wey he sholde turne first, for he hadde grete pite of that gentilman that he herde so waymenten, and on that other side he hadde so grete pite of the woman that sholde be dif-fouled, but she haue the soner helpe, and thought in his herte that better it were to suffre the knyght to endure his peyne than the woman to be diffouled while he were in helpinge of the knyght; and than he smote the horse with spores down the valey where the voice cried euer more and more, "seint Marye, goode lady, helpe me and socour;" and as Gawein be-helde he saugh vij pantoners that hilde this lady vnder a tre a-gein the grounde, and oon of hem smote hir grete buffettes

¹ The words "and thei" are repeated in the MS.

with his hande I-armed on the visage; and she turned and cried, .
 " Certes, sle me ye may well, but neuer other thinge shall I
 not do;" and for that she seide so, he trailed hir by the tresses
 that were so feire, that he griped in his handes, and a-noon as
 Gawein it saugh, he cried to hym that hir hilde, " Sir knyght,
 lete be that damesell;" and he be-hilde be the mone light,
 and cried to hem *that were with hym to go a-gein hym, and
 so thei dide all vj, and asked hym, " Sir knyght, haue we eny
 drede of yow;" and Gawein seide he assured hem of nothinge,
 " ffor I will helpe that damesell the whiche that pantoner trailed
 so vileyusly, and therfore diffende yow fro me;" and than he
 spored the Gringalet thourgh hem vj that he mette, and com
 to hym that yet hilde the woman be the tresses, and smote
 hym with his spere a-gein the breste that the shafte shewed
 thourgh the bakke be-hynde, and he fill deed vp-right, and the
 other vj com a-gein hym with sp[e]res, and smote hym on the
 shelde and sholdres, and on the sides, and he bowed on his
 horse nekke, and the tymbir of the speres fly in peces, and than
 Gawein dressed hym in his sadell and ficched hym in his
 stiropes that the Iren folded, and drough his swerde and smote
 so the firste that he mette, that deed he fill to the erthe, and
 than he smote a-nother that the sholdre departed from the
 body; and the thirde that the heed fly in to the feilde, and
 than he a-raught so the fourthe that he slitte hym to the teth;
 and whan the other saugh theire fellowes deed, and how at
 eche stroke he hadde slayn oon, thei turned to flight and durste
 not a-bide; and Gawein com to the maiden and sette hir vpon
 his horse hym be-forn, and the two felowes that fledden be
 comen to their felowes that were discended vnder an olyvere
 hem for to resten, and were leide on the grasse for to slepe;
 and as soone as thei com nygh, thei cried with high voise,
 " Gentill knyghtes, what do ye here; ffor here is a knyght
 that hath slayn Sortibran and foure of oure felowes, and
 resceved the lady; now faste rideth after hym;" and whan thei
 vnderstode this thei a-rise hastily angry and wroth, and lepe
 to theire horse, and ride after Gawein as faste as thei may that

Gawein cries
out to him to
let her alone.

*[Fol. 193a.]
The six come
against him.

He kills the
one who
struck the
woman.

The six smite
him.

He kills four,
and the other
two turn to
flight.

Gawein sets
the maiden
on his horse
before him.
The two men
come to their
fellows and
tell what
Gawein has
done.

They ride
after him.

goth to lede the damesell to savete; and now a-while cesse of hem, and speke of the squyer that is cleped Elizer.

Elizer rides
to where he
heard the
voice of the
knight.

A noon as Gawein was turned to helpe the damesell, Elizer that folowed after, rode thider; ther he herde the voice of the knyght, and whan he cam there he saugh vj pantoners holde hym, and hadde so beten hym that he myght not stonde vp-right, but was falle to grounde, and hadde no power to speke no worde; and whan Elizer saugh hym in this maner hit hevved hym sore, and than he ascried hem, and cleped hem, "Fitz a-putein lechours why demene ye so that gentilman so foule what hath he trespassed that ye be a-boute to sle hym in that manere." Whan thei herde hym so speke thei loked on hym, and seiden, "What is it to the, for thy wordes ne shull we nothinge lette;" and than Elizer wax right angry, and seide he sholde no more harme haue with-outen hym, and he hilde a grete spere and com toward hem that hilde the knyght, and alle thei lefte hym, and he smote so the firste that he mette of the vj that he drof down deed on the playn, and he drough oute his spere and ther-with he slough a-nother, and drough it a-gein to hym, and priked his *horse a-gein a-nother; and whan thei saugh hym come, thei made hym wey and disparbledde here and there, and he smote oon that he ouertoke so rudely that the spere ran thourgh bothe sides; and whan he loked after the tother he ne wiste where thei were be-come, ffor thei were fledde in to thikke of the foreste, and it was but litill past mydnyght that oon myght not se fer; and whan he saugh he hadde hem loste, he com to the knyght and badde hym lepe vp be-hynde hym, and whan he vndirstode this, he hadde for-yete all his payne, and lepte vp be-hynde hym with grete payne, and than he rode the streight wey thider as he wende to fynde Gawein. But he hadde but litill gon that he fonde hym fightinge with xx knyghtes that sore hem peyned hym for to greve with all theire power, and he hadde sette the damesell in a thikke busshe a-gein the wode side; and whan Elizer hym saugh he comaunded the knyght to a-light down, and he dide so a-noon; and Elizer hente his spere that yet was

He cries out
to the pan-
toners,

and kills two
of them.

*[Fol. 193b.]

He over-
takes one,
and kills
him.

The others
fly.

He bids the
knight leap
up behind
him,

and rides to
Gawein, who
he finds
fighting with
20 knights.

Elizer kills
two.

hool and spored his horse, and smote so the firste that he mette that he a-boode no lenger in the sadell, but fill deed to the erthe, and after he smote a-nother that the spere heed a-pered thourgh his bakke be-hynde, and Gawein hadde so don with calibourne his good swerde that he hath slain of hem vij, and vj that he hadde slain be-fore at the rescue of the lady; and Elizer hath broke his spere, and drough oute his swerde and smote so a knyght that he slitte hym to the teth; and whan Gawein saugh Elizer that so dide hym helpe, he smote the horse with the spores, and blessed the hour that he com in to the contrey, and blessed the body that he was of conceyved, ffor he saugh well he myght not faile to be a noble knyght; with that he com that wey as he saugh hym holde the medle, and smote grete strokes, and slough and slitte all that he ouer-toke a full stroke, and so thei two haue don that thei haue hem alle slain, saf thre that fledde in to the foreste for socour, and the nyght was woxen so derke with clowdes that thei wiste not whiche way that they were fledde.

Than toke Elizer two horse, as he that was wight and hardy at euery nede, and brought hem to the knyght, and to the damesell, and made hem to lepe vp ther-on; but first he made the knyght to be clothed in oon of the deed bodyes robes, for his owen were loste; than thei putte vp their swerdes, and ride forth to-geder toward the hermytage, and than Gawein drough hym to the damesell, and asked hir of whens she was, and she seide she was suster to the lady of Roestok, and the knyght was hir cosin germain. Than seide sir Gawein, "How were ye thus I-taken?" "Sir," seide the damesell, "my cosin and I repeed thourgh the forest and com toward Roestok, and hadden sente oure companye be-fore, and we turned in to a lane oute of oure wey, for we toke so grete hede of oure talkinge of many thinges that we turned oute of oure wey, *and com in to a grete wode where these traitours weren a-light for to ete; and thei lepe a-noon ageins vs, and toke vs, for we myght not a-gein hem endure, ffor my cosin was all vn-armed, and neuer-the-lese he smote oon so on

He breaks his spear and draws his sword. He kills another knight. Gawein blesses the hour he came into the country.

The two kill all but three, who fly.

Elizer brings two horses to the knight and the damsel.

They ride to the hermitage. Gawein asks the lady who she is. She says she is sister to the lady of Roestok, and that the knight is her cousin.

*[Fol. 194a.] They were taken prisoners in a wood.

The knight

was un-
armed.

The lady
asks who Sir
Gawein is.

They come
to the her-
mitage, and
sleep till it
is day.

Looth and
Gueheret
and Gaheries
get up.
They are
surprised
to see the
lady and the
knyght.

The knyght
tells Looth
how they
have been
rescued.

Agravain
complains
that Gawein
did not take
him with
him.

the heed that he hym slough, and therfore thei dide hym dis-
poile so vilously, and dide hym so bete that nygh thei hadde
hym slain; and whan thei wolde haue for-leyne me by force
he me diffended, and neuer me lefte for no feer of deth, but
yaf hem grete strokes and merveilouse as he myght hem atteyne
with his handes, for he hadde noon other armure; and than
v of tho pantoners hym toke and ledde hym forth betinge
hym dolerously, and I praye yow and requere that ye will
telle me what ye be, and for what cause ye be come?" and sir
Gawein seide he was a knyght of the reame of logres, "and we
go on soche a nede that we may not telle;" and as thei rode
thus talkynge thei be come to the hermytage, where thei fonde
yet her felowes slepinge, and thei a-light and dide of theire
brideles of the horse, and yaf hem grene grasse to ete and lay
down by hem and slepte till it was day, that the kyng looth
a-roos and cleped Gueheret and Gaheries that were by hym,
and hadde well slepte well all the nyght, and saugh Gawein
a-slepe and Elizer, and the maiden and the knyght that were
leide be the horse side, and Elizer hilde the Gringalet be the
halter, for he was somewhat raginge amonge the other horses;
and whan the brethern saugh the mayden lyng by hem, thei
merveiled fro whens she was come; and the kyng cleped and
seide, "Now arise, Gawein, goode sone, ye haue slept I-nough
se how it is feire day;" and the knyght a-woke that was sore
hurte, for he slepte nothings wele, ne the maiden neither, and
thei satte vp wakinge; and the kyng asked hem fro whens
thei were come; and the knyght ansuerde and seide, "Thei
wiste not fro whens these two worthi men hadde hem brought
thider, and praied god sholde hem diffende from perile, of the
whiche oon of hem is a knyght that hath rescewed this maiden,
and the squyer hath rescewed me, god make hym a good man,
and sende hym ioye and honour." "Whiche ben thei," seide
the kyng, and he hym shewed sir Gawein and Elizer; and
whan Agravain vndirstode this, hym for-thought that he hadde
not be there, and seide that he myght holde hym a cowarde,
that he hilde hym no companye to go with hem; and Gaheries

ansuerde as he that was full noble and worthi, and he loved wele to lape in honest and myrthe, and seide he durste not yow a-wake, for ye thenke so moche on youre love that ye slepe but litill; and the kynge asked hir how she was taken, and she tolde euery worde how it was hem be-fallen, so that no-thinge was for-yeten; and than thei lepe to their horse and rode forth their wey toward Roestok, and rode so fro morowe to euen that no distrouble thei ne hadde till thei com to Roestok, and thei be-hilde the town that was right feire, and well sette in feire contrey and holsom air, ffor the town was envyroned a-boute with the wode and the river, and the *walles shone a-gein the sonne and the bourgh, and the castell stode right feire; and the kynge and his foure sones preised it moche whan thei it syen; and whan thei com to the yate thei fonde it clos and faste shette, and the knyght that was rescewed called the porter right lowde and the damesell hirself; and the lady hirself was a-bove on the walles that knewe hem wele a-noon as she hem saugh, and comaunded the yate to be opened delyuerly, and a-noon the mayden counseiled with hir suster, but thei wiste not where-of, and a-noon as thei hadde spoke to-geder she com to the knyghtes and made hem grete chere, and made hem a-light be-fore the paleys, and the castelein hym-self com hem a-geins that was the lorde, and made hem to be vn-armed and waish their mouthes and their visages with warme water, and after thei were sette and spake of many thinges while the soper was in makinge; and whan it was all redy and the clothes leyde, thei waish and satte to soper, and were well served, and richely of all maner thinge; and after soper the lorde asked his suster fro whens she com, and she hym tolde all hir aventure that was hir be-fallen, and whan the lorde herde this he be-gan to make soche ioye and gladnesse that ther myght be seyn noon gretter, and the kynge looth asked of whom this castell was holden, and the lorde seide that it was of the fee of kynge Arthur; and than the Castaleyn hym asked what he was, and he seide his name was the kynge looth of Orcanye, and these foure knyghtes be

They ride to
Roestok.

*[Pol. 194b.]
The castle is
very fair.

The knight
calls the
porter.
The lady on
the walls
commands
the gate to
be opened.

TheCastelein
makes them
wash.

They sit to
supper.

The lord is
very joyful,

and asks who
King Looth
and his sons
are,

and where
they are
going.

The Castelein
will send to
the King de
Cent Chival-
lers for him
to come to
Arestuell.

Looth and
the Castelein
speak of
many things.

In the morn-
ing Looth
and his sons
go on their
way.

The Castelein
sends a mes-
senger to the
King de Cent
Chivalers.

*[Fol. 195a.]

King Looth
comes to
Cambenyk
where he
hears a great
cry.

my sones. Than the lorde lepte vpon his feet, and made grete ioie, and asked what thei wente seching; and he seide that he yede to seche trewys of the princes and the barouns from the kynge Arthur that the saisnes myght be driven oute of the londe; and than the Castelein thanked oure lorde. "And what wey shull ye go first?" quod he, "from hens;" and he seide that he wolde be at Arestuell in scotlande; and than he seide that he wolde he sholde sende a massenger to the kynge de Cent Chiualers, and telle hym in my name that he be on oure lady day in Septembre at Arestuell in Scotlonde, and that he faile not for nothings, for I shall be ther, and alle the other princes; and the Castelein seide he wolde sende thider on the morowe with-out more taryinge, ffor he trowed well he were at the Cite of Molehaut.

That nyght the kynge looth and the Castelein spake of many thinges till it was tyme to go to bedde, and sir Gawein wolde not be knowen of no man, for he thought for to serche the auentures in the contrey priuele that no man sholde hym knowe in no place ther he com; and whan it was tyme thei yede to slepe all the nyght well at ese till it was day, that thei toke leve of the Castelein of Roestok, and of the lady and the maiden that was rescued, and of the knyght that hem conveyed a-while on the wey, and than returned a-gein; and whan the Castelein saugh thei were gon, he toke a massenger and sente hym to the kynge de Cent chiualers from the kynge looth of Orcanye, and tolde his massage as he was comaunded to sey, and the kynge made grete ioie for love of the kynge looth that he loved with all his herte, *and for the masseger that was a noble knyght he gaf hym a good horse as be-fill for soche a worthi man, and now shull we returne to the kynge looth and his sones.

Whan the kynge looth was departed from the castell of Roestok, he toke the streyght wey toward Cambenyk be-fore the Castell of leuerop, where he was herberowed a nyght, and on the morowe he rode till he com a two myle from Cambenyk, and than he herde so grete shoute and cry that hym

semed all the contrey was sette on fire and flame; and it was no mervelle yef ther were grete noyse and cry, and that the contrey were sore affraid, ffor ther were x^M saisnes that hadde forreyed and gadered prayes, and distroyed all the contrey, and robbed townes, and ledde so grete plente of prisoners that all the contrey was covered, and the Duke Escam was comen oute of the Cite with thre thousande men, and faught with hem longe, but in the ende was he discourfited and driven oute of the felde, and he was so wo therfore that nygh he yede oute of his witte; and the crye and the noyse was so grete that wonder it was to here, ffor eche man complayned of his losse and harme that was right grete and outragious.

10,000 Saxons
had de-
stroyed the
country.

Duke Escam
is discour-
fited, and
almost out of
his mind.

Whan the kynge looth and his sones approched that peple, thei laced their helmes and a-light from their palfreyes, and toke their horses and their sheldes and com the streight way to the place ther the bataille hadde I-be, but now thei were with-drawn towarde the Cite; and the Duke Escam was be-hynde that diffended his peple merveillously, and hadde grete payne and traueile as he that was in grete doute to lese his Citee; and the kynge looth that was full sory and wroth for that he saugh it so go, and¹ sped hym so that he passed the bregge, and com hym a-geins and his foure sones their hedes bowed down vnder their helmes, and sore affixed in their stiropes, and com a grete walop as thei that thought longe er thei were medled with the saisnes; and whan the Duke hem saugh he a-bode stille, but he knewe hem not, and seide a worde that well a-pertened to a man that was in grete nede. "Ha, lorde god, now helpe and socour thy seruauant in this grete myschef that we be now ynne, and on that other side all that euer thy seruantes sholde lyven by, these false vntrewe saisnes lede a-vey, and all oure richesse that was lefte in this contrey;" than he be-hilde the v knyghtes that he saugh come, but he knewe noon of hem, for theyre sheldes were all to-hewen with the strokes that thei hadde resceived, and

Looth and
his sons
come to the
battle.

The duke
does not
know them,
but asks for
their help.

¹ The word "and" is repeated in the MS.

Looth says
he is going
to Arestuell,

*[Fol. 195b.]

and asks how
far off it is.

Looth says
he will help
the duke.

The duke's
men give
them new
helms.

ne hadde not be that, he hadde knowe the kynges looth anon; and whan he saugh that thei drough nygh, he knewe well that thei were not of that contrey, and neuertheles he com a-gein hem as he that was well taught, and seide, "Feire lordes, ye be welcome what wey purpose ye to go, ffor me semeth ye be traueillinge knyghtes." "Sir," seide the kynges looth, "we wolde be at Arestuell in Scotlonde." "Certes," seide the Duke, "ye *haue right moche to done, ffor fro hens thider is full felon passage, and yef ye will a-while a-bide in this contrey we shull be gladde and myri, and it is the beste that ye may do, ffor it is but fewe dayes past that the saisnes assembled vpon vs." "Sir," seide the kynges looth, "how moche is it fro hens to Arestuell?" "Sir," seide the Duke, "hit is well thre grete iourneis." "What be ye, sir," seide the kynges looth, that vs preyen for to a-bide?" "Sir, hit shall not from yow be conceiled. I am lorde of Cambenyk and of this contrey as longe as god will vouche-saf. But these vntrewe saisnes come vpon me dayly, and now I was come oute a-gein hem, and thei be crewell and so proude as ye may se all day." As the kynges and the Duke hilde theire Parliament the Duke saugh his peple come fleinge and the saisnes after, that hem pursued harde at the spore; and whan the kynges looth saugh hem come in soche manere, he seide to the Duke, "Sir, seth we be falle in to youre companye, and do pray vs to a-bide, we shull helpe yow this day with all oure power." "Gramercy lordes," seide the Duke; and than seide Gaheries to sir Gawein, "Go we a-geins hem lo where thei come."

Than the Dukes men toke hem other helmes for theires were all to-brosed, and¹ thei hadde them sette on theire hedes, and well knygt and laced, thei turned toward hem that fledde, and whan thei saugh the Duke come that was theire lorde, thei a-bode ffor thei hadde in hym grete truste, for he was a noble knyght and a sure; and whan the saisnes saugh thei dide stinte, thei ronned vpon hem, for thei wende hem alle

¹ The word "and" is repeated in the MS.

for to a-taken at her wille; and sir Gawein hym derenged first of alle, and smote a saisne thourgh the body that he ouerthrewe down deed; and whan Gaheries saugh his broder medled with the saisnes than he spored his horse and smote so the first that he mette thourgh shelde and haubrek that on that other side shewed the shafte, and ther-with brake the spere that no lenger myght endure, and he drough oute his swerde, and folowed after sir Gawein in the trace as he wente, and made soche martire that alle that hym be-hilde hadde wonder; ffor he ne smote noon but he felled hym or his horse, and Gaheries dide so well that Gawein hym preised and comended, and neuer in no place hadde he seyn hym do so well, and ther-of he merveiled sore, and was gladdre that he myght so moche suffre in armes.

Sir Gawein
kills a Saxon.

Gaheries
smites an-
other, and
follows his
brother.

Gawein
praises Ga-
heries.

Looth and
Gueheret
each kill a
Saxon.

The duke fol-
lows them.

The marvels
that Gawein
does.
*[Fol. 193a.]

On that other side was the kynge looth, and Gueheret in the medle, and eche of hem hadde smyte down a saisne that deed he moste nede be; and whan the speres were broken thei drough swerdes and be-gonne a bataile, so that of v knyghtes was neuer sein more fierce bateile; and than the Duke sued after, and dide right well hem to rehet, and to contene in that grete nede, and he saugh hem do so moche er he departed fro hem that he wondred that euer mortall man myght so moche suffre of armes. But whan mydday was passed, than dide Gawein alle the merveilles of the worlde, and satte vpon *the Gringalet that was so good and feire; and he that satte a-bove was wonder wight and deliuer, and hilde Calibourne his swerde, wh[ich]e slitte helmes, and sheldes, and knyghtes, and horse, and all that he ouertoke, and com thourgh the ringes as it were a tempest and slough euer as he com, and he was so chaufed whan it was a-boute the houre of noone that nothinge myght agein hym endure, and euery stroke of his swerde semed as it hadde be a dynte of thonder, so com it with grete ravyn and grete force; and whan the saisnes it perceived thei seide, "Lo ther a devell that is come oute of helle;" and so yede the tidinges that boydas, and Maundalis, and Oriaunces, and Dorilas, these foure hit herden that were maistris of the hoste and conditours.

The Saxons
say he is a
devil from
hell.
Boydas,
Maundalis,
Oriaunces,
and Dorilas

come to find
Gawein.

The duke
Escam has
only 2,500
men

against
10,000
Saxons.

Gaheries
follows Ga-
wein all the
day, so that
he loves him
more than
all his other
brethren.

The battle be-
tween 2,500
Christians
and 8,000
Saxons is
very great.

Dodalis,
Moydas,
*[Fol. 196b.]

When these foure kynges herde the merveile that these
v knyghtes dide, thei asked whiche wey thei were,
and thei that hadde hem sein taught hem to the brigge ende vpon
the river; with that com the foure kynges thide[r] as Gawein
dide merveiles the grettest of the worlde, that euer were don
by oon knyght a-lone; and the Duke escam was com in to her
companye with as moche peple as he myght haue of his foure Ml
men that he hadde at the begynnyng, ^{he} he myght not
assemble, but two thousande and v^o, so were thei alle discoun-
fited; but as soone as the kynge looth and his sones weren
assembled to them, thei returned agein, and thei that hem
chaced were mo than x^{ml}, and ydonas a proude saisne that
moche harme hadde hem do of her peple, and neuertheles the
cristin hem putte oute of the place, and made hem to rusen
vpon the foure kynges that com hem to socour; and as soone
as thei were medled with the cristen ther was grete stour and
right merveilouse; but the myschef was grete, ffor the cristin
were not foure ^{ml}, and the sarazins were xvij^{ml}, and ther-fore
thei moste remeve whether thei wolde or noon, and were alle
discounfited ne hadde be the vj knyghtes, ffor thei wolde voide
no grounde, but gate londe vpon hem. Ther dide Gawein soche
merveiles that alle thei hadde wonder that eny man myght soche
maistries endure, and Gaheries hym sued all the day, so that
Gawein hym-self hadde merveile that he myght so moche suffre
and endure, and therefore he loved hym euer all his lif more
than alle his other brethern that were so goode knyghtes that
ther were but fewe better in theire tyme.

Grete was the bateile and the stour mortall in the plains
of Cambenyk, at the brigge foote of Saverne of the two
thousande and v^o cristin a-gein vij^{ml} saisnes, but the cristin ne
myght but litill space endure, ne hadde be the well doinge of
the v knyghtes of the reame of logres, and so dide well the
Duke Escam of Cambenyk, ffor he was a noble knyght and
a sure of his body, while thei entended to breke the presse, com
Dodalis, and Moydas, and Oriaunces, and Brandalis vpon swifte
stedis gripinge grete speres, and mette *the Duke Escam a-monge

the renges that full wele hadde don all the day, that he ought well to be wery for traueile, and happed that Boydas and Braundalis mette hym bothe attonys, and smote hym so on the shelde that he reuersed on his horse croupe, and Oriances and Dodalus smote his horse with their speres thourgh the flankes that he fill deed be-twene his legges and bare down to grounde bothe that oon and the tother, and whan the Duke was fallen thei a-bode vpon hym alle foure with swerdes drawen, and soone ther he myght haue ben loste, but as his men com hym for to socoure, and the saisnes com on that other side hym for to encombre, and ther was grete slaughter of peple on bothe parties; and ther was the Duke foule turmented with horse feet, ffor the saisnes were so many that the Dukes men hadde no power hym to remounte. Ne his enemyes no power hym to take, but the saisnes were so many that the cristin myght hem not sustene, but most leue place wheder thei wolde or noon; ffor thei haue take the Duke and ledde hym a-wey, magre hem alle betinge hym foule. Than the kynge loot and his sones com drivinge with swerdes drawen and fonde grete plente of peple hym for to lede. Ther were buffetes I-nowe yoven and receyved, but ne hadde be the weldoinge of Gawein thei hadde not endured litill ne moche; ffor he was euer in the former fronte, and hilde Calibourne in his right honde and smote on the right side and on the lifte, and slough so many men and horse, that thei that saugh the merveiles turned to flight, and thourgh his prowesse he brake presse magre hem alle, and lefte not till he cam to the Duke Escam that the saisnes ledde. Ther was than fell stour and mortall, ffor ther was Agravain smyten down and Gueheret, and the kynge peyned hym sore hem to remounte, and the presse was so grete and the noyse that it was merveile; and Gawein and Gaheries ne toke ther-of noon heede, but entended to rescue the Duke so that thei haue hym gotten be fyn force, and sette hym on horse, and theym that hadde hym taken thei haue driven oute of the place magre hem alle.

Oriances,
and Bran-
dalis meet
Escam.

Oriances and
Dodalus kill
his horse,

and when he
is fallen all
four come
upon him.

Loot and his
sons come.

Gawein is
ever in the
front.

Agravain
and Gueheret
are smitten
down.

Gawein and
Gaheries res-
cue the Duke
and set him
on a horse.

And on that other side whan the kynge saugh his two
sones vnder the horse feet in a-uenture to lese their

lives, and he hadde no power hem for to socour ne for to remounte; than he cried with lowde voice, "Ffeire sone, what do ye, or where be ye, for here is Agravaïn at the erthe that hath grete nede, and the damage was mortall that vnethe may be restored yef ye tarye lenger;" and whan Gawein herde the voice he turned his horse a-noon and brake the presse that wey with Calibourne his goode swerde a-gein, whiche noon armure myght endure that he raught a full stroke, and er he hadde paste litill wey he mette Gueheret and Agravaïn in meddill of the presse on foote that full vigerously hem deffended, and the kynge looth was euer be hem that sore hym peyned hem to helpe and socoure; and whan Gawein saugh the grete nede he caste to erthe the remenaunt that was lefte of his shelde, and caught Calibourne with bothe handes and spronge in to the presse so fiercely *that noon durst hym a-bide for the mervelles that thei saugh hym do, and he smote so Mydonas that he mette with first, that he slitte hym down to the sholdres, and with a-nother stroke he smote a-wey the lifte arme of Brandalis with all the shelde; and whan the sarazin felte hym-self so diffouled, he fledde crynge and brayinge as a bole, and Gaheries hadde throwe his shilde to grounde and hilde his swerde in bothe handes and smote so Oriaunce vpon the helme that he kutte a quarter, and the swerde glent be-twene the body and the shelde, and kutte the gige that it hanged on that it fley in to the felde, and the stroke descended on the lift thigh so depe that he kutte it thourgh, and he fill down to grounde, and Gaheries toke the horse and ledde to Gueheret his brother, and made hym skippe in to the sadell, and after he smote a-nother saisne that was well horsed that he made the heed fle in to the felde, and caught the horse and ledde to Agravaïn his brother, and he lepte vp a-noon as he that hadde grete nede; and than thei smote in to the bateile where the kynge was, and sir Gawein that foughten full sharply, and Agravaïn that was full wroth with Doda-lus, yaf hym soche a buffet that the heed fill in to the felde a-noon right.

Looth calls
to Gawein to
save Agra-
vaïn.

Gawein
springs into
the press
with Cal-
bourne,

*[Fol. 187a.]

and kills My-
donas,

and smites
off Bran-
dalis's arm.

Gaheries
smites Ori-
aunce,

and takes his
horse to Gue-
heret.
He kills an-
other Saxon,
and takes
his horse to
Agravaïn.

Agravaïn
kills Doda-
lus.

When the
Saxons find
their lords

And whan the saisnes saugh that alle the high lordes were deed, a-noon thei fledden as thei that hadde theire lordes

loste, ne neuer thei stinte till thei com to the baner of ydonas, and these hem chaced thider with-oute eny a-bidinge, be-fore alle other was sir Gawein and with hym CC of the Dukes men that sore hem peyned hym for to serve, and Elizer euer by and be-fore hym and hilde in hande a cornered axe where-with he delyuered his lorde whan he saugh nede. In that chace was the Duke throwe down of his horse, for a sarazin smote hym so be-hinde that he fill to grounde and was hurt right sore in the fallinge, that stroke saugh full wele the kynge looth that chaced on bothe sides, he and his sone Gueheret, and it greved hym sore for the Duke, and he spored his horse that wey and griped a grete spere that he hadde take from a saisne, and smote the saisne that hadde smyte down the Duke thourgh the sides, and thourgh liver and longes, and than toke the horse and presented to the Duke, and [a]noon he lepte vp and thanked hym hertely of that servise that he hadde hym don, and sir Gawein and Elizer chaced the saisnes and hem sued till thei com to the baner of ydonas. Ther the saisnes with-stode and foughten a-while, and Gawein that hem pursued drof in a-monge hem, and smote so on eyther side that all that he raught wente to grounde; and whan ydonas that aperceived he turned that wey, and Gawein hym smote vpon the helme that he slitte hym down right so that men myght se his longes, and a-noon as the sarazin was so smyten he fill to the grounde and the baner; and whan the Duke saugh the baner reverse he knewe well thei were discourfited, and than he cried his signe with high voyce, and relyed his peple a-boute hym and yaf hem assaute delyuerly.

killed, they fly to the banner of Ydonas.

The duke is thrown down from his horse.

Looth and Gueheret go to succour him.

They kill a Saxon, and take his horse to the duke.

Gawein kills Ydonas.

The duke calls his men to assault the Saxons.

***W**han the saisnes saugh theire baner falle, and the cristin come on hem so harde, thei durste no more a-bide, but turned to flight and lefte the place, and all theire harnoys, and eche of hem fledde from other thurgh the playnes mate and discourfited, and ther a-ros soche a duste and soche a shoute and noyse that wonder it was to here, but of hem that theym chaced was sir Gawein the firste upon the Gringalet, for ther was noon horse that myght renne so faste, and he slough of hem

*[Fol. 197b.] When the Saxons see their banner fall they turn to flight.

Gawein slays

so many that
he and his
horse are all
stained with
blood.
All return
but Gawein
and Elizer.

They drive
the Saxons
into the
river, so that
the water
changes
colour.

Looth is joy-
ful when Ga-
wein returns.

The duke
praises Ga-
wein.

Looth asks
him where
he has left
his shield.
The duke
says he will
give him an-
other.

Looth tells
the duke who
he is.

so many in the chace that he and his horse were steyned with blode as he hadde fallen in a bloody river; and whan thei hadde chaced hem to nyght, than returned the kynge, and his sones, and alle the other saf Gawein, that thei wiste not where he was be come ne Elizer his squyer, ffor thei had chaced the saisnes that of fin force thei drof hem in to the river of Saverne, and ther thei drof in so many that the water chaunged colour, and whan thei saugh thei were ouer he returned a-gein a softte paas, and the Duke Escam a-bode at the pray, and ledde it home with his men, and sir Gawein past by and spake no worde; and whan the kynge looth saugh him come he made merveilouse ioye, and asked how he hadde don, and he seide right euell whan eny of hem ascaped and returned as recreaunt whan thei durste not passe the foorde ther thei passed; and the kynge seide that was no light thinge to do a man a-lone for to passe.

This worde that Gawein seide vndirstode the Duke, and seide that he hadde don right wele, ffor he and his companye hadde brought to an ende that he and his peple ne myght not do, and Gawein rode forth and spake no worde, and well semed by his armes that he hadde not be at sojourne that day; and the kynge looth hym asked where he hadde lefte his squyer, and he seide how the saisnes hadde hym all to-hewen, and therfore be hym to purchase a-nother, and the Duke seide he wolde yeve hym a-nother myghty and stronge, and he seide "gramercye." Than the Duke asked of the kynge looth, and praide hym full hertely to tell hym his name, for that he herde hym clepe Gawein his sone; and he ansuerde that his name was neuer hidde for no man, ne fro hym sholde it not be kept pryve, and than he seide, "Ye ought me well to knowe, for many an euell iourney, and many myry dayes haue we hadde to-geder;" and he seide how he was kynge looth of Orcanye, and how these foure were his sones; and whan the Duke this vndirstode, he seide that he was welcome, and "so verily helpe me god," quod he, "as I knewe yow not, and blissed be that goode lorde that sente yow hider, ffor this day hadde we all be distroyed ne hadde ye ben, and of this ye seide full trewe that

moche wele and moche woo haue we suffred to-geder. Sir, are these foure knyghtes verily youre sones?" and he seide, "Ye trewly." "So helpe me god," seide the Duke, "thei be full noble and worthi men, and goode knyghtes, and yet shall be better yef thei live to age."

The duke asks if the four knights are really his sons.

*Thus thei rode alle vj to-geder spekinge till thei com to the Citee of Cambenyk, and wente to the maister paleys and a-light at the greeces, and Elizer was besy to serue sir Gawein and stable Gringalet, and helped him to vn-arme, and also the kynge looth, and while thei were in vn-armynge thei saugh comynge the squyer of Elizer, and the yoman that hadde made the present to Mynoras the forester, and salued the kynge fro Mynoras, and from his wif and alle his children, and seide how thei alle hym thanked of his grete bounte. Than Gaheries be-hilde Agravain his brother, and be-gan to laugh, and asked lydonas how the doughtres of Mynoras ferden, and he seide how thei hem salued alle. "Trewly," quod Gaheries, "thei haue reson yef thei knewe the dought of my brother Agravain." At this worde thei lowen alle bothe Gueheret and Agravain hym-self and wax rody, but he spake no worde, for he wiste well that he laped, and thus thei laughed and pleyde till the mete was redy, and than were sette and well serued and richely, and hit neded not to aske yef the Duke were besy and gladde hem for to wurship, and that were ther-ynne; and after soper the Duke asked the kynge the names of his sones, and the kynge seide how the eldest was cleped Gawein, and the seconde Agravain, and thridde Gueheret, and the fourth Gaheries. "And this feire yonge gentilman," quod he, "that is so comely and well faringe, and is so worthy and noble, what is he?" And the kynge seide that he apartained not to hym, "but he is the sone of a kynge that is of high lynage, and by his debonerte is come for to serue sir Gawein my sone, for of hym he will take his armes." "So helpe me God," seide the Duke of high herte, "and gentill cometh hym that corage, and blessed be the body that hym bar for he doth as debonair and gentill, and god sende hym encrece of vertu, for he is full of high

*[Fol. 198a.] All six ride to Cambenyk and go to the palace. Elizer serves Gawein.

Elizer's squire and the yoman come back from Mynoras.

Gaheries asks Lydonas how the daughters of Mynoras fared.

The duke asks the king the names of his sons,

and who Elizer is.

He says he is full of valour.

valoure and worthinesse, and therefore he may not faile to come to high prowesse, yef he lyve eny while;" and than he asked whi he wente so to Arestuell with so fewe in his companye so hastily. "That shall I telle yow," quod the kynge looth, "ye se and knowe how the saisnes be entred in to this londe, and waste and distroie, and it is more than two yere that thei cessed neuer to robbe and to pile oure londes, and therefore me semeth it were grete profite to sette soche counseile how thei myght be chaced oute, and ye se well that all our force ne a-vailleth not a-gein hem. Ne for vs shull thei neuer be putte a-wey, but yef god and other peple helpe ther-to, ffor we haue foughten with hem thre tymes, and we spede neuer but loste; and ye knowe well that all this londe oweth to be holde of the kynge Arthur, and thei that holde a-gein hym bith a-cursed, and therefore it were good ther-of to be a-soyled, and theire londes to be delyuered from the saisnes, and who that this myght bringe to an ende had he not well spedde." "Yesse trewly," seide the Duke. "Now shall I sey yow," quod the kynge, "how it shall be. I haue take a parliament with the kynge Clarion of Northumbirlonde, *and the kynge de Cent Chiualers at Arestuell, and with the kynge Arthur hym-self at the feste of seint Mary day in Septembre, and ye and alle the worthi princes shull be there, and we shull take trewis in soche manere that eche of vs shall assemble his power as grete as he may a-gein the day that shall be named and sette, ffor to fight with the saisnes whan we be alle assembled, and but yef thei be driven oute in this manere thei shull neuer be hadde oute of this londe;" and the Duke ansuerde that this were the grettest almesse that myght be do, "and wolde oure lorde that this were don, and wite ye wele that I haue thought often that the saisnes hadde neuer entred this londe ne were for the synne that is a-monge vs, and be my will we shall a-corde with the kynge Arthur so that we shull neuer haue a-gein hym werre, but do that he vs requereth with-oute eny delay, ffor seth he is a-noynted and sacred hit is no light thinge hym to depose that the clergie and the peple of the londe haue chosen; and the

He asks why
Looth goes
to Arestuell.

Looth tells
him

how all that
are against
Arthur are
accused,

and that he
is going to
meet King
Clarion and
*[Fol. 198b.]
the King de
Cent Chiua-
lers.

All the wor-
thy princes
are to be
there.

When all are
assembled
they will
fight the
Saxons.
The duke
thinks the
Saxons
would not
have entered
the land if
they had
not sinned
against
Arthur.

It is no light
thing to de-
pose him

remes of Beynok, and of Gannes holde with hym, and we se well we may neuer haue the better." "Yef ye haue thought thus," quod the kynge looth, "soone shall the pees be made be-twene yow and hym, and of my partye I sey not nay but that hit is made. Ne ye may not hens-forwarde, neyther ye ne noon other make no werre a-gein Arthur, but ye haue werre a-gein me." "How so," quod the Duke, "be ye with hym a-corded?" and he seide, "Ye, with-oute faile."

whom the clergy and people have chosen.

Looth tells the duke he is at peace with Arthur.

Than he tolde hym all how the pees hadde be made, and all the traueile as it hadde be, and how his childeren hadde hym lefte, and tolde hym all in ordre, and spake so to-geder be-twene the kynge and the Duke, that the Duke hym graunted to be at Arestuell at the day that was named, and seide the pees sholde not be letted for hym, and than yede thei to bedde to reste, for thei were very for traueile of the grete stour that thei hadde ben ynne; and on the morowe erly the kynge looth a-roos for to here masse, and so dide his sones, and the Duke Escam, and wente to the mynster, and whan the masse was seide, the kynge com to the Duke, and seide, "Sir, it were well don that ye toke foure messagiers, and sende to the kynge ydiers of Cornewaile, and a-nother to kynge Vrien, and the thridde to kynge Aguysans, and the fourthe to kynge Ventres of Garlot, and sendeth to theym in oure be-halue that thei be at Arestuell at oure lady day in Septembre, and than sende a-nother to kynge Tradilyuaunt of North Wales, and to the kynge Belynaunt his brother, and to the kynge Carados, and to the kynge Brangore, that thei be at this parliament at Arestuell on seint Mary day in Septembre;" and he seide this sholde gladly be do, and a-noon thei sette forth the messagiers and spedde hem so that thei be come to the princes, and dide right well their message as thei were comaunded; and the princes com as soone as thei hadde herde the message, but of hem alle now resteth a-while, and speke of the kynge looth and his sones.

The duke agrees to be at Arestuell.

They go to bed. On the morrow they hear masse.

Looth asks the duke to send four messengers to Ydiers, Vrien, Aguy-sans, and Ventres,

and others to Tradilyvaunt, Belynaunt, Carados, and Brangore.

They send the messengers.

As soone as the messagiers were departed from Cambenyk, the kynge looth and his sones rode forth their way

Looth and his sons ride

forth to
Arestuell.

*[Fol. 199a.]
The duke
makes ready
to follow.

Looth finds
Tradily-
vaunte in
his city,
whotellshim
he will be at
Arestuell.

Looth and
hissons come
to Arestuell,
and sojourn
there four
days before
any prince
comes.
Clarion
arrives.

On the mor-
row comes
the king de
Cent Chiva-
lers; after
him come
Escam,
Tradilyvans,
Belynans,
Brangore,
Carados,
Vrien, Aguy-
sans, Ydiers,
and Ventres.

towarde Arestuell, and the Duke hem conveied on the wey, and yaf eche of hem a shelde peynted with soche armes as thei were wonte to bere and helmes fresch *and newe, and than the Duke toke his leve and returned hom a-gein, and made hym redy for to come after the kynge looth, and thei hilde her streight-wey toward north wales to a Citee that longed to the kynge Tradilyuaunte, and fonde the kynge in the Citee that gladde was of theire comynge, ffor he loved well the kynge looth and asked hym in to what contrey he was goinge; and the kynge looth tolde hym all as it was; and Tradilyuans seide how a messenger hadde tolde hym the same that the Duke Escam hadde hym sent, "and ther shall I be yef god will that I haue so longe lif and hele." And than was the kynge looth and his sones gladde and iocunde; that nyght was the kynge looth and his children richely served, and as soone as it was day, thei toke theire wey and com to Arestuell in Scotlonde where thei soiourned foure dayes er eny prince were come, and ledde meri lif, and a-bode after the princes till that the kynge Clarion com alther firste the lorde of Northumbirlonde that was oon of the gentillist and deboneir prince of the worlde, and ther-to he was a good knyght, and the kynge looth made of hym grete ioye, and so dide he of hym and of his foure sones, for he hadde hem not seyn be-fore.

On the morowe com the kynge de Cent Chiualers, of whom theire myrthe be-gan gretly to encrece, and than cam the Duke Escam that was a good knyght and a sure, and after com the kynge Tradilyuans of No[r]th walis, and the kynge Belynans his brother, and after com the kynge Brangore and the kynge Carados of Strangore, and than the kynge Vrien and the kynge Aguysans of Scotlonde, and the kynge ydiers of Cornewaile, and the kynge Ventres of Garlot, and than com the lorde of the streite marche; and whan thei were alle assembled the kynge looth seide that on the morowe he wolde hem telle wherefore he hadde made hem to assemble, and this was on seint marie even in Septembre, and eche of hem made to other grete ioye and myrthe, and rested

ther all that nyght; and on the morowe thei assembled to-geder all the prevy counseile, and sir Gawein and his thre bretheren, and whan thei weren all sette vpon a cloth of silke that was leide vpon the grene grasse, than a-roos Gawein by the comaundement of his fader the kynge looth, and seide, "Ffeire lordes, we be come hider for to speke with yow in the name of the kynge Arthur with whom we be, and my lorde yow sendeth and prayeth as to hem that he wolde gladly haue to his frendes yef it myght be, that ye sholde yeve hym trewys saf to come and saf to go by feith and suerte be-twene this and yole; and ye also to go and come thourgh his power suerly, and he in yours at youre plesier; ffor yef it plese yow that we go alle to-geder and fight with the saisnes that be come in to this contrey till that we haue hem oute chaced, and yef god will ordeyne that thei be discourfited than acorde yow to-geder yef ye may be, and the pardon is yoven and graunted to alle tho that will go fight with the saisnes, that thei shall be clene quyte of alle ther synnes as thei were the day of theire birthe."

They assemble in council,

and Gawein addresses them.

He says that Arthur prays them to make a truce.

They can then fight the Saxons.

***W**han the princes herde the request of sir Gawein of that he dide hem amoneste, thei asked the kynge looth his advise, and he seide it was the grettest bounte that euer was seide or don. "And I do yow to wite I sey it nothinge for that I am his sworn man, but I sey as longe as ye haue ben a-geins hym ye haue mys-happed, ffor as I trowe this peple hadde neuer entred in to this londe yef we hadde holden to-geder, and knowe it verily that it cometh thourgh oure synnes." "What!" seide the kynge Vrien, "haue ye don hym homage, ye haue nothinge do as a trewe knyght, and I will telle yow whi, ffor yef it fill so that we yede vpon hym, hit be-hoveth vs to go a-gein yow." "That were right," seide the kynge looth; "with-oute faile, and wite ye well who so hath werre a-gein hym hath werre a-gein me." "Ffor sothe," seide the kynge Vrien, "that is vn-trewly don, ffor ye be oon of vs, and ye sholde not vs so leven." "Sir," seide the kynge looth, "I dide it magre myn, and a-gein my will, ffor I do yow to wite that day I wende hym moste to greve or a-noyen. I

*[Fol. 199b.] The princes ask Looth for his advice.

He says that they have misbapped as long as they have been against Arthur. Vrien asks if he has done homage to Arthur.

Looth answers, Yea.

Vrien says he has acted untruly.

Looth says
Gawein made
him act as he
did.

The princes
agree to keep
a truce,
and fix a day
when each
will come
with all his
power to
Salisbury.

They say
they will
break the
truce when
the Saxons
are driven
out.
Gawein
threatens
them.
Some of the
princes
laugh, and
others frown
at Gawein's
words.

They take
leave of each
other.

The land is
absolved by
the legate.
The princes
assemble
their people,
and come to
the plain of
Salisbury.

dide hym homage, and all this made me 'Gawein for to do, that ye here se." Than he tolde hem alle worde for worde how the cas was be-fallen; and whan the other princes herde this, thei seide he myght noon other do seith it was so he was not moche to blame, and some of hem that were there wolde right gladly that thei hadde happed in the same manere. Thei¹ spake of oo thinge and of other, that thei accorded to holde the trewis, and ther-to thei it assured in sir Gawains honde hit trewly to holde, and sette hem a day that eche of hem sholde be with all his power on the playn of Salisbury with all his peple as eche of hem myght bringe. But thei seide well that whan the saisnes were driven oute of the londe that thei dide the kynge to wite that he diffende hym from theym; and sir Gawein hem tolde that whan it were come ther-to that yef thei wolde hym ought mysdon thei sholde fynde that thei sholde haue bothe theire armes wery and ouer-charged.

Whan the princes vndirstode the wordes of sir Gawein ther were some that lough and some frowned with the heede, and the kynge de Cent Chiualliers that liste not hym to a-vaunte ne noon other to manace, seide he wolde be ther at halowmesse yef god hym sende lif in the playn of Salisbury, and so seide eche of hem for his partye; and the kynge looth seide that he wolde not thens remeve till he hadde assembled all his power, and than thei toke leve eche of other, and departen, and eche of hem wente in to his contrei, and the londe was assoiled by the legat; and thei moustred and assembled all the peple that thei myght gete, and sente for to seche frendes and kynnesmen thourgh-oute all cristindome and dide proclame all the pardon that was graunted, and he that first myght assemble his peple wente in to the playn of Salisbury, and loigged in tentes and pavilouns, and ther a-bide eche of hem other, and as the story seith thider com alle that myght eny wepen wilde, and on that othir side of the *londe of kynge Clamedin, and of the londe of kynge Guygueron, a riche baron

*[Fol. 200a.]

¹ The word "thei" is repeated in the MS.

of the londe of Sorloys, and thider com the kynge Brangores, and ther was moche peple of the kynge looth of Orcanye, and of the londe of kynge helain, and of the londe of kynge pellynor, and of the londe of kynge Pelles of lystenoy, and of the londe of the Duke Roches. But here resteth the tale of hem and returneth to the kynge Arthur and his wif Gonnore.

The tale returns to King Arthur.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ADVENTURES OF SEGRAMOR, GALASHIN, AND DODINELL; MERLIN'S VISITS TO BLASE AND TO THE PRINCES; ARTHUR'S PREPARATIONS FOR THE WAR.

Now seith the storie that myri lif ledde the kynge Arthur and his wif after that the kynge looth and his sones were departed, and the kynge looth sente to the kynge Arthur that the trewis were graunted, and therfore was arthur gladde and iocunde, and the quenes knyghtes, and so were the knyghtes of the rounde table, and so were also the two kynges that were brethern; and on the morowe that the tidinges were come to court Segramor a-ros erly, and Galasshin and Dodinell le sauage, and armed hem right wele of alle parties, and yede to disporte in the foreste that was grete and depe, for on the nyght be-fore hadde thei caste for to a-rise erly hem to pley and disporte; and whan thei were come thider hit hem liked well, for thei herde the songe of the fowles and briddes that myrily were entuned, and thei seiden that thei wolde go serche the forest and the contrey for to wite yef thei myght finde eny a-venture where-by thei myght be preised and comended; and also on that other side were there dissevered thre knyghtes of the rounde table from the Courte, and hadde taken straunge armes for thei wolde not be knowen, and thei desired sore for to mete with the quenes knyghtes for to prove hem-self a-geins hem; and that oon of the knyghtes was Agrauandain the brother of Belynans, the beste knyght destramors that after werred the kynge Arthur.

Arthur and his wife lead a merry life.

They are glad when they hear the truce is made.

Segramor, Galasshin, and Dodinell go into the forest

to seek for an adventure.

Three knights of the round table—

Agrauandain,

Mynoras, and
Monevall—

also go into
the forest.

They ride to-
wards the
Castle de
lespine,
till they
come to three
roads, where
they sepa-
rate.

Merlin goes
to Blase.

He tells him
of Arthur's
marriage,
and of the
*[Fol. 200b.]
false Gon-
nore.

How Arthur
sent Gawain
to Logres.

How Gawain
took his own
father pri-
soner.

How the
queen's
knights
tourneyed
against the
knights of
the round
table.

How the
princes were
assembled at
Arestuell.
Blase writes
it all in his
book.

The seconde was Mynoras, and the thirde was Monevall that was a noble knyght and richely armed of alle pointes, and whan thei were in the playn felde thei ronned with their horses oon a-gein a-nother with-out smytinge of eny stroke, and than seide Mynoras to his felowes, lete vs go for to pley vs and disporte in this foreste to assay yef we fynde eny aventure, and his felowes therto graunted a-noon with goode chere, and ride forth towarde the Castell de lespine, for that it was the more auenturouse than eny other wey, and thus these thre felowes ride in compaigne till thei founde thre weyes that made hem departe, so that eche rode sooll by hym-self as aventure dide falle. But now we moste cesse of hem awhile, and returne to speke of Merlin.

Here seith the boke that whan Merlin was departed from the kyng Arthur from a thiside of Toraise in Carmelide, that he wente in to Northumbirlande to Blaise his maister, that gladde was of his comynge, ffor he loved moche his compaignie; and whan Merlin a-while hadde be ther he tolde hym how the kyng Arthur was spoused to his wif, and how she sholde haue be by-traied, and how Vlfin and Bretell *hadde hir rescowed, and how the false Gonnore was banysshed, and how Bertelais slough the knyght, and of the turnement that the knyghtes made be-fore Toraise, and how the kyng Arthur hadde sente Gawain his newew to logres for to somowne his court, and how the kyng loth wolde haue refte a-wey his wif; and how that Gawain com and hym socoured, and toke his owen fader, and how the avowis were made at the Court, and how the quenes knyghtes turneyed a-gein the knyghtes of the rounde table, and the merveles that sir Gawain ther dide, and how the kyng Ban yaf counseile to the kyng Arthur that his knyghtes sholde neuer haue turnement oon a-gein a-nother, and the counseile that kyng looth yaf for to sende messages to the princes, and all that be-fill hym and his sones on the wey, and how the princes were assembled at Arestuell, and how the trewys were take for to go vpon the saisnes; and Blaase wrote all this in his boke, and by that haue we the knowinge ther-of, and

than Blase asked yef thei myght haue peple I-nowe for to fight a-gein the saisnes; and Merlin seide, "Nay be-fore that the peple were come oute of litill Breteigne, and thei of the reame of Carmelide, and thei of lamball that was longinge to the kyng Amaunte that Gosenges hilde, and as soone as I go fro hens I will go fecche the peple of kyng Ban and of kyng Bohors in the two reames, and make hem to come hider, and I do yow to wite," quod Merlin, "that ther shull come peple hider of many londes for the sauacion of theire soules, and for to diffende the cristin feith, and I do yow to wite it is grete nede that oure lorde helpe at this tyme, ffor neuer be-fore was ther sein so moche peple as shall be now at this assemble. Ne neuer for no power shull thei be put oute of this londe be-fore that the princes ben acorded with the kyng Arthur;" and Blase seide that he a-parceyved well that he loved a lady where-of the prophesie sholde falle and hadde be seide, and Blase hym preide full hertely and seide,

"**M**erlin, dere frende, I praye yow for the love of god that ye will telle me who shall be-gete the lyon to the two messages, and whan this shall be do." And Merlin seide that the terme drough faste on that it sholde be do; and blase seide that it was grete damage; and yef I knewe the tyme and place I wolde fain do my peyne it for to cesse; and Merlin seide, "Write soche lettres as I shall yow devise, and than shall ye knowe whan ye may hem helpe, and he hem wrote that seide in this wise, "*Cest li comenchemens et li contes des auentures de pais pur coy li merueilleux lyons fu enseres et que fitz du roy et de royne le destraindra et couenra qu' il soit chastes et le myldres cheualiers del monde,*" and these *lettres* that Blase wrote Merlin sette by alle the weyes where the auentures were, and ne myght neuer be taken a-wey, but by theym that sholde hem acheve, and ther-fore were the knyghtes the better willed for to labour. Ne neuer other-wise was distroied the grete lyon; and than seide blase, "How is it that I may it noon other weyes helpe;" and Merlin seide, "Noo." "And shall I lyve so longe," quod Blase, "that I may it knowe."

He asks if there will be enough people to fight the Saxons.

Merlin will go to fetch the people of Ban and Bohors.

So much has never been seen as will be assembled.

Blase speaks of the prophecy,

and asks who shall beget the lion.

He writes such letters as Merlin tells him.

How the lion shall be destroyed.

Blase asks if he shall live to see it.

"Haa ! dere frende," seide Merlin, "ne dowte it not, and
 *[Fol. 201a.] many *other merveiles shull ye se after these." Than made
 Merlin Blase to write soche letteres as he dide hym devise, and
 bar hem ther as he wolde, and sette hem by the passages in
 high weyes, and than comaunded hym to god, and than he
 wente in to litill Breteigne ; and whan he toke his leve of
 Blase it was a-boute the houre of pryme, and a-boute the houre of
 noone he com in to litill Breteigne, and fonde leonce the lorde
 of Paerne, and Pharien that grete chere hym made and ledde
 hym with hem full debonerly and were with hym gladde and
 myry thre dayes hool ; and on the forthe day thei asked Merlin
 why he was come in to that contrey, "ffor we knowe well that
 for nought be ye not come," and he hem tolde that thei moste
 passe the see with as moche peple as thei myght haue oute of
 that contrey. "Sir," seide leonce, "in to what place shall
 we go ?" and Merlin seide "to the Roche flodomer, and fro theus
 in to the playn of Salisbery where ye shull fynde peple of many
 dyuerse langages that alle shull be come thider for the same
 cause that ye shull come fore, and ye shull loigge ther by
 youre-self with alle youre peple, and remeve yow not till ye se
 me a-gein, and loke ye make youre baner all white and ther-ynne
 a rede crosse and no more, and so shull haue alle the other
 princes that shull come thider, and noon of hem knoweth no
 worde of other ne wherefore it is don, and ther-ynne is grete
 significacion ;" and leonce and Pharien seide this sholde be don.
 "Now," quod Merlin, "loke that ye take with yow alle the
 beste peple that ye may haue, ffor I do yow to wite that there
 shall be grete multitude of peple a-geins hem." "And who
 shall kepe this londe," seide leonce. "Haue no doute of the
 kepinge," quod Merlin, "ffor ther shall noon a-bide to kepe it,
 but lambuges and the nevew of Pharien, and Banyns the sone
 of Gracien of Trebes, and Galiers the lorde of the haut moor ;
 and ye shull lede the hostes of youre two reames, and Grascien
 shall lede the hoste of Orcanye, and the stiwarde Antyaume
 shall be with yow, and Pharien and Dionys shull lede theym
 of Gaule, and loke that ye neuer leve for noon avoir, but with-

Merlin goes
into Little
Britain,

where he
finds Leonce
and Pharien.

They ask
Merlin why
he has come.
He says they
must take
much people
over the sea
to Salisbery,

and stay
there till he
comes.

Leonce asks
who shall
keep the
land.

Merlin says
Lambuges,
Banyns, and
Galiers shall
remain.

Leonce,
Grascien,
Antyaume,
Pharien, and
Dionys shall
be the
leaders.

holde all the peple that ye may haue of sowdiours yow for to serve." And leonce seide that this sholde be do as he hadde devised.

Than Merlin be-taught hem to god, and praied hem to go hastily, for it myght not be taried, "and I ne may no lenger with yow a-bide." "Sir," quod leonce, "god haue yow in kepinge, for I dare not pray yow to a-bide, for ye knowe better what is for to do than I." Than departed Merlin, and com to Nimiane his love, whiche of hym was gladde and ioyfull as soone as she hym saugh, and the love of hym encreased so moche that loth he was to departe, but taught hir grete part of his connyng; and than he wente in to the reame of lamball, that was the kynges Amaunte that the kyng Bohors hadde slayn, and bad Gosengos that he ne sholde leve in no maner but that he sholde be on the playn of Salisbery at halowmesse with all his peple, and he seide he wolde be ther with-oute faile. Than wente Merlin in to the reame of Carmelide, and dide his message ther on kyng Arthurs be-halue, and thei seide thei wolde go thider with good chere, and meved a-noon thiderward with **xx^{mi}** of bolde men and hardy; and Grascien and *Pharien and Dyonis spedde hem so wele that in litill terme thei assembled **xl^{mi}** men in the medowes be-fore Gannes; and whan it was tyme for to meve, these felowes toke theire wey and spedde so theire iourneyes be londe and be water till thei com in to the playns of Salisbiry, and ther thei fonde the xij princes that were there with as moche peple as thei myght assemble to-geder, and ech kepte his hoste by hym-self, and Nabulall that hadde be stiward with the kyng Amaunt somowned his peple and assembled hem to-geder, and preied the sone of the kinge Amaunt for to come with hym; and he dide his counseile, ffor he was a feire yonge squyer, bolde and hardy, and hadde loved the queene Gonnore, and fayn wolde haue hadde hir to his wif, yef he hadde be knyght, but the werre be-twene the two fadres it letted; ffor the queene hadde hym desired more than eny other man while she was a maiden, and yet ech of hem desired other to se, and sente often messages that oon to the tother [and] tokenes.

Merlin com-
mends them
to God.

He goes to
Nimiane,

and teaches
her his cun-
ning.
He goes to
Lamball,

and bids Go-
sengos go to
Salisbery.
He goes to
Carmelide.

*[Fol. 201b.]
Grascien,
Pharien, and
Dyonis
assemble
40,000 men
in the mea-
dows before
Gannes, and
go to Salis-
bery,
where they
find the
twelve
princes.
Nabulall
summons his
people, and
prays the
son of A-
maunt (a
fair young
squire who
loved Gon-
nore) to go
with him.

The young lord comes to Nabulall, whotells him the king's will.

Whan this yonge lorde com to Nabulall that kepthe the reame to the be-hofte of kynge Arthur, he tolde hym how the kynge wolde fight with the saisnes, "and sente me in comaundement," quod Nabuall, "that I sholde bringe alle hem that myght armes bere bothe moche and litill, and therefore I wolde knowe youre will yef ye will come thider." And he seide, "Ye, trewly;" and than was Nabulall gladd, and seide thei wolde go to-geder to se alle the worthi men of the worlde; and than Nabulall assembled all the peple that he myght till he hadde xx^M, and spedde hym so till that he com in to the playn of Salesbiry; and Merlin com to Bandemagn as soone as he was departed fro Nabulall and badde hym sende to the hoste the grettest peple that he myght; and the kynge Bandemagn assembled his peple that he hadde xx^M, and Merlin bad hym a-bide and sende with his hoste Patrides his stiwarde for to lede his peple, and thei shull finde at the Court Guyomar and Sadoyne, and Guyret de lamball that shull go with hym, and helpe to lede thy peple ther as thei shull go; and ther-with Merlin departed from the kynge and com to logres the same day that the vj knyghtes were gon hem to disporte in to the foreste auenturouse, where-of ye haue herde speke a-fore how thei wente for to seche her auenturous.

The young lord says he will go with him.

Merlin comes to Bandemagn, who assembles his peple.

Merlin comes to Logres, where he

finds Ban, Bohors, Arthur, and the queen leaning out of the window.

They are joyful to see him.

*[Fol. 202a.]

Merlin tells of the people that are as-

Whan Merlin com to court, he fonde the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and the kynge Arthur, and the quene that lened oute at the wyndowes of the paleys, and looked on the medowes, and the thre knyghtes that were go in to the foreste, that were of the companye of the rounde table of whom the names were rehersed to yow be-fore; and the lordes wiste no worde till that Merlin com in euen vpon hem, and a-noon as thei were of hym war thei ronne ageins hym and made hym the grettest ioye that thei cowde; and whan thei hadde spoke to-geder of many thinges, than com Merlin to Arthur, and *bad hym sende for all his power in all haste with-oute tarynge, and dide hym well to wite how the kynge looth hadde right wele spedde, and tolde hym also how the straunge peple com oute of dyue[r]se contrees, bothe on horse and

on fote, in to the playns of Salisbery, and he [asked] hym what peple ther com, and he tolde hym how the kyng looth rode with all his power, "and ye hadde full noble counseile for to take the trewys, and what peple trowe ye shall come on youre partye, ye shull haue the power of kyng Ban of Benoyk, and of kyng Bohors of Gannes, and thei be well xl^M;" and whan the kyng Ban and the kyng Bohors vnderstode this, thei sterte vpon hire feet and asked by whom that was; and Merlin hem ansuerde a-noon, and seide he hadde do the message hym-self, "and thei trowed me well god yelde it hem," and the two brethern ansuerde that ther-of he hadde right well spedde, and that of nothinge myght he haue made hem so gladd; and than Merlin seide to kyng Arthur,

"Sire," quod he, "wite ye who cometh hider also, ther cometh Nabulall de Camadayse of the reame of kyng Amaunt, that the kyng Bohors that is here slough in bataile, and with hym cometh a yonge lorde that is yet no knyght, and hider cometh all the power of Carmelide that Cleodalis the stiward doth lede; but the kyng leodogan ne cometh not, and all this chiuallrie haue I yow somowned, and therefore I owe to haue guerdon." And the kyng seide, "Merlin, I can not sey what I sholde yow ofre, but I will that ye be lorde of me and of all my londe, for by yow is all that I haue." "Sir," quod he, "whan I com thus sodeinly vpon yow right now, what dide ye be-holde so ententifly down the medowes." Quod the kyng, "We loked on thre knyghtes that we saugh entre in to the foreste." "Wote ye euer," quod Merlin, "who thei be." "No," seide the kyng." "Wite it verily," quod Merlin, "that it be thre knyghtes of the rounde table that be full noble and hardy. But foles thei ben and folily haue thei don, for thei be envyouse; and I telle yow trewly that neuer in theire lif hadde thei so grete nede of socour and helpe as thei shull haue er thei come a-gein, and all is thourgh her owne folye." "Merlin," seide the kyng, "telle me who thei be I praye yow." "Sir," quod he, "that oon is Agrauidain des vals de gailore, and the seconde is Mynoras ly engres, and the

sembling at
Salisbury,

and of the
40,000 men
of Ban and
Bohors.
The kings
start up
astonished.

Merlin tells
of Nabulall
and

the young
lord.

The king
Leodogan
will not
come.

Merlin asks
what the
kings were
looking at
when he
came in.
Arthur an-
swers—three
knights.
Merlin says
they are of
the round
table, and
that they
will require
succour;

for they will
fight three of
the queen's
knights,

and the king
should send
to divide
them.

The queen
says send Sir
Ewein, Kay,
and Gifflet.

*[Fol. 202b.]

They go,

and ride at
a great galop.

The three
queen's
knights
alight and
rest.

The three
fellows of
the round
table come
towards
them.

thridde is Monevall; and I lete yow wite that thei ne hadde ride but litill wey er thei shull meete with thre of the queenes knyghtes that shull fight with hem, and therefore yef ye do wisely sendeth after hem, ffor but yef thei be departed ther shull some be deed, and that were grete damage and pite." "Haa? lorde god," quod the kyng, "who shall go hem for to disseuer a-sonder." "Sir," seide the quene, "sir Ewein and kay the stiward, and Gifflet." "Sir," quod Merlin, "the quene seith well, sende hem forth a-noon hastily;" and a-noon the kyng hem cleped and comaunded hem to armen, and thei dide so a-noon right, and whan *thei were redy araide thei com to the kyng, and asked whider thei sholde go, and Merlin bad thei sholde go in to the foreste the streight wey to the crosse, "and ther shull ye finde vj knyghtes fightinge, and loke that ye hem departe;" and whan thei this vndirstode thei wente out of the paleis and toke theire horse delyuerly, and rode a grete walop in haste as thei were comaunded, but er thei were come there were strokes yoven. But now we shull returne to speke of the vj knyghtes how thei haue spedde.

As the storie seith the thre knyghtes of the queenes haue so riden thourgh the foreste that thei haue founde a feire launde, and thei a-light and rested hem on the grene herbes, and Galashin seide to his felowes, "Wolde our lorde god that sir Gawein and his brethern were now here, and we wolde go se the saisnes yef ye wolde assent;" and than seide Dodinell the sauage that it were a shrewe to go, for in this foreste is noon rescettes, and oure horse sholde dyen for the faute and for hungir; and while thei spake of these thinges, com the thre felowes of the rounde table disguised of theire armes, for fayn wolde thei haue be pursued of some of the queenes knyghtes; and Segramor asked of his felowes yef thei knewe hem ought, and thei seide, "Nay," and euer thei come faste on. Than seide Agrauidain to his felowes, "I se yonder soche thre felowes that me wolde for-thinke that thei sholde lede a-wey with hem theire horse hom a-gein." "How so," quod Mynoras, "be not we thre as well as thei;" and while thei spake thus,

the thre knyghtes laced theire helmes that thei hadde don from theire hedes for to take the air; and thei lepte on theire horse, and wolde haue gon theire wey as they thought noon euell, seth that noon hem nought asked; and whan these other thre saugh hem goinge, thei hem a-seried with lowde voice, "Iuste yow be-houeth or elles ye shull vs leve youre horse, and so may ye passe quyte;" and whan Segramor that vndirstode, he turned the heed of his horse and seide, "What be ye than robbours that lyve be soche mysteir, wite it verily whan ye com home to youre hostell to nyght, ye shull have but litill to ete of the wynnynge that ye shull bringe from vs, for we yow diffle." Than thei smyte the horse with the spores that the blode stremed oute on bothe sides, and sette the sheldes be-fore theire brestes and the speres a-gein the assels of theire sadelis; and whan Segramor and his felowes saugh hem come in this maner thei dide the same, and com hem for to mete, and fill so that Segramor and Agrauadain mette with speres a-gein the sheldes so rudely, that thei perced thourgh-oute, and the hauberkes brosten agein the lifte side, and Agrauadain felte the sharpe spere so depe that the blode folowed after; and Agrauadain brake his spere on Segramours hauberke at the same cours, and Segramor that hadde herte I-nough and force shof so harde that he threwe hym to grounde and his horse bothe. But Agrauadain that was wight and delyuer, and full of grete hardynesse, lepte on his feet full lightly and drough his swerde, and appareiled hym self *to diffende, and whan Segramor hadde parformed his cours he drough a litill a-side and sette foot to grounde, and tacched his horse to his spere, and Agravadayns horse ran faste to the wode, and Segramor drough his suerde and dressed his shelde, and com towarde Agravadain a grete spede, and he com for to mete hym vigerously, and smyte grete strokes vpon the helmes, and over all ther thei myght attayne, and so endured the medle of hem longe while; and Segramor seide, "Sir knyght, thow art deed, but thow yelde;" and Agrauadain ansuerde "that to that pointe was he nothings yet comen;" and Segramor seide he sholde come ther-to soner than

The three queen's knights leap on their horses.

The other three cry to them to joust or leave them their horses,

and then they rush on them.

Segramor and his fellows come to meet them.

Segramor throws Agravadain to the ground.

*[Fol. 200a.]

They fight with swords.

Agravadain
gets the
worst in the
fight.

Galasshin
smites Mynor-
as to the
ground.

They fight
with swords.

Dodinell
meets Mone-
vall, and
throws him
to the
ground.

They fight
swor^d in
hand.

The queen's
knights call
to the others
to yield.
Segramor
fells Agrav-
dain.

he wende, and that other ansuerde that right litill he hym douted, and seide he cowde well manace; and Segramor seide that verily it was the maner of a fool, and ther-fore is seide a proverbe, that foles love neuer a thinge till he take the a-coole, and so is it yow be-fallen. Than thei ronne to-geder and fought longe, but Agravadain hadde the werse of the bataile.

On that othir side mette Galasshin and Mynoras, and fill that Mynoras brake his spere vpon Galashyns shelde, and Galashin hym smote with soche vigour vpon the penon of the shelde that he shof the spere thourgh his thigh, and thourgh the horse flanke that thei fill to grounde vpon an heep, and his horse slode also with all foure feet that he also fill to the erthe, but soone was he vpon his feet, and so was Mynoras, and drough theire suerdes, and¹ be-gonne the medle be-twene hem two full grete and fell with all theire power.

And also ran to-geder Dodinell le sauage, and Monevall, and mette with speres wher-of the hedes were sharpe I-grounden that the sheldes were perced and stinte at the hauberkes that were harde, and the speres bothe fly on peces; and in the passinge forth Dodinell hurteled so harde with his shelde and his body that Monevall fill to grounde, but a-noon he a-roos a-gein, for he was hardy and delyuer; and whan Dodinell hadde parformed his cours he returned with swerde drawen, and fonde hym redy hym to diffende. Than he drough a litill a-side and a-light, and com with his suerde in honde gripinge his shelde, and be-gonne to medle and to scirmyssh strongely. Thus faught these vj knyghtes longe from prime to mydday, and the quenes knyghtes be-gonne to gete grounde vpon hem of the rounde table, and somewhat ledde hem at hir volunte; and whan thei saugh hem glenche thei hem ascride, and seide, "Yelde yow;" and thei seide thei hadde lever be deed; and whan thei saugh it wolde noon other be thei ronne vpon hem fiercely, and Segramor saugh that his felowe wolde not yelde, and he lepte to hym lightly, and hitte so Agravadain

¹ The word "and" is repeated in the MS.

on the helme that he slitte it on two partyes, and the coyf of maile that he wounded sore hym in the heed that he fill to grounde all a-stonyed; but he lay not longe, for he doutyd sore a-nother stroke, and covered hym vndir his shelde the beste that he myght, and Dodinell caste a stroke of skirmerye to monevall, and smote hym so harde vpon the arme that he hilde with his shelde, that the shelde fill *to grounde that ner he hadde hym shente; and Galashin smote so Mynoras on the helme that he bente down to the erthe, and fallen hadde he; but as he kepte hym on his handes, and than Galashin hente hym by the helme and raced it of his heed so felliche that nose and browes bledde, and yaf hym soche a buffet with his swerde that he fill flatte to grounde, and than he lepte to and a-ualed the coyf of maile from his heed and seide he wolde smyte it from the sholdres, but he wolde hym yelde outerly; and he seide he wolde it not do in no wise, and Galashin seide than sholde he dye with-oute raunsom.

And while thei demened hem in this maner, com kay the stiwarde, and sir Ewein, and Gifflet the sone of Doo of Cardoell that the kynge hadde sent, but to longe hadde thei taried; ffor Segramor hadde so araied Agrauidain, that he was all couered in blode, and dide but glenche here and there fro oo place to a-nother, and Segramor hym chaced for to take hym a full stroke, and Dodinell hadde his felowe so be-seyn that he hadde nother shelde ne helme on his hede, and dide but glenche for to eschewe the deth, and Galashin helde his felowe at the grounde, and with that oon hande hilde hym by the ventaile, and his swerde in the tother hande redy to smyten of his heed, and in short tyme alle thre sholde haue loste theire lyves; but as sir Ewein, and kay, and Gifflet com walopinge as faste as thei myght, and cried with lowde voice, "I-nough it is, for we se well how it is, and we shull hem plegge of what ye will hem aske;" and Segramor turned toward hem and knewe hem wele, and ansuerde to sir Ewein, "Sir, gladly for more wolde I do for yow than this a-mounteth;" and in the same wise seide Galashin and Dodinell, and lefte hem with that, and these com

Dodinell
strikes
Monevall.

*[Fol. 203b.]

Galashin
fells Myn-
oras.

Kay, Ewein,
and Gifflet
come to the
fight.

Agrauidain
is covered
with blood.

Monevall
has neither
shield nor
helm.
Galashin is
about to
smite off
Mynoras's
head,

when Ewein,
Kay, and
Gifflet come
galloping
to them.

They blame
the queen's
knights,
but Segra-
mor says the
others began
the fight.

to hem and blamed hem for that thei hadde be-gonne soche folye; and Segramor ansuerde hastely, and seide, "How so, my lorde, sir Ewein haue we vs so mys-taken whan of these thre vassals we haue rescewed oure horse, that thei wolde vs haue be-refte. Nay than hadde we be more shame-worthi yef thei hadde hem taken be force, ffor than sholde we neuer haue hadde honour in no place that we hadde comen, and full euell sholde he diffende his felowe that dar not diffende his owne thinge."

Ewein says
they mean
no evil.

"Ha," quod Ewein, "thei dide it for noon euell ne for no felonye that thei wolde yow haue don, but pleide with yow;" and Galashin be-gan to laugh vnder his helme, ffor he aparceiued be that sir Ewein seide that thei were of the companye of the rounde table, and Dodinell seide that "blissed be soche play, and hem that it be-gynne, for so shull we well lerne."

Ewein says
they must
repair to
court.

"**L**ete be these wordes," quod sir Ewein, "and take youre horse, and lete vs repire hom to the Court, ffor ther is noon so myghty ne puyssaunt that ne shall haue I-nough bataile with-ynne these vj monethes;" with that these thre knyghtes be lepte on their horse, but the tother thre be trist and dolent. Than Segramor asked of sir Ewein what *thei thre weren. "What," quod sir Ewein, "ne knowe ye hem nought." "So moche ought thei haue the more damage;" "wite it verily," quod Ewein, "that these with whom ye haue foughten it is Agravadain des vaus de gailore and felowe of the rounde table;" and Segramor seide he knewe hym not, "but seth it is so be-fallen I may no more do." "And Galashin hath foughten with mynoras." "What," quod Galashin, "Mynoras be that ye, so helpe me god ye haue yow to moche mystake a-gein vs whan that ye knewe vs well, and com vpon vs with-oute oure knowinge of yow." Than Dodinell drough hym to monevall, and asked hym what he was; "ffor," quod he, "I will here it of youre mouthe." And he seide in bas voice, "I am monevall." "Ye be-gan the foly," quod Dodinell, "and seth ye folye haue sought, folie haue ye founden, and therfore may ye seye verily that ther nys noon so moche a fole but he may finde his felowe." "Now lete be all this," seide kay, "for thus

*[Fol. 204a.]
Segramor
asks what
the three
knights are.
Ewein tells
them.

Dodinell
asks Mone-
vall who he
is.

shull the knyghtes of the rounde table go to a-venge the deth of the wrenne;" and than be-gonne thei all to laughe saue the thre that were hurte sore, ffor thei hadde no talent to laugh; ffor thei were shamefast and mate for that was hem be-fallen; and forth thei riden to-geder alle ix till thei com to the court at logres, and the thre wente to their hosteles hem to vn-arme, ffor thei hadde nede of reste, and the tothere vj wente to court and fond the thre kynges, and the quene, and Merlin that yet were at the wyndowes of the paleys, and spake with Merlin, for longe hadde thei hym not seyn; and the vj knyghtes wente in to a chamber hem to vn-arme; and whan thei were vn-armed sir Ewein com to the kyng, and as soone as the Quene hym saugh, she seide, "Sir, telle vs of youre tidinges." "Madame," quod Ewein, "men may telle I-nowe." Than he be-gan to telle how he hadde founde the vj knyghtes fightinge, and the kyng asked whiche hadde the werse; and he tolde hem all euen as it was, and the scorn that kay hem yaf, and Dodinell and Segramor ther-at lowen faste I-nough, but sone thei lefte the wordes, for thei saugh the kyng pensif and dolent; and Merlin stode forth and seide, "Wite ye why is this discorde be-twene the knyghtes of the rounde table, and the quenes knyghtes; wetith it well," quod Merlin, "that it is but enuye that the ton hath a-gein the tother, and therfor thei will preve to-geder theire prowesses;" and thei asked whiche were the beste knyghtes owther the rounde table or the Quenes knyghtes, and the kyng seide that thei were all the Quenes, ffor the rounde table wente all by hir; and than the kyng Ban seide "that the beste myght soone be chosen, for it is my lorde, sir Gawein," and thei seide all how it was trewe; and the kyng seide that he sholde hem companye with the rounde table as soone as thei were come a-gein; and Merlin seide that sholde not be by-fore that the saisnes were chaced oute, and than thei lefte the tales and wente to mete, and after mete a-noon the kyng sent his messages thourgh the londe *to alle hem that were his men that eny armes myght bere that thei sholde come to hym araied, for to diffende the londe and mete with hym

They all
laugh but
the three
who are
hurt.

The six come
to the court.
The other
three go to
their hostels.

The six
knights un-
arm and
come to the
king.

Ewein tells
how he
found them
fighting.

Merlin
speaks of the
envy be-
tween the
knights of
the round
table and
the queen's
knights.

Sir Gawein
is the best
knight.

*[Fol. 204b.]
The king
sends mes-
sages
through the

land for all
who bear
arms to come
to him.

Arthur, Ban,
Bohors, and
Merlin go to
the three
knights of
the round
table.

The king
blames them.

They say
they will be
well in eight
days.

The king
tells them to
follow him to
Salisbury.

The knights
of the round
table want to
tourney with
the queen's
knights;

but the
queen prays
them not to
speak of it.

The king
commands
all to make
ready to
start on the
morrow for
Salisbury.

upon the playn of Salisbery, and that there-of thei sholde make no delay.

Thus sente the kyng his messages thourgh all the londe, and a-noon as thei were fro hym departed, the kyng Arthur toke the kyng Ban, and the kyng Bohors, and Merlin, and seide, "Lete vs go se oure felowes that be seke;" and thei wente a-noon, and with hem many a knyght; and whan thei wiste it was the kyng thei wolde haue risen to haue gon a-geins hym; but the kyng hem so surprised that he wolde not suffre hem to a-rise, and blamed hem for the folye that thei hadde don; and thei seide thei myght hem not with-holde, and thei wiste not how it com, and than the kyng delyuered hem leches to couer theire woundes; and they bad the kyng be not dismayed, for with-ynne viij dayes thei sholde be hooll and sounde, so that thei myght bere armes and ride at hir own will; and than the kyng comaunded hem to god, and seide to hem at his departinge that as soone as thei were hooll thei sholde come after hym to playns of Salisbery, "ffor I go now," quod the kyng, "and ther shall be moche peple and grete assemble." With that the kyng departed, and com in to the halle, and fonde knyghtes I-nowe that wolde haue sette a turnement as many for as many a-gein the Quenes knyghtes, for that sir Gawein was not there, and for to a-venge theire felowes that were wounded; and the quene hem diffended, and seide that thei spake a-boute nought, ffor neuer shall ye haue turnement oon agein another, and ther-fore I pray yow for the feith that ye owe to my lorde and me, that neuer, ye ther-of speke till that I comaunde;" and they seiden that neuer more wolde thei speke ther-of seth that she dide it comaunde, and at euensonge tyme the kyng comaunded that alle men sholde hem appareile on horse bakke, and on foote alle that myght armes bere, ffor on the morowe erly wolde he ride toward the plain of Salisbery, where-as the comounte of the peple sholde assemble; and as soone as the kyng hadde comaunded, thei made hem redy in the beste wise thei myght fo[r] to go on that grete nede: knyght, and squyer, and burgeise; and than a-roos soche brut and soche

noyse thourgh the town that men myght haue herde it half a myle, and on the morowe com the kyng Ban and the kyng Bohors, and the kyng Arthur, and the quene, and alle that euer ther were assembled rode forth v dayes hool er thei com to the plain of Salesbiry, ffor thei made but smale iourneyes; and whan thei were come, thei loigge a-monge theire owne peple, and kay the stiward hadde brought the grete baner wherof the champe was white as snowe, and the dragon was a-boue the crosse, ffor thus comaunded Merlin; and whan the kinge was loged he ledde his companye in grete myrthe and ioye, and a-bode ther the Princes, and the peple com on alle parties out of many a contre.

*Renomee that thourgh the worlde renneth wente so thourgh the contrey, that the saignes it wisten by theire espies, that thei hadde thourgh the contrey, that brought tidinges to the sege at Clarence, that the peple of the londe and the contrey assembleden on the playns of Salesbiry, but thei knewe not whiche wey thei sholde ride; and the kyng hardogabran sente for his xix kynges, and thei com to hym a-noon, and than he tolde to hem his aspies hadde hym brought tidinges how the cristin made assemble in the plain of Salisbiry, and therfore he asked her counseile; and thei seide it were best to wacche well her hoste bothe be day and be nyght that thei were not surprised in slepinge, ffor by day light hadde thei no drede of all the peple of the londe, ffor thei hadde so grete multitude of peple that thei thought noon myght a-gein hem endure. But for all that seide thei "we rede that alle oure peple holde, and we holde vs to-geder, and that noon go no more on forrey fro hens-forth with-oute xxx^M men at armes, or mo, so that yef thei be mette that thei be not founde oute of aray, and ye knowe well that in all this londe that is so longe and brode is not the fourthe part of peple that we haue," and in the fin thei acorded to this counseile that thei sholde alle holde hem to-geder and make gode wacche; and than repaired the xix kynges to theire tentes, and so departed in soche maner and appareiled hem full well, and comaunded alle hem that

A great noise
rises in the
town.

They ride
forth to
Salesbiry.

Kay bears
the banner.

The princes
abide with
King Arthur.

[Fol. 205a.]
The Saxons
learn the
tidings from
their spies.

Hardogabran
sends for 19
kings.

They counsel
to watch the
host;

and that
none go out
without
30,000 men.

The kings
depart to
their tents.

The siege of
Valdesbiry is
raised.

were vnther theire Iustice, that eche man sholde euer be redy and make goode wacche; and thei lete this be knownen at the sege of Valdesbiry, and made hem alle to leve the sege, and com alle to the sege be-fore Clarence, and so ther was so grete assemble and so huge that the sege aboute the Cite dured v myle of lengthe, and the herberowes lasted fer. But now lete vs leve the saisnes, and telle how the princes com to the playn of Salesbiry oon after another eche by hym-self.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PARLIAMENT OF THE PRINCES AT SALISBURY; THEIR HOMAGE TO ARTHUR;
AND DEFEAT OF THE SAXONS.

The princes
that come to
Salesbiry are

Duke Escam,

King Tradily-
lyvans.

King de Cent
Chivalers,

King Clarion,

*[Fol. 205b.]
King Bely-
nans, the
father of
Dodinell,

Here seith the storye that so spedde hem the Princes after the Parliament that was take of the trewys that thei be meved to come towarde the plain of Salesbiry wele appareiled as soche myghty princes ought for to do; the firste prince that com in to the plain of Salesbiry was the Duke Escam of Cambenyk, and brought in his companye vij^M men of armes well a-raied of alle maner thinges, and thei hem loigged streite and clos to-geder, and renged in tentes and pavelouns; after that com the kyng Tradilyuans of North-walys with vj^M men of armes vpon stedis of pris, for thei hadde a riche contrey and a plentevous of alle godes, and thei loigged hem next the Duke Escam vpon the playn; after hym com the kyng de Cent chivalers with x^M men wele a-raied, and loigged next after; and than com the kyng Clarion of Northumbirlonde that was a feire knyght, and a wise and bolde and hardy, and in his companye viij^M men, and hem dide condite with a baner as white as snowe ther-in a reade crosse, and soche baners hadde all thei that com thider, and these hem loigged; after hym com the kyng Belynans of South walis that was brother to kyng Tradilyuaunt, and with hym x^M men, and he hadde grete desire to se his sone Dodinell le sauage that he loved so

well, and loigged hym by the kynge Clarion that was so gentill and curteise. After hym com the kynge Carados of Strangore that was a felowe of the rounde table of hem that were firste founded; but after the discorde fill be-twene Arthur and the princes neuer after wolde he be at the rounde table; and he brought with hym x^M men, and loigged hym by the kynge Belynans that was a good man; and than he asked yef the kynge Arthur were come, ffor hym thought longe to se his thre newewes that were with Arthur, and that oon was Aglins des vauz, and the tother kay destranx and the thridde kehedin le petitz; but at that tyme was not the kynge Arthur I-comen, but he taried not longe after; and after the kynge Carados com the kynge Brangores, and brought in his companye x^M men, and loigged hym by the kynge Carados, and sore he desired to se hys wifes newew that was in the court of kynge Arthur, ffor that he herde hym preised and comended of merveilouse bewte and valour, and his name was Segramor of Costantynoble; after the kynge Brangore com Mynoras the Senescall of the kynge lak of the grete ynde that the kynge lak hadde sente only for the love of god for to haue the pardon that the legat hadde graunted and proclaymed thourgh all cristindom, and brought in his companye vij^M men well araied; after hym com the kynge Pelles of lytenoys with vj^M men that his stiward brought for the love of oure lorde, and thei were richely armed and horsed, and hem dide condite Pellynaus the stiwarde that was a full proude knyght, and he hym loged next Mynoras; after hym com the Senescall of the kynge Pellynour of the waste londes, and he brought vj^M men that the kynge Pellynour sente for the love of Ihesu Criste, and loigged by the peple of kynge Pellynaus; after hym com the Senescall of the kynge Alein of the forayn londes that was brother to the kynge Pellynour, and he brought vj^M men, and loigged hym by the peple of kynge Pellynour; after hym com Galehaut, the sone of the feire Geaunt that was lorde of the fer oute ylles, and brought in his companye x^M men, and he com only for the love of Ihesu crist; after hym com Aguygneron, a merveilouse knyght, and

King
Carados,who asks for
his three
nephews.King Bran-
gores,Mynoras the
Senescall,King Pelles
of Lytenoys,Pellynaus
the steward,The Senescall
of Pellynour.The Senescall
of Alien,

Galehaut,

Aguygneron

was Senescall to Clameden the kynge of the yles ; and this kynge sente thider vj^M men for the love of Ihesu criste, and he
 KingCleolas, loigged next Galehaut ; after hym com the kynge Cleolas that after was cleped the firste conquered kynge, and in his company vj^M men, and he loigged next Aguygueron, the Senescall of Clamedien. But this kynge Cleolas hadde but litill tyme be
 who leaves from sick-ness. ther whan hym be-hoved to go thens for grete sekenesse, and lefte his peple to Guyonce his Senescall that was a goode man and a noble knyght ; after hym com the Senescall of Sorloys for the love of god only, and with hym vj^M men, and his name
 Margoundes. was Margoundes, and he loigged hym by the Duke Belyas ; and
 * [Fol. 206a.] King Arthur comes. Merlin says he ought to give thanks to God. than *com the kynge Arthur and hym loigged ; and Merlin com to hym, and seide in counseile, " Sir, now be-holde what oure lorde doth for yow, and for to saue youre peple, moche ought ye hym honoure and yelde graces with goode herte whan he thus you socoured and helpeth in soche nede." " Merlin," quod the kynge, " oure lorde foryeteth not his Synner ; and he hath [shewed] me yet hidyr-to that he hath me not for-yeten, and yet I truste to his mercy he will shewe me better than he hath don yet, ffor I haue in hym full by-leve, and all my truste, In so moche that I putt [me] in his volunte whiche for his grete mercy and pite haue me in his kepinge bothe body and soule."
 Arthur says he trusts in God. " The goode by-leve," quod Merlin, " that ye haue in oure lorde Jhesu, hath yow moche a-vailed and yet shall ther-of haue ye no doute, wherfore I rede yow kepe stedfastly in that purpos while ye lyve, ffor while ye be in godes purpos shull ye haue the victorie of your enmyes." " Merlin," quod the kynge, " I be-seche oure lorde suffre me neuer to departe fro his creaunce, but that I may holde it in soche maner that I yelde hym my soule whan it shall departe from the body ;" and Merlin seide, " Amen. But now moste ye take goode hede [how] ye shull yow demene a-gein this baronye that is here assembled for to diffende the cristin feith, and to chace this mysbelevinge peple oute of youre londe." " Merlin," quod the kynge, " I will do euen in all thinge as ye will counseile, for with-oute yow I can nought do, and therefore I

Merlin says as long as he believes in God, he shall have victory over his enemies.

Arthur will do what Merlin counsels him.

putte me in god and in yow." "Sir," seide Merlin, "I wolde ye dide ioy and honour these lordes that here be assembled to diffende youre reame, and goth to theire tentes eche by hymself, and thanke hem for the socour that thei haue brought; and in speciall hem that of yow nothings holden ne be not youre men, but beth come in reverence and worshippe of god; ffor neuer shewde oure lorde so grete honour to no prince, ffor ther is no kynge born that euer assemblede so feire a companye wher-ynne were so many noble men and goode knyghtes. Ne neuer ther shall be so many goode knyghtes togeder assembled be-fore that the fader shall sle the sone and the sone the fader, and that shall be in this same place, and to hym shall remayne the londe of the grete breteigne with-uten lorde, and with-uten heir." Whan the kynge herde Merlin so speke, that in the same place the fader sholde sle the sone, and the sone sle the fader, and the londe of the grete breteigne a-bide with-uten heir and lordles, he hym prayed and requyred to telle a partye of that more clerly to his vndirstondinge; and Merlin seide it was not to be seide, "but I shall telle yow so moche after this iourney shall come the lyon vn-crowned, and bringe with hym foure lyouns wher-of tweyne shall be crowned, and the thirdd is with-oute crowne; these shall devoure the shrewde ligne of the reame of logres. But aske me no more," quod Merlin, "but goth to the barouns as I haue yow seide." "I shall so with goode chere," seide the kynge.

* **A** noon the kynge lepe on his horse and ledde with hym the kynge Ban of benoyk, and the kynge Bohors of Gannes, and kay, and Segramor, and Ewein, and Galashin, and Galescoude, and Merlin. These ix com to the lordes to theire tentes, and whan thei knewe the comynge of kynge Arthur, thei com oute of theire tentes to mete hym, and the kynge and his companye a-light on foote, and salewed hem alle eche by hymself, and thanked hem hertely of that thei were come to helpe hym in that grete nede a-gein the saisnes that thourgh theire vntrouth and felonye hadde distroied his londe, and haue also disire to distroie all cristin peple.

He is to go to the tents of the lords, and thank them for their succour.

There shall never be so many good knights assembled till the father slay the son, and the son the father.

The king asks for an explanation.

*[Fol. 206b.] The king goes to the tents of the lords.

He thanks them.

The lords
say they
have come
to help holy
church.

“Sir,” seide the lordes, “thei shall neuer haue ther-to power ne force, ffor to helpe holy chirche, and yow to diffende we be come and here assembled, and we will put oure bodyes in auenture of deth for to encrease holy chirche and the cristin feith to mayntene, and be the grace of oure lorde we shall do so moche er we departe oute of youre companye that holy cherche shall haue the victorie, and the saisnes shall haue the shame and the damage, and we will that ye wete that we be not youre men, ne neuer we hilde nought of yow, but we be come propirly for the love of god, and for to diffende holy chirche.” “God yow quyte,” seide the kynge Arthur, “in whos honour and reuerence ye it don, and bringe yow alle wele to youre repeire as he is al-mychty.” “Amen,” seide the lordes, “and be it so as ye wolde.” Now reste a-while of Arthur and Merlin, and of the straunge lordes that be come hym for to helpe, and I shall telle yow of the xij princes that be alle assembled at the tente of kynge looth.

The twelve
princes go to
thank the
straunge
princes.

Whan the xij princes were come in to the plain of Salisbury, they wente alle to thanke the straunge princes of that thei were come for to diffende the londe from the hethen peple for the love of oure lorde god, and whan thei hadde this don, thei assembled alle at the tente of kynge looth, and satte down on a cowche that was covered with a cloth of silke, and spake of oo thinge and othir, and while thei were thus sette, entrid Merlin in to the tente, and as soone as thei saugh hym come, thei a-ros alle and wente to mete hym, and seide he was welcome; and he preide god yewe hem good a-uenture and grace to do so that it myght be savacion to theire soules, and honour to theire soules, and honour to theire bodyes; and that by hem myght holy chirche be diffended and caste oute of the power of her enmyes that by force were entred, “and it shall be mayntened, but yef it reste in yowre deffaute.” “In vs,” seide the Barons, “shall no defaute be founden, for we be come hider it to diffende.” “Trewly,” seide Merlyn, “the damage is full grete, but it is so be-falle that bothe prevy and straunge be here assembled for othinge and for oquarell, and

They assem-
ble at Looth's
tent.

Merlin comes
to them.

He prays
God that
they may
have good
success.

well ought ye be reson a grete mater to bringe to ende be so that ye be of oon acorde, and of oon will, ffor other-wise may ye not spede, and good it were that ther were pees be-twene yow and my lorde the kynge Arthur which ought to be youre lorde, and so sholde ye be the more dredde and doutyd thourgh euery londe."

* **A**t this worde stode vp the kynge looth of Orcanye, and seide, "Lordes, Merlin seith wele, ffor it were grete honour to god and the worlde at this pointe, yef ye wolde acorde yow with hym." With these wordes the kynge Vrien a-roos full wroth, and stode vpon his feet full angry, and seide to the kynge looth, "Ye haue made vs to com hider by trewys till we hadde distroied the saisnes and chaced oute of the contrey, and than yef it were oure honour than myght we do as our hertes vs bar, and ye now wolde vs meue with other materes and tales other weyes, and ther-fore we pray yow and requyre speke no more ther-of; ffor as for me I shall it neuer do. I wote neuer what these other will do, but yef thei it ought do I shall sey thei be for-sworn a-gein me." "Certes," seide the kynge Ventres, "I will not be¹ for-sworn, for I will not do with-oute youre counseile;" and so seide alle the other, and ther-fore was the kynge looth full wroth, but he moste nede suffre, and so he seide no more at that tyme; and Merlin be-gan to smyle and seide, "Ffeire lordes, be not wroth ne angry, for the wratthe were nothinge good at this tyme."

While thei entended a-boute this talkinge, com the kynge Arthur, and the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and the straunge princes with hem, and saugh the xij princes that were at the teinte of kynge looth; and as soone as the kynge looth hym saugh, he lepe on his feet and seide, "Lo, here cometh my lorde;" and a-noon the princes hem dressed in honour and reuerence to hym, for that he was a kynge sacred and a-noynted; and the kynge Arthur that was full curteise and wise, and wele knewe what was for to do, hath hem

They will not speed well if they are not agreed.

*[Fol. 207a.] Looth stands up and urges them to be at peace with Arthur. Vrien rises very wroth,

and says he will never agree with Arthur.

Ventres and all the others agree with Vrien.

Looth is wroth.

Arthur, Ban, Bohors, and the strange princes come to the twelve princes,

who do reverence to Arthur.

¹ The word "be" is repeated in the MS.

Arthur sits
on Looth's
couch,

and addresse
them.

Looth says
they must do
Merlin's
command-
ment.

*[Fol. 207b.]
Arthur re-
pairs to his
tent.

Merlin says
the princes
should rest.

and go to-
wards Clare-
nce on
Monday.

The kings
agrec.

salewed first er thei were alle risen vp, and seide, "Welcome was al the companye;" and thei ansuerde alle attounys that god yeve hym goode a-nenture and alle his companye, and than he satte down vpon the kynge loothis cowche; and the kynge Arthur made hem alle to sitte down by hym as he that was the curteisest man of the worlde and beste taught; and than he seide, "Feire lordinges, I thanke yow alle hertely that ye be come hider at this tyme as I haue yow required for the profite of holy chirche, and the peple and youre londes to diffende, and warant a-gein the felon saisnes that haue a grete parte brente and distroide, and our peple slain and maymed, and for that ye be come at my request, I thanke yow hertely alle, and goode it were yow to a-raye in soche maner that we were not surprised ne blamed. Ne that the saisnes may not sein a-monge theym that thei haue vs founde foles ne musardea." "Sir," seide the kynge looth, "as of apparailinge be-hoveth Merlyn to devise, ffor he shall comaunde, and we shull do his comaundement; ffor he knoweth better what we shull do than we knowe oure-self;" and the princes seide that ther-to acorde thei well, and so thei putte the rule all to Merlin, and ther-with lefte the speche; and the kynge *Arthur repeed hem to his teinte, and alle the princes hym conveyed bothe prive and straunge, and after eche of hem repeed to his pavelon; and the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and Merlin entred in to the chambre of Arthurs Pavelon, and than seide Merlin in counseile, "Ffeire lordes, these peple that be comen here ben wery of traueile, ffor some ther be that be come right ferre, and thei haue nede of reste and ese, and therfore will I that thei reste to-day and to-morowe, and on monday by goode distyne we shall meve alle to go towarde Clarence, for ther is the moste plente of saisnes, ffor thei that were at the sege of Valdisbery be ther alle assembled, and I shall do every prince to wite by hym-self that thei be appareilled the same day to meve and to go vpon theire enmyes." To this counseile called the thre kynges sir Gawein with hem, and seiden alle be it so in the honour of Ihesu criste and his moder Marie, and than

thei departed from this counseile, and com to the maister pavelon and ther a-bide. Than com Elizer, Gawains squyer and kneled down be-fore sir Gawein, and seide, "Sir, I am come oute of lytenoys, and lefte the kynge Pelles my fader for to seehe yow, and by the will of oure lorde I fonde yow in soche place that but god hadde sente yow thider I moste haue ben deed; but the grete prowessse of yow rescowed me from the saisnes that me wolde haue putte to deth, and ther-fore I knowe well that the renomee that renneth of yow thourgh the worlde is trewe, and I knowe also verily that of a more worthi man than ye myght I not take my garnementes wher-fore I pray yow and requyre of youre grete fraunchise that ye make me knyght. So that I may prove my firste chivalrye vpon these false mysbelevinge peple that thus desire for to destroye holy chirche, ffor I shall neuer be knyght of all my lif tyme, but I it resceyve of youre hande, and ye it me promysed the firste day that I yow saugh that ye shull me yeve armes at my request, and I yow require be-fore my lorde the kynge youre vncle that is here be-fore this baronye." Whan sir Gawein saugh Elizer his squyer be-fore hym on his kne, he a-reised hym vp be the armes, and seide swetely, "Dere frende, I graunte youre request, ffor ye be full digne to resceyve the ordre of chivalrie, and ther-fore all youre will shall be performed." "Sir," seide the yonge lorde, "gramercy." Than sir Gawein be-helde and saugh Gaheries his brother, and seide, "Feire brother, do ordeyne me armes soche as is a fieraunt for a kynges sone, and to so noble and worthi a man as is this." "What is he than feire nevewe," seide Arthur. "Sir," seide Gawein, "it is the sone of kynge Pelles of lytenoys, and is nevewe to the kyngs pellenor and to the kynge Alain, and wite ye well yef he lyve he shall be oon of the beste knyghtes of the worlde." Than he tolde the kynge of the grete occision and the merveile that he hadde sein hym do of the saisnes; and whan the kynge it herde he hadde grete wonder how so yonge a childe myght endure so grete dede of armes, and the two kynges ther-of were gretly astonyed; and the kynge Arthur

Elizer comes
and kneels to
Gawein,

and asks to
be made a
knight.

Gawein
raises him,

and asks Ga-
heries to get
him arms fit
for a king's
son.

Arthur asks
who he is.

and wonders
to hear of his
deeds.
Arthur com-
mands Gahe-
ries to bring

*[Fol. 208a.]
the richest
arms in his
coffers.

Lydonas
brings Eli-
zer's arms.

His hauberk
is strong and
light.

Gawein arms
Elizer, and
Gaheries
helps him.

Sir Gawein
gives him
the embrace.

Gueheret
and Gaheries
take Elizer
to the chapel
to watch.

On the mor-
row Elizer
sits between
Ban and Bo-
hors.
They raise a
quintain.

Elizer does
well.

comaunded to *Gaheries that he sholde do be brought the richest armes that myght be founde in his cofers, "and the beste swerde after myn owne." "Sir," seide Elizer, "I haue armes and horse and al thinge that is to me mystier." Than he cleped lydonas his squyer and badde hym bringe his armes that his fader hadde hym yoven, and lydonas dide his comaundement as he that was ioifull and Gladde, and brought hem be-fore the kynge and the other barouns that hem be-hielde for merveile, ffor thei were alle white saf a bende of golde enbelynk, and his hauberke was stronge and well holdinge of double mayle. And ther-to it was so light that a childe of ix yere myght it bere, and arthur preysed it moche, and the other barouns whan thei it saugh; and sir Gawein armed Elizer, and Gaheries dide hym helpe, and dide on his hauberk that was of grete bounte that in all the hoste was not the pareile. Than thei laced his aventaille that was as white as snowe, and whan he was all apareiled, sir Gawein dide on his right spore and girde his swerde on his side, and Gaheries dide on his lefte spore; and whan he was thus araied sir Gawein yaf hym the a-colee, and seide full debonerly as he that was the moste deboner knyght of the worlde. "Holde, feire swete frende, and resceyve the ordre of chivalrie in the name of Ihesu crist our savioure, that in soche maner lete yow it mayntene that it be to the profite of holy cherche and youre honoure." "Sir," seide Elizer, "so graunte me oure lorde to his pleisier."

Whan sir Gawein hadde a-doubbed Elizer, the sone of kynge pelles of lytenoys, and toke hym a-noon Guehet a Gaheries, and ledde hym in to the kynges chapell for to wake, and thei bar hym companye till on the morowe that thei hadde herde masse; and than thei returned to the court of kynge Arthur that made grete ioie to Elizer; ffor he satte that day at the kynges table be-twene the kynge Ban and the kynge Bohors, and after mete their dide reise a quyntayn on the plain, and these yonge bachelers yede hem to prove, and so dide the knyghtes of the rounde table and other, and that day was many feire strokes yoven with speres; and Elizer dide so well that

moche was he comended, and seide neuer hadde the[i] sein a feirer Iusters with spere; and the knyghtes of the rounde table wolde gladly haue taken a turnement a-gein other straunge knyghtes that were come in the hoste; but the kynge Arthur wolde it not suffre, for he doutet that some sholde ben hurt, and therefore was it lefte, and repeired hem to their teintes gladd and myry.

Then com Merlin to the kynge Arthur, and seide, "Sir, ther is no more but euery man hym appareile and make redy, for to morowe erly be-houeth vs to meve, and loke that ye lete noon knowe whiche wey ye shull ride; but folowe me ouerall whider that I shall yow lede, and so shall I sey to alle the princes that thei be redy at the poynte of day for to ride." "Merlin," seide the kynge, "all be it at youre volunte, ffor I putt me all hooll in god and yow;" and than wente Merlin to the pavelons of the princes, and tolde oon after *another in counseile to be redy to ride erly on the morowe, and thei lete trusse teintes and pavilouns and alle her other harneys and cartes, and charietes, and somers, cofers, and malis, and lepe armed vpon their stedes as hir bodyes to diffende and her enmyes to assaile, saf only of sheldes, and speres, and helmes that thei made their squyers bere be-fore, and made the baners to be bore all white, and eche hadde a reade crosse in the myddell, and so hadde Merlin comaunded to all the princes at the be-gynnyng of their comyng; and Merlin rode on a grete grey courser and bar the baner of kynge Arthur be-fore all the hoste, and thus thei departed alle in this maner from the playn of Salisbiry, and wente alle as Merlin dide hem gide the streight wey toward Clarence, that the kinge hardogobrand hadde be-seged and with hym xix kynges that alle his londe hadde environed, and he hadde sente his forriours thu[r]gh the londe a xx myle or xxx that distroied and wasted the contrey; and a partie of the forreyours com by the Cite of Garlot that was the Chief forteresse of the kynge ventre, and were in that compaignye foure myghty kynges, and with hem grete plente of saisnes that hadde sesed prayes by strengthe,

The knights of the round table wish for a tournament.

Merlin comes to Arthur, and says it is time to make ready.

He goes to the princes. *[Fol. 208b.]

He bears the banner of King Arthur. They depart to Clarence.

The Saxon foragers come by Garlot.

and do great
damage to
the people of
the town.

The queen
has great
dread,

and takes
counsel of
her steward.

They go out
at midnight
with two
squires.
The Saxons
take the
queen and
kill the
steward.

The squires
come to the
host that
Merlin leads.

*[Fol. 209a.]
They tell
what has be-
fallen them.

Merlin calls
out for the
host to fol-
low him.

and hadde do grete harme in the contrey and in esspecial to hem of the town, ffor thei were come oute to hem to bataille for to rescowe the pray, and ther was grete slaughter of oon and other, but thei of Garlot myght not endure, ffor ther were of the saisnes grete force, so that thei of the town loste the pray and theire horse, and the moste parte of theire chivalrie; and the foure kynges swor that thei wolde neuer departe thens er thei hadde take the town, and the Quene that was withynne saugh the sege leide, and hadde grete drede to be taken by force, and toke counseile of hir stiward what were beste for hir to do, and hir stiward yaf hir counseile to go oute by nyght thei tweyne sooll by hem-self, by a posterne that opened a-gein the river, and sholde go to a-nother place of theires that was thens vj myle, that was cleped the rescouse, for that Vortiger was rescowed whan Aungis the saisne was slain and chased oute of the place.

Euen as the quene and the stiward hadde devised thei diden, ffor thei wente oute a-boute mydnyght, and hadde no mo in her companye but two squyers. But the saisnes that were maliciouse hadde sette espies on euery side of the town, and so was the Quene taken and the stiward slain, wherof was grete harme, and the squyers fledden, and were wounded sore, ffor that oon was smyten thourgh the body with a spere, and the tother on the heed with a swerde, and so thei wente as a-uenture hem brought to the hoste that Merlin ledde, and thei stinte neuer of goinge till thei herde hem a foure myle from Garlot; and whan the squyers saugh the comynge of the hoste and parceyved the white baners with the reade crosses, thei knewe wele that thei were cristin and dressed hem that wey, and made the grettest dolour of the worlde; and whan Merlin, that com all be-fore, herde hem make soche doell, he asked hem what thei eiled, and thei hym tolde all *as was be-fallen, and how the saisnes ledde a-wey the Quene, "and whiche wey wente thei," seide Merlin. "Sir," seide thei, "she is yet in the hoste, but the pray goth by the cauchie;" and Merlin cried, "Sewe me, ffor the Quene shall thei not lede yef god will."

Than he spored his horse and sir Gawein after, and Elizer, and the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors his brother, and ech had in his hande a stronge spere, and leonce of Paierne condited the peple of Benoyk; and Dionas theym of Gannes, and Gracien hem of Orcanye, and Dorilas condited the peple of kynge Ventre, and the other batailes com alle in ordre, and Merlin rode so till that he com do[w]nward of an hill, and than they saugh the pray that passed at the bregge, and ther were well a foure thousande saisnes; and whan Gawein saugh hem come, he seide now may we a-bide to longe. Than he spored the Gringalet, and than seide Elizer, "Sir, suffre and a-bide for guerdon of my seruise and for all frendship, and graunte me the firste stroke of the bateile, ffor I entred neuer in to no stour seth I was knyght." "And I it yow graunte," quod sir Gawein, all in laughynge, "for in yow it is right well employde."

With that Elizer hem a-scride, and seide, "Lete be the pray, ffor ye shall it no farther lede;" and than com Dioglus that was the stiward of the kynge Magloras, and turned the heed of his horse, and he and Elizer mette with speres vpon the sheldes so harde that thei perced vpon the bokeles, and Dioglus brake his spere, and Elizer hym smote so harde that he shof the spere thourgh the breste, and caste hym down deed to the erthe, and his spere ther-with fly in peces. Than he drough his swerde and launced in a-monge the other that sore hem peyned to passe the pray, and smote so Antidolus that was stiward to the kynge Brandon that he slitte hym down to the teth; and Gawein seide to Merlin that he hadde wele be-gonne as of a newe knyght. "Ye," quod Merlin, "yet shall he do better." With that Merlin cried the signe of kynge Arthur, and than spronge forth Gawein and his companye a-monge the forreyours that many were ther slain and wounded; and thei be-hoved to forsake place and fledde toward Garlot where the kynge Magloras was, and the kynge Brandon, and the kynge Pynsonars, and the kynge Pignores that right vigerously assailed the Castell, and thei were full wroth whan thei saugh her men com fleinge, and lefte the assaut and com to theym that

Sir Gawein and the others do as he bids them.

They come to four thousand Saxons.

Elizer asks Gawein to let him give the first stroke.

Elizer calls out.

He meets Dioglus and kills him.

He smites Antidolus.

Gawein and his company spring among the foragers, who fly.

The Saxon kings come to the host,

and slay
horse and
men.

*[Fol. 209b].

Brandon and
Pyncenars
do great mar-
veils.

Pignores
calls forty
Saxons to
lead the
queen to
Clarence.

fledde; and whan thei saugh the hoste comynge thei merveiled fro whens so moche peple myght come. Neuertheles thei sette in a-monge hem for thei were moche peple and stronge, and the cristin hem reseceyved full fiercely, and made the saianes for to resorte a-gein a spere lengthe; and whan the foure kynges that were hethen saugh sir Gawein and the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and Elizer make of her men so grete slaughter, thei ascride her men, and be-gonne to sle horse, and men, and knyghtes as thei were wode, ffor thei were Geauntes, and the strengest peple of the worlde; and thei made the peple of kynge Ban and kynge Bohors to blush vpon the peple of kynge Ventre, and vpon the bateile of the Duke Escam of Cambenyk, and ther *suffred sir Gawein, and the kynge Ban, and his brother, and Elizer many sharpe strokes, and full sore were thei greved; and whan these two bateiles were come on, ther myght men se merveiles don of armes, and sore were the saianes greved at that enuay, ffor many there were of hem leide to the grounde. But the kynge Brandon and the kynge Pyncenars dide grete merveiles bothe with theire bodyes and theire meyne that were full bolde and hardy; ffor after theire strokes a-bode but fewe cristin in sadell, and so were thei of the grete Bretigne sore a-basshed, ffor thei made hem alle resorte bakke hadde not be the grete prowessse of sir Gawein, and Elizer, and the kynge Ban and his brother, and the kynge Ventre of Garlot, and the Duke Escam of Cambenyk; and neuertheles Grascien, and Pharien, and Dorilas, and leonce of Paerne dide so wele that thei ought to haue no blame; and Merlin that rode fro oo reнге to a-nother ascride hem often "ore auant;" and while thei were in this angwyssh the kynge Pignores cleped xl saianes of the beste and moste hardy, and comaunded hem to take the Quene of Garlot, and lede hir to the sege of Clarence, and presente hir to the kynge hardogobran, and these seide thei sholde do his comaundement, and departed and ride forth the streight wey to Clarence, and ledde with hem the quene that grete doell made for the a-uenture that was hir be-fallen.

After that the kynge Pignoras smote in to the stour with his swerde in honde, and be-gan to yeve soche strokes that noon armure hym myght endure. So that the moste hardy doutyd hym to meten, for he smote down horse and men so thikke that the moste hardy made hym wey, till that Gawein that to euery nede was nygh it a-parceyved, and saugh the grete harme that he dide of her peple, and seide to hym-self yef this feende lyve eny while we may moche lese. This worde vndirstode Elizer that kepte hym euer nygh Gawein and smote his horse with spores thider as he saugh Pignoras that hadde all his arme be-soiled with blode and brayne of hem that he hadde slayn; and whan Elizer saugh the harme that he dide, he seide to hym-self, "Certes, it were to vs grete harme yef this deuell lyve longe, what mysaventure hath he be suffred so longe;" and than he drough ner and leide his reyne in his sadilbowe, and threwe his shelde at his bakke and ficched hym in his stiropes, and caught his swerde in bothe handes, and smote the kynge Pignores thourgh the helme that nother coyf ne helme myght hym warant till that the suerdes egge touched hys brayn, and he drough a-gein hys suerde and Pignoras fill down to grounde; and whan Merlyn hym saugh falle, he seide to sir Gawein, "This hath take with vs trewys." "Ye," quod Gawein, "god kepe vs that knyght that is so worthi;" and than thei smyte vpon the saisnes that be sorowfull and wroth for the deth of Pignores, and so dide theire other felowes that sore thei harmed the saisnes. But a-bove alle other dide sir Gawein wele, and Elizer, and the kynge Ban of Benoyk, and the kynge Bohors of Gannes, *and leonce of Paierne, and Grascien of Trebes, and Pharien, for thei were not yet assembled but v bateiles. But tho that were assembled dide wonder wele, for a-gein theire strokes myght endure nother Iren ne stiell; and whan the kynge Pyncenars, that was bolde and hardy, saugh his peple so a-peire, he seide he hadde leuer dye but Pignores were a-venge, and he hilde a swerde in his right hande, and ran in to the presse where he saugh it thikke, and be-gan to throwe down all that he raught, and slough a knyght of the

He gives
great strokes
and smites
down horse
and men.

Elizer kills
Pignores.

Gawein
praises him.

Those that
did well.

*[Fol. 210a.]

Pyncenars
kills a
knight.

Ban kills
Pyncenars.

Merlin tells
of the queen
of Garlot.

He rides
forth with
a hundred
knights in
his company.

The Saxons
alight with
the queen,

who swoons.

Gawein
hears her
cries.

He calls to
the Saxons
to leave her
alone.

reame of Benoyk, that wele hadde don in armes all the day ; and tho the kynge Ban was nygh wood for Ire, and spronge that wey with his swerde vp teysed to hym that hadde his knyght slayn, and smote hym with so grete ire that he slitte hym to the teth, and that was a thinge that hym moste discourte all the day, the deth of his knyght, and than thei closed the saignes rounde a-boute, and the bateile was grete and horrible, ffor the Bretouns were noble knyghtes ; and whan Merlin saugh the hostes were assembled on bothe sides, he cleped Gawein, and Elizer, and the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and tolde hem how xl saignes ledde the quene of Garlot to the sege of Clarence, "and yef thei lede hir thider it will turne to reprof, and therfore I rede we go after." "Now ride," quod Gawein, "and we shull yow sue." Than Merlin rode forth his weye, and well an hundred knyghtes in his companye ; ffor thei douted to meten with moo peple on som part. But shull we speke of the xl saignes that ledde the Quene of Garlot that was the wif of kynge Ventre.

Whan the xl saignes were past the bateile two myle, thei entred in to a wode, where-ynne was a feire medowe and a welle springe, and thei turned that wey hem for to a-kele and drinke of the clier water, and a-lighten with the quene be-fore the welle, that made the grettest doel of the worlde, and thei myght not hir confort for nothings that thei cowde do ; but she cried with lowde steuen, "Haa, kynge Ventres, this day shall departe the love of me and of yow ; ffor I trowe yow neuer to se no more ;" and than she swowned in theire armes that hir hilde, and whan she was oute of hir swownynge she cried and made grete sorowe, and the saignes were ther-of doelfull and wolde well she hadde be in place that she hadde liked beste, and counforted hir moche, but ther-of was no nede ; ffor she braied and cride lowde, so that Gawein and his companye it herde clierly, and turned thider her wey, and saugh the knyghtes and the Quene that cried so lowdede.

Whan Gawein saugh his aunte, he spored his horse and seide to the saignes, "Ffeire lordes, lete be the Quene,

and go youre wey quyte, ffor I can yow good thanke for that ye haue of hir pite, and gramercy for that curtesie." Whan Margouns the botiller of kynge Pignores herde sir Gawein thus speke, he asked of his felowes what was her rede, and thei seide thei hadde leuer to dye than leve the Quene. "And to that ar ye come a-noon," quod Gawein. Than he ran to hem with swerde drawen, and smote so the firste that he mette that the heed fill on the grene *be-fore his aunte, and the saisnes sterte vp a-noon, and the myschef was grete, for that thei were on foote, and neuertheles thei slough bothe horse and knyghtes, for thei were of grete prowessse, but ther-of myght not a-vaile, for alle were thei deed, that nought oon ascaped, saf only Margons the botiller that hidde hym in a bussh, and sir Gawein and his companye com a-gein to the Quene, and counforted hir swetly, and she hem asked what thei were. "Madame," he seide, "I am Gawein, youre nevewe, the sone of kynge looth of Orcanye, and this lorde that is here is the kynge Ban of Benoyk, and these other knyghtes ben oure felowes." Whan the lady this vndirstode she was gladde, and thanked hem hertely of the socour, and than thei sette hir on a palfrey that thider was brought, and returned to the hoste where-as was the kynge Arthur and the other princes fightinge; and many of her frendes loste the cristin er the saisnes myght be discourtified. Whan Arthur hadde alain Magloras the kinge that was the sustenement of the saisnes, and the kynge looth hadde smyte of the hande of the kynge Syuarus, than fledde thei alle; and whan sir Gawein and his companye were returned, the hoste enchased the saisnes so nygh euer at the spore; and Brandons returned often, and he ne smote noon a right stroke, but he were ther-with a-noon deed; and whan sir Gawein saugh hym so demene, and saugh the grete slaughter that he made of the peple, he thought wele that he was som high lorde of grete lynage, and wele it shewed by his armes that he were a kynge or a prince, and Gawein preised hym moche in his herte, and fain wolde he hadde be cristin yef it myght haue be, and seide, "Knyght, thow art right bolde and full of grete hardynesse, art

He kills the first he meets.
*[Fol. 210b.]

None escape but Margons.

The queen thanks Gawein and the others for their succour.

Arthur slays Magloras, and Looth smites off the hand of Syvarus.

Gawein meets Brandon,

and tells him
he wishes he
was a Chris-
tian.

He smites off
his head.

Gawein pre-
sents Ven-
tre's wife to
him.

*[Pol. 211a.]
Arthur
pitches his
tents before
Garlot.

He sets forth
for Clarence
on the mor-
row.

thow Duke or kyng that hast in the soche valour and strength?" "In feith," quod he, "my name is Brandouns, and am kyng of a partye of Saxoyne, and am nevew to the richest kyng of all the world, that is the kyng hardogabrant, that is chief lorde of all Saxonie." "Certes," seide Gawein, "it semeth well, for in the is grete valour and high prowesse, and it is grete harme that thow art no cristin, and fain I wolde that thow so were to respite the fro deth." "Of that," quod the kyng, "that thow spekest haue I merveile, for I haue lever to be deed than to be cristin." To that shalt thow come hastily," quod Gawein, "and that me repenteth sore, ffor moche wolde I love thy companye yef it the liked." "Hit shall neuer me plesse," quod Brandouns; and whan Gawein that herde, he ran vpon hym full Irouselly, and smote hym so with Calibourne his good swerde that the heed clef a-sondre; and whan the saisnes saugh theire lorde deed, thei were sore dismayed; and after that in hem was litill defence, and the cristin hem wounded on euery side, and hem slough, and all to-hewe; and whan thei hadde do this, thei thanked moche oure lorde of the grete honoure that he hath hem do at this iourney. Than com sir Gawein and the kyng Ban be-fore the kyng Arthur, and be-fore all the baronye, and presented the kyng Ventre with his wif, and tolde herynge hem alle how he hadde hir rescowed, and the kyng hem thanked hertely, and made grete ioye, and alle the barouns were gladde, and than thei drough a litill a-side from the felde where the bataile hadde be, and Arthur made *picche his teintes in the medow be-fore Garlot vpon the river, and so dide alle the other princes, and rested till on the morowe, and the Quene entred in to the castell of Garlot; and on the morowe, as sone as it was day, Arthur sette forth his peple the streight wey toward Clarence. But now a-while shull we reste of Arthur and his baronye, and speke of Margouns the botiller.

So longe dide Margouns hidde hym in the busshes till that Gawein, and the kyng Ban, and her companye were gon with the Quene; and than he repeired to the welle and

fonde his horse that he hadde tached to a tre, and than he rode forth faste till he com to the hoste be-fore Clarence, and tolde the kyng hardogobran how alle the forreyers that he hadde sente be-fore the town of Garlot were deed and discountifed; and whan Hardogobran this dide vndirstonde he was sorowfull and pensif. Than sterte vpon his feet the kyng Gondofles, and seide to the kyng Hardogobran, "Sir, yef it like yow I will go se what it is, and lede with me Salebrun and Magaloes, and Sorbare, and Meliadus, and the kyng Brangore, and in oure companye xl^M men, ffor I may not trowe that foure so myghty kynges as the kyng Brandon youre cosin, and the kyng Pyncenars, and the kyng Pignores, and the kyng Magloras myght not be brought to disconfiture by no power of the cristin;" and while thei spake these wordes com Syuarus that hadde his hande smyten of, and tolde hem trewe tidinges, and the tokenyng of his arme; whan the kyng Hardogobran saugh the kyng Syuarus so araied, he was wo for sorowe, ffor he hadde hym moche loved; and whan he knewe the deth of the foure kynges than was he wood oute of witte, ffor Magloras and Brandouns were bothe his newewes; and than he comaunded to the kyng Gondofles to go take vengauce for his newewes, and he seide he wolde, and in all haste rode forth his wey, and with hym fifty Ml men, and devided her peple in v bateiles, and in euery bateile x^M men; and the first bataille ledde Salubrun, and the Duke lonor the lestregues that other, and the kyng Sorbares, and the kyng Meliadus, and the Eirll ffragelles the thirde, and the kyng Brangoires, and the Castelein Melekens the fourthe, and the kyng Gondofles, and his brother Transmaduc the fifte; these rode fro the sege of Clarence oon after a-nother towarde the Castell of Garlot, and rode so by day and by nyght till thei mette the hoste that Merlin dide gide in a feire grene meadow that was a myle and a half of lengthe, and ther hadde Merlin devised vij batailes that after hym dide folowe; and the first bateile condited the kyng Ventres, and the kyng Tradily-naunt, and the Duke Escam with xx^M men, and the kyng

Margouns comes to Hardogobran, and tells of the defeat of the Saxons.

Gondofles says he will go to see.

Syuarus comes in.

Hardogobran is very angry,

and commands Gondofles to go and be revenged.

He takes with him 50,000 men.

They ride towards Garlot, and meet Merlin's host.

The leaders of the Christians.

The names
of the
leaders.

Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and the kynge de Cent Chivalers ledde the seconde with xxx^M men; and the kynge of Northumbirlonde, and the kynge of South-walis, and Nabulall the thridde with xxx^M men; and the fourthe ledde Cleodalis the Senescall of Carmelide, and the kynge Carados, and the kynge looth of Orcanye with xxx^M men; and Aguyneron the Senescall of kynge Clamedien, and fflamus the Senescall of Evadain, and the Senescall of kynge Pelles of lytenoys ledden the fifte bataile with xxx^M men; and the kynge Brangoires and the

*[Fol. 211b.]

*Senescall of kynge lak ledden the vj bateile with xxx^M men; and Sir Gawein, and his brethern, and the companye of the rounde table were with the kynge Arthur in the vijth bateile wher-in were so moche peple that vnethe myght eny man hem

The two
hosts meet.

nombre. In this maner mette the tweyne hostes of the Cristin, and the paynymes in the medowes from Garlot half a walsh

Triamores
smites Salu-
brun, who
kills him.

*myle; and as soone as the kynge Salubruns hem saugh he lete renne a-geins hem, and so dide Margons the botiller; and the Duke Escam com hem a-geins; but Triamores that was Castelein of Cambenyk rode be-fore, and smote Salubrun so harde a-mydd the shelde *that* the spere splindred on splyntes, and the hethen kynge hitte hym so sore that the shafte shof thourgh his body and bar hym deed vpright to the erthe; and

Escam kills
Salubrun.

than was the Duke Escam full angry, and smote Salubrun through the breste more than a spanne lengthe, and than he seide, "Hethen hounde, thy deth thou hast hent, yet haue I not my frende, and that me mysliked."

The two
sides meet.

Ther-with assembled the bateiles on bothe two sides, ther was many a grete growen spere frusshed a-sonder, and many a gome to the grounde glode in a stounde; but as soone as the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and the kynge de Cent Chivalers were come with the seconde bateile, and saugh the seconde bateile of the saisnes meve; than thei ronne to-geder fiercely, and ther myght a man haue sein many a helme hurled on an hepe, and many a shafte and shelde frayen to-geder, and many hauberke rente of double mayle; grete and hidyouse was the bateile, and the slaughter grete on bothe sides. Neuer-

Ban, Bohors,
and the King
de Cent Chi-
valers run
upon the
Saxons.

theles whan Merlin saugh the saisnes so vertuose, he ascride the kynge Ban, "Sir, what do ye now, ye myght haue hem putte oute of the place longe seth, ffor ye be moo peple be that oon half than thei be." Whan the kynge Ban and the other princes herde Merlin so crie, thei were half shamefast. Than thei ronne on the saisnes with grete vigour, and made hem resorte a-gein magre them alle, and made hem frusshe on the thridde bateile, that the kynge Meliadus, and ffragilles, and lanor de betinges dide condite, and these sette hem a-geins; ther was harde bateile, and merveilouse and grete occision on bothe sides that piteouse was to be-holden, and grete traueile thei hadden on bothe parties. And than assembled Brancors and Malaquyn the Castelein with the fourthe bateile, and Gelegnyaunt, and the kynge Cleoles, and ther was crewell bateile and fell that in litill while was the felde couered with deed bodyes and wounded peple. In that metinge was Margouns the botiller deed, and he was sore regreted of the saisnes, and with-oute faile the kynge Ban hym slough with a spere; and whan the kynge Sorbares it saugh he hadde hertely sorowe, and he com to the kynge Ban, and wende to smyte hym on the helme, but he kepte the stroke on his shelde, and he smote ther-on so sore that he slitte it to the boole, and the stroke glood and smote of the horse heed, and the kynge fill to grounde, and his horse be-twene his legges, *and the kynge Sorbares a-bode vpon hym with swerde drawen. But Pharien com hym a-geins that full sory was that his lorde was fallen, and smote so harde to the kynge Sorbares vpon the helme that he clef hym to the brayn, and he drough to hym his swerde, and he fill down deed; than he caught the horse be the reyne, and brought it to the kynge Ban; and whan the kynge was vpon horse he smote in to the bateile wroth and angry; and the kynge Bohors, and Dionas, and the kynge Ventres, and the Duke Escam, and alle the other princes dide merveiles of armes, ffor after their strokes a-bode noon in sadill, and the saisnes were so grete and so myghti that thei dide hem grete damage of her peple, ffor so many thei slough

Merlin tells Ban they ought to have driven the Saxons back.

The third division of the Saxons.

The fourth division.

Margons is killed by Ban.

Sorbares comes to Ban.

*[Fol. 212a.]

Pharien kills Sorbares.

Bohors, Dionas, Ventres, and Escam do marvels.

Many of the
Christians
are slain.

of the cristin that it was wonder; and so many were deed and wounded of cristin and hethen, that the felde was all couered, so that oon myght not come to a-nother but ouer deed cors.

The company
of the round
table do
wonders.

While this grete occision and this mortall strif dide dure were alle the bateiles assembled on bothe partyes, saf only the bateile of kynge Arthur, and that Merlin ledde a trauerse till thei were come vpon hem be-hynde, and than thei girde in a-monge hem crewelly; and after sir Gawein, and his brethern, and Elizer, and sir Ewein, and Segramor, and the companye of the rounde table were come to the bateile, ther myght men haue sein a-pertly wonder chyualries shewed of armes; and thei slough horse and men, and made sheldes to shiver, and hewen helmes from hedes, and kutte handes and legges a-sonder, and dide so wonderfull dedes that vn-ethe myght ony man be-leve the merveilles ne the grete lardure that thei made of the saisnes; and kay the stiwarde, to whom Merlin hadde yove the grete baner to bere of the kynge Arthur, was euer in the fore frounte as he that was of grete hardynesse, ther be-fore alle other dide well sir Gawein, and so dide the kynge Arthur, ffor he araught no saisne a full stroke, but he were deed; and full wele dede the princes that were come for the honor of god, these dide so well in that iourney, that thei ought wele to haue the pardon; and also full wele dide the knyghtes of the quene Gonnore, ffor after theire strokes a-bode noon standinge, but straught to grounde all that thei myght atteyne; and whan the saisnes were thus for-closed, thei were sore a-baished and turned to discounfiture, and with-oute faile thei were waxen so feble that of v kynges, and an erle, and a Duke, and of fifty thousande saisnes ne ascaped not foure Ml that all ne were deed or maymed; and with-oute doute it was right dere I-bought, ffor thei hadde slayn so many of the cristin that it was sore be-wepte as long as the kynge Arthur lyved, ffor many a gentill lady be lefte wedowe, and many a gentill mayden dysolat, and with-uten counseile.

Kay is ever
in the front.

The princes
do well,

as do the
queen's
knights.

Four thou-
sand Saxons
only escape.

*[Fol. 212b.]
Gondofes
and Lanor de

***W**han the kynge Gondofes, and lanor de betinges saugh the grete slaughter of her peple that the cristin hadde

slain and alle to-hewen, and sye how thei were for-closed in soche maner that thei myght not returne to theire hoste, and than were thei wroth, ffor thei sye wele thei were but deed, but yef thei toke counseile of hem-self. Than thei loked a-boute and be-helde towarde the see where thei saugh the cristin a litill vn-closed, and that wey thei toke the flight thourgh the medowes, streight toward the see that was ther nygh; and whan the kynge Arthur saugh hem goinge, he cried, "Now after hem alle attonys;" and there was many a stroke smyten in the chace, ffor the saisnes were grete and stronge, and bolde and hardy, and full of grete prowesse, and often thei returned vpon hem that hem pursued, and the cristin hem resceyved with good will, and there were many of the saisnes deed and sore wounded, and the chace so endured, turnynge often as thei were in flight, till that thei com to the see, where thei fonde thre of theire Galeyes, that Landalus dide guyde, and a-boode ther for vitaille that sholde come from hem that were gon in forrey to the Castell of Garlot; and whan the saisnes saugh the Galeyes thei were full gladde, and ronne in who that myght first in the grettest haste. But thei cowde not hem so hasten but ther was of hem drowned mo than two thousande, and thei that were entred kutte a-sonder the ropes and [dressed] theire sailes, and ascaped in to the see, and wente ther as the wynde and fortune wolde hem drive, that in euell maner hadde theire ioure araided; and whan the kynge Arthur and his barouns saugh that thei haue hem so loste, thei returned to the playnes of Garlot to theire tentes, and yolde graces to oure lorde of the victorie that thei hadde in this bateile; and for thei were wery for traueile, thei hem resten at theire ese of all that thei myghten as thei that hadde grete myster, ffor wery thei were of the traueile of the strokes yevinge and also rescey[u]inge in the stour, that hadde be right grete, and than ete and dranke, and than loked the wounded and hurt peple, and hadde hem to the castell of Garlot, and were of hem xxxv knyghtes, and v were wounded of the compaignie of the rounde table, wherfore the kynge Arthur was full penaif and sory, and that oon was herry de rivell, and

Betinges are
very wroth.

They take to
flight.

Arthur
orders them
to be fol-
lowed.

The chace
continues to
the sea.

The Saxons
are glad
when they
see the gal-
leys, but
more than
2,000 are
drowned.

Arthur and
his barons
return to
Garlot.

They are
weary.

Five of the
round table
are wounded.

Arthur
prays the
leech to take
care of them.

The host
ride towards
Clarence.

Merlin says
that on this
day the
*[Fol. 213a.]
prowess of
Logres shall
be shewn.

All are to do
his pleasure,

and they will
have the vic-
tory;

but the
Saxons will
not be de-
feated till
the barons

males le bruns, and the thridde was Clamedos, and the fourthe was Arestobolus, and the v^e landouns of Carmelide; and the kynge Arthur praied the leche to take of hem good hede, and thei badde he sholde not be dismayed, ffor in short terme thei sholde be hool, and sounde with helpe of god; and ther-fore was the kynge gladde and alle the Barouns, and ther thei soiourned that nyght till it was day, that Merlin bad hem trusse tentes and Pavilouns, and that thei sholde come after hym redy armed her enmyes to assaile, and a-non it was don as he comaunded; and than thei ride forth toward Clarence, and whan thei were so nygh, that thei myght se tentes and Pavelouns, Merlin hem shewed to the kynge Arthur, and seide, "Sir, lo yonder theym by whos comaundement the londe is distroied of yow and youre barouns. Now shall it be shewed how ther-of shall be take vengauce, ffor this day be ye come all for to leese or all for to wyne, this day shall men se who is bolde and hardy, or who is of valour, this day shall be sein who can smyte *with swerde or spere, this day shall be shewed the grete prowess of the reame of logres, thys day is the grete nede and the myster, ffor this day shall the reame of logres be distroied or honoured, and I do yow to wete alle the barouns that be here assembled that ye praye oure lorde to diffende the reame of logres from shame and myschaunce;" and thei alle seide, "Amen." And than alle thei cried bothe prevy and straunge that thei wolde alle do at his wille and at his pleiser; and he seide that seth thei wolde do after his counseill, thei sholde haue no drede of nothinge, and "ye shall haue this day the victorye;" and thei ansuerde, "We be alle ther-to redy and appareiled." Than seide Merlin, "I will that ye me graunte that in all thinge ye shall do my wille;" and thei seide thei wolde with good will. "Yet," quod Merlyn, "I will that the kynge Arthur me graunte firste of alle;" and than he graunted hym a-noon right, and so dide alle the other; and than seide Merlin, "Ffeire lordes, this day is come the grete distruxion of the grete Breteigne, but yef god put to his hande and his good counseile, ne it may not be distrud in no maner. Ne these

peple shull neuer be disseuered ne departed er ye haue pees are at peace
with the kynge Arthur, and that haue ye me graunted." with Arthur.

Whan the barouns this vndirstoden ther were some that
it liked nothings, but other-wise myght it not be,
and so thei graunted alle to the volunte of Merlin, and dide The barons
homage to the kynge Arthur oon after a-nother, and of hym do homage
receiued theiure londes and theiure fees all tho that ought it for to Arthur.
to do; and than the ioye was grete thourgh all the hoste; and
than thei devised theiure bateiles, and wente a-gein the saisnes They go
that weren at the sege be-fore Clarence that it dide assaile from against the
day to day, but it was so stronge that thei myght but litill Saxons.
wynne, ffor it was well garnysshed of good peple and vitaille,
ffor alle tho that eny armes myght bere of x myle a-boute were
with-ynne the town bothe knyght, and burgeise, and oon and
other, wher-of ther was lv.^M that many of hem were full bolde
and hardy, and defensable, and diffended the town a-gein the
saisnes full vigerously, and launched at hem many a quarell, The people
and many a sharpe spere and dart wher-with many a saiane was of Clarence
slain and sore wounded, that neuer after ne dide ride ne go; defend the
and grete and hidouse was the assaut the same hour that the town.
cristin com vpon; and Merlin and his companye com with the
grete baner in his hande, and whan he com nygh the saisnes Merlin and
he sente his peple in four partyes of the hoste of saisnes, and his companye
smyten thourgh the tentes and thou[r]gh the pavelons, and kutte come with
a-sonder ropes and cordes, and threwe down all that stode the great
vpriht, and the saisnes that of this comynge toke no rewarde, banner.
herde the noyse, and the bruyte, and the lowde cries, and They throw
saugh theiure pavelouns ouerthrowen on euery side, thei were down the
gretly affraied and lefte the assaute, and turned that wey who tents of the
that myght sonest, eche hastyer than other; and than ther was Saxons.
soche noyse and shoute whan eche man cried his ensigne that
oon myght here it a myle of lengthe; and than be-gan the
bateile fierce and merveilouse, and smyte sore with speres and
swerdes that oon vpon the tother, and grete was the slaughter
on bothe sides. But for oon *that was deed of the cristin was
foure deed of the saisnes, neuertheles thei were moo peple, and

The battle is
very sore.

[Fol. 213b.]

Hardogobran comes
against
Cleoles.

They fight.

Both fall to
the ground.

The Saxons
remount
Hardogobran.

Cleoles's left
arm is
broken.

His men go
into the
battle to
avenge their
lord.
They slay
Brangore and
Margounces.

of gretter strengthe than were cristin. But the cristin were wonder light and delyuer, and full of high prowesse to furnyssh a bateile, and at the firste brunt was many a cristin leide to grounde, and many a saisne deed, wherfore the kynge hardogobran was full wroth and angry, and he griped in his hande a grete plante of an oke ther-on an heed of steill sharp I-grounde, and com rynnynge with grete randon a-gein the kynge Cleoles that for the love of oure lorde was come to that iourney with vij^m men that full well dide in that stoure; and whan Cleoles saugh hym come, he deigned not to fle as he that was of grete hardynesse, but turned the heed of his horse with his spere in fewtre, and mette so with grete raundon and force that the sheldes perced and hauberkes dismayled, but the flessch thei not touched, but thei hurteled so to-geder with theire helmes and sheldes, for the horse com with grete ravyn, and mette breste a-gein breste that bothe fill to grounde, horse and the men, for the speres were spent, and thei lefte lyinge on the grounde sore a-stonyed that thei myght not meve, ffor the horse lay vpon hem as thei hadde be deed, and the two kynges were bothe in swowne theym vnder; and grete was the bateile to rescowe the two princes, ffor alle the bateilles of the saisnes ronne that wey, and also dide the cristin. Ther was many a hevy stroke yoven and resceyved, and the saisnes remountede the kynge hardogobran; but first was deed moo than two thousande what oon and other, and on that other side the cristin remounted Cleoles, but thei fonde his lifte arme broken in the falle that he hadde, and ther-fore were his men sory and wrorth, and a-noon lete bere hym to the harneys; and whan thei hadde leyde hym on a cowche, he preide his men for goddes love to go to the bateile, and thei so dide full Irouse, and in talent to avenge theire lorde, and thei slough at that enuaye two kynges of the saisnes wher-of that oon was cleped Brangore, and the tother Margounces. This Margounces was cosin germayn to Aungis the saisne, and than thei be-gonne to do so well in armes that moche were thei preised and comended, and be-holde for grete merveile of the saisnes and of the cristin; and also

on that other side faught the kyng Ban, and the kyng Bohors, and the kyng Ventres, and the kyng Vrien; and on a-nother side of the bateile faught the kyng Tradilyuaunt of north walys, and the kyng de Cent Chiualers, and the kyng Clarion of Northumbirlonde, and the Duke Escam of Cambenyk; and on that other side of the hoste faught the kyng Belynans, and the kyng of Strangore, and the kyng of Scotlonde, and the kyng of Cornewaile, and Mynoras the senescall of the kyng lak, and of the kyng Euadain that were brethern to the kyng Clamedien, and Galegnynans the Senescall of Galehaut, the sone of the Geaunt, and the Duke Belyas of loseres, and Margondes, the senescall of Sorloys, that alle were come for the love of oure lorde; *and on that other side Gosenges, the sone of kyng Amant, and Nabunall his Senescall, and Cleodalis the Senescall of kyng leodogan of Carmelide; and on a-nother part of the hoste was the kyng Arthur, and the kyng looth, and sir Gawein, and his brethern, and sir Ewein, and Segramor, and kay the stiwarde that bar the baner, and the bateile was so well be-gonne on euery parte that it was merveile; and Merlin wente from o bateile to a-nother, and satte vpon a courser, and cried lowde, "Now lete se now gentill knyghtes, now is come the day and the houre that youre prowesse shall be shewed;" and whan the kyng and the princes herde Merlin crie, thei constreyned hem-self to shewe the grettest force that thei hadden; and whan thei of the town saugh the bateile so mortall and so dolerouse, and thei saugh the cristin and the saisnes throwen to grounde so thikke, that oon fill on a-nother. And thei saugh the signes of the reade crosse in the white baners, and thei thought wele it was socour that god hadde hem sent, and made the yates to be opened and issued oute of the town alle armed and smote in to the bateile full vigerously, and be-gonne to do full well in armes, and so dide alle the other. But a-monge the saisnes thei fonde grete dif-fence. But the barouns and the saisnes that herde Merlin crye that the day was come of the grete nede, and than eche of hem shewed his grettest force, and be-gonne to do so well on

The fighters
among the
Christians.

*[Fol. 214a.]

Merlin
moves about
in the battle.

When the
people of the
town see the
red cross,
they open the
gates and is-
sue forth.

The Saxons
get the worst
of the fight.
Arthur, Ga-
wein, Ban,
and Bohors
do marvels.

Hardogobran
and five
other kings
only escape,

with 30,000
Saxons.

The Chris-
tians chase
them to the
sea.

*[Fol. 214b.]
The Saxons
are sorry for
their loss.

euery side that the saignes were sore atte the werse. But who dide wele or who nought in that iourney, hem alle dide Arthur surmounte, and sir Gawein, and his brethren, and sir Ewein, and Segramor, and Elizer, and the kyng Ban, and the kinge Bohors. These shewed wonderfull merveilles with theire bodyes, ffor a-gein theire strokes hadde no knyght power to a-bide in his sadell, ne no steill hem with-stode; and dide so well be the grete hardynesse of theire bodyes that the saignes were putte to discounfiture, ffor thei toke no rewarde to sle the pore saignes, but turned the heedes of theire horse thider as thei saugh the richeste apparence of armes and stedes; and dide so well that of alle the kynges that the kinge Hardogobran hadde brought, ne ascaped but he and v kynges, and of hem oon was the kinge Orienx, and the seconde the kinge Sorbar, and the thridde the kinge Cornycans, and the fourthe was the Admyrall Napin, and the vth was the kinge Murgalans de trebahan; these v kynges ascaped with the kinge Hardogobran, and hadde well in her companye xxx^M saignes, that alle departed from the bateile mate and discounfited be strengthe of the swyftnesse of horse, and fledde to theire navie, and the cristin hem chaced to the see, and hilde hem so shorte in the entringe to the shippes that ther were of hem slain and drowned the haluendell or more; and thei that were in the shippes ascaped wroth and sorowfull for the losse that thei hadden, and thei hadde but litill while gon whan thei saugh the shippe of kinge Gondofles, and lanor *that were fledde fro the discounfiture, and eche of hem knewe well other, and made full grete sorowe for theire grete losse, and in this maner thei went sailinge thourgh the see. But of hem at this tyme speketh not the storie, but turneth to speke of the kinge Arthur, and of his companye.

CHAPTER XXX.

DEPARTURE OF BAN AND BOHORS, AND THEIR VISIT TO AGRAVADAIN.

Arthur and
his barons
thank God

When the kinge Arthur hadde discounfited the saignes, he and his baronye repeired gladd and ioyfull in to the

felde ther as the bateile hadde I-be, and thanked our lorde hertily of the honour and victorie that he hadde graunted hem for to haue, and of the grete wynnynge of clothes of silke and golde, and siluer, and riche pavelouns, and goode stedes, and armures; and the kynge Arthur hem departed by comon assent of alle the Barouns after thei were of astate or degre, and with-hilde not to hym-self the valew of a ferthinge; and than the princes entred in to the town gladde and ioyfull, and dide entere the deed corps, and hem that were wounded serched theire sores, and hadde good leches, and soiourned ther v dayes; and the tidinges ran thourgh the londe how the saisnes were discountifed, and chaced from the town of Clarence oute of the londe, and distroied and slain; and than alle the saisnes that were thourgh the londe, whiche hadde not be at the bateile, thei returned in to Saxoyne sory and wroth, for theire frendes that thei hadde loste; and whan the kynge Arthur hadde a-biden in the town of Clarence v dayes with grete feste and ioye, than departed the princes fro hym, and eueriche of hem wente in to his owne contrey, and thus thei departed fro hym with grete love, and hilden of hym theire fees and honours; and the straunge princes that for love of oure lorde were come to that iourney returned home in to theire contreyes; and the kynge Arthur, and the kynge Ban of Benoyk, and the kynge Bohors of Gannes, and the kynge looth of Orcanye, and sir Gawein, and his brethren, and theire companye, and theire meyne were resceyued with grete ioye at Cameloth of the Quene Gonnore, and of alle the peple; and than com Merlin to the kynge Arthur, and seide, "Sir, thanke be god ye haue the londe delyuered of the euell peple at this tyme, and therfore ye owe to haue grete ioye and all cristin peple, ffor now be thei sure all the peple of this londe; and therfore now may wele the kynge Ban and the kynge Bohors repeire hom in to theire contrey, ffor longe tyme is it past that thei saugh not theire wiffes ne theire meyne, and thei haue a full felon neighbour that gladly wolde hem annoyen, and that is the kynge Claudas de la desert, and therefore shull thei passe the

for the victory.

Arthur divides the booty.

The princes enter the town.

The Saxons return to Saxony.

The princes depart to their own countries.

Arthur, Ban, Bohors, Looth, and Gawein come back to Cameloth.

Merlin says Ban and Bohors should return to their country.

see and take kepe to theire londes, and of that thei haue for to do ;" and whan the kynge Arthur this vndirstode, he ansuerde full debonerly.

Arthur
agrees to
what Merlin
says.

"Feire frende, Merlin," seide the kynge, "the princes shull do theire volunte, and ye shall yours. But moche more I love to haue youre compagne than youre departynge ; ffor the compagne of so worthy men as thei ben ne ought annoy to no prince. But seth it pleseth yow, and that ye will it be so I moste it nede suffre and do youre volunte."

The two
kings ride
to the sea.

"Sir," seide Merlin, "it be-houeth to be so at this tyme, ffor ye haue now no myster of theire a-bidinge ;" and in this maner departed the two kynges and ride towarde the see in grete ioye, and Merlin that moche hem loved hem conveyed ; and fill that the firste nyght that thei departed from Cameloth

They come
to a castle.

*[Fol. 215a.]
with seven
walls,

and five
towers.

that thei come to a Castell that stode in a maresse, so wele and so feire sittinge, and so cloos that it douted noon assaute, and this Castell was closed rounde with *vij walles thikke and high, and feire enbateiled, and right deffensable ; and with-ynne the bailie were v. toures that were high and streight all rounde, and foure were mene, and the fifthe was gret and high, and well hurdeysed a-boute with-ynne and with-out, and grete diches, and depe full of water, and the dongeon that stode in the myddill was grete and high, and all a-boute the walles of the Castell was marasse that dured two myle so full of myre and water that noon myght come ther-to, but he were drowned.

There is only
one entry.

In to this castell was but oon entree, and that was so streite that two horse myght not ther-on mete, oon be-side a-nother ; and a-bove this marasse was a chauchie fro place to place of the breede of a spere lengthe made of chalke and sande stronge and thikke and wele made, and this cauchie was of lengthe a stones caste, and the remenaunt was made of planks and of tymbir, so that noon ne myght passe ouer yef the planks hadde be take a-wey, and at the ende of the cauchie was a grete water, but ther-to com no shippes, but it was right feire and plesaunt, and good fsshinge ; be-fore the foot of this cauchie was a pyne tre a litill fro the water in a medowe of the space of an acre

On a pine
tree,

londe or more, where-ynne the grasse was feire and high, and the pyne tre was right feire and full of bowes, so that oon braunche passed not a-nother of height, and vpon a braunche of this pyne was hanged by a cheyne of siluer, an horne of yvorie as white as snowe, ffor that thei sholde it sowne that com for to be herberowed in the castell, or elles who that passed forth by that wolde aske Iustinge. Of these two thinges serued the horne that ther was hanged.

there is a
horn of ivory
fastened
with a silver
chain.

Whan the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and her companye come to the pyne, and saugh the horne that ther did hange, thei seide that for nought was it not sette, and a-noon thei supposed it was for to aske passage of the foorde or elles to aske Iustes. But thei saugh the Castell so fer fro thens that thei trowed not the sounde of the horne myght not thider ben herde, and on that other side thei saugh the Castell so feire and so riche and well sette, that thei hadde neuer seyn noon soche of the grettenesse, and saugh the cauchie and the entre so stronge, and so streite, that thei were alle merveiled; and the two kynges seide to Merlin, and asked yef he knewe what the castell was cleped that was so feire and well closed; and Merlin seide it was the castell of marasse, and was longinge to a knyght that was of grete puyssaunce, and of grete renon, and ther-to he was bolde and hardy at armes, and his name is Agrauidain ly noire. "Certes," seide the kynge, "of Agrauidain haue I herde well speke in many a place, and so helpe me god he ought wele to be a noble man that is here so well herberowed; ffor a-bove alle the Castelles that euer I sigh is this the feirest, and gladly wolde I lye ther-in to-nyght." "To that shull ye well come," quod Merlin; "but no straunge knygh[t] cometh to this castell er he haue sowned this horne, ne noon dar very ouer the water er he haue blowe this horne, ffor than shall he not passe with-oute bateile." "I will sowne the horne," seide the kynge Ban, "yef ye *will yeve me leve." "In feith," seide Merlyn, "ther-in is no pereile, but other to aske a Iustinge or elles the feriage." "In feith," seide the kynge Ban, "and though ther were more pereile I shall it

Ban and Bohors come to the pine.

They think the horn cannot be heard at the castle.

Merlin says the castle belongs to Agrauidain ly Noir.

No strange knight can come to the castle till he has sounded the horn.

Ban says he will sound the horn.
*[Fol. 215b.]

sowne, seth that ye graunte me ther-to leve." "And I will well it so be," quod Merlin; "ffor yef god will, ther-of shall come noon euell." A-noon wente the kynge Ban to the horne, and sette it to his mouthe, and blew it so high and so clor as he that I-nough hadde of force and powers and breth, that all the marasse ther-of resowned, and the sowne of the water and the marasse bare the sownde in to the castell, that the lorde of the place it herde, and a-noon he asked his armes, for so was his custome; and the kynge be-gan to blowe a-gein thries to-geder lightly, for the Castell was so fer that the kynge wende the noyse myght not haue come thider.

When the lorde of the Castell herde hym blowe so harde, and that he was so hasty, he hilde ther-of grete dispite, and for anger lepte on a grete stede in haste with shelde a-boute his nekke, and his spere in honde, and a-noon the yate was open; and he rode oute a grete raundon, and com to the foorde, and whan he saugh the peple on the tother side, he cried and asked what peple thei were; and the kynge Ban ansuerde, "Sir, we be knyghtes, that requere herberowe this nyght yef it plesse yow, and feriage for oure horse at this foorde." "With whom be ye," quod Agrauidain. "Sir," quod Merlin, that was nigh; "we be of this other contrey of the partyes of Gaule." "And of what parties of Gaule," quod Agrauidain. "Sir," seide Merlin, "thei holde theire londes of god and of kynge Arthur." "In godis name," seide Agrauidain, "thei haue a gode lorde, ffor of the kynge Arthur may thei not empeire, for he is a noble kynge, and a good knyght, and he is my lorde, and for his love shull ye haue hostell at youre volunte." "Gramercy, sir," seide the kynge; than a-noon right Agrauidain hym turned, and badde the knyghtes hym sewe, and seide thei were alle welcome; and thei wente a-noon after hym oon after a-nother ouer the bregge to the gates of the castell, and entred in after that the lorde of the place was entred, ffor ther was no space to turne on his horse er he were entred and paste the yate; and than the lorde hymself condited hem in to the castell, and a-noon lepen oute squyres

He blows it.

He blows again thrice.

The lord of the castle is angry,

and comes to the ford, and asks who the people are.

Merlin answers they hold their lands of Arthur.

Agrauidain bids the knights follow him,

and he conducts them to the castle.

and yomen to make hem a-light, and the lorde toke the two knyghtes be the hande, for that hym semed thei were princes and lordes of the othere, and ledde hem in to a chambir of the tour hem to vn-arme, and hym-self dide helpe for to vn-arme, and ther-while entred in thre maydenes of right grete bewte, wher-of tweyne were neces vn-to agrauadain; and the thridde was his doughter, and thei brought thre mantels furred with ermyn, and the cloth was scarlet, and thei caste hem vpon the two kynges; and the thridde vpon Agrauadain, and the kynge Ban that was a lusty knyght be-hilde the maydenys, and liked well theire companye, and countenaunce that were right feire and of grete bewte, that it was wonder to be-holde, and alle thre were of feire age, ffor the eldest was but xiiij yere, but a-bove alle the other was the lordes doughter the feirest; and Merlin be-hilde hir with grete anguyssh, and thought in his herte that *well were he that with soche a creature myght ly, "and ne were the grete love that I haue," quod he "to Nymyane, my love, I sholde haue hir this nyght in myn armes, and seth I may not hir haue, I shall lete hir be knowe with the kynge Ban;" and than he made a coniorison softly, and a-noon as he hadde it made the kynge Ban loved the mayden, and she hym also right sore.

Whan these two knyghtes were araide with these two mantels that the maydenys hadde brought, than Agrauadain, the lorde of the castell, sette hym down by hem, and loked on these two kynges, and knewe hem a-noon; and than he made hem gretter chere than he hadde do be-forn, and dide hem more reverence; and whan it was tyme to go to soper, the clothes were spradde vpon the tables thourgh the paleys that was grete and large, and the two kynges that were brethren satte down at the high table, and made agrauadain sitte down by hem and his wif that was a feire yonge lady of xviij yere of age, and the knyghtes were sette at other tables thourgh the halle, and the thre maydenys that were so feire and auenaunt were stondinge be-fore the two kynges, and be-fore Agrauadain; and Merlin that was with hem transformed in to

Three maidens bring mantels for the two kings.

Ban is pleased with the maidens.

Merlin makes Ban *[Pol. 216a.] and the lord's daughter love each other.

Agrauadain sets the two kings down by him.

His wife is a young lady.

Merlin is transformed

into a young knight.

His head is yellow and curly, and his eyes are grey.

The daughter of Agravadain fixes her eyes on Ban,

and can think only of him.

This is through Merlin's spell. Ban loves the girl,

and is angry with himself because of his wife,

*[Fol. 216b.] and is ill at ease;

the semblaunce of a yonge knyght of xv yere age, and was clothed in a short garnement party read and white, and was girt with a bawdrike of silke of brede of a spanne wele and richely harnysshed with golde and stones, and ther-on hinge a gipser or purpill samyte bete with golde, and hadde a peire of gloues hanginge hym be-hynde, and his heed was yelow and curle, and his iyen grey and grete in his heed, and kerved be-fore the kyng Ban knelinge, and he was moche be-holden of oon and other, ffor ther was noon that hym knewe saf the two kynges, ffor tho that were her meyne wende he hadde be with the lorde of the place, and for his grete bewte the maydenys be-hilde hym often ententifly. But the doughter of Agravadain hadde sette hir iyen moste vpon the kyng Ban more than on eny othir thinge, for the coniurison that Merlin hadde made, and putte hir to grete affray; and she liked hym so well that it made hir to chaunge colour ofte sithes, and longe her thought er the clothes were taken vp, ffor fain wolde she haue leyn be-twene his armes, and she cowde not wite how that volunte to hir com. But so moche she hath ther-on sette her thought, that to noon othir thinge she toke no tent but to thenke of hym.

In this thought and this anguyssh was the mayden by the coniurison of Merlin; and on that other side was the kyng Ban so a-raied that he left pley and laughinge at the table, and cowde not wite how it was to hym come, and he was sory and wroth of that he hadde his love so turned, ffor he hadde to wif a yonge lady of grete bewte, to whom he ne wolden not false his feith; and on that other side he thought how he was herberowed ther-ynne, and the lorde of the place was a noble man and a curteyse, and hadde hym don grete honours, and hym semed it were vntrouthe and treson, and to grete vilonye sholde it to hym turne yef he required hir of shame or dishoneste. Ne no gretter shame myght he hym do than diffoule his doughter in soche maner; and *ther-with he wax so euell at ese that he wiste not what to do, and alwey he seide in his corage that he wolde neuer hir requyre of no soche

thinge. But Merlin thought wele in his herte that so sholde it not go, ffor he thought it hadde be grete harme yef thei hadde not come to-geder, ffor soche fruyte sholde come be-twene hem wher-of all the londe of Breteigne sholde be honoured by the grete prowesse that he sholde haue.

but Merlin intends them to come together.

All thus seide Merlin to hym-self; and whan the clothes were drawen, and thei hadde waisshe theire handes thei yede to the wyndowes, and be-helde the marasse; and on that othir side thei saugh the foreste and the forteresses that were ther a-boute, and the erable londe and the feire fissinge, and saugh the vynes and the contrey so feire that merveile it was to be-holden; and ther thei stode till it was tyme to go to bedde, and entred in to a chambre by the halle where the maydenys hadde made redy two beddes soche as apertend to two soche princes, and thei were brought to bedde with grete ioye and feste; and whan the two kynges were brought to bedde, the lorde of the place wente to bedde with his wif, and the thre maydenys lay in a-nother chamber next by the chamber of Agrauadain, so that noon myght entre but thourgh his chamber; and a-noon as thei were a-bedde, Merlin be-gan an enchauntement, and made hem to slepe alle that were withynne the Castell saf only the kynge Ban and the mayden. These tweyne were so surprised that oon vpon that other, that thei myght nother slepe ne reste, and Merlin, that wolde acheive that he hadde be-gonne, com in to the chamber ther the mayden lay, and toke hir softly by the hande and seide, "Now, feire lady, a-rise, and come to hym that so moche yow desireth;" and she that so sore was enchaunted myght not with-sey his volunte, but a-noon a-roos vp oute of hir bedde naked saf, she first dide on hir smok, and Merlin her ledde by her fader beddes side, and by the beddes of other knyghtes ther-ynne; but thei were so stronge a-slepe, that thei myght not a-wake. Thus wente Merlin and the mayden till thei com in to the chamber ther the two kynges lay, wher-ynne was light I-nough, and fond the kynge Bohors sore a-slepe, as he that was in the power of Merlin, and thei com streight to the kynge Ban that was at

They go to the windowes.

Two beds are prepared for the two princes,

and the lord of the place goes to bed with his wife.

Merlin makes an enchauntement, so that all sleep but Ban and the maiden.

Merlin takes the maiden by the hand.

and leads her to King Ban.

moche mysese, and seide, "Sir, lo here the gode [and] the feire whiche shall bringe forth the feire and the good, of whom the grete renomedde shall renne thourgh all Breteigne."

Ban receives
the maiden.

Whan the kyng saugh the mayden, and he hadde vnderstonde Merlin, a-noon he spradde his armes, and hir resceived gladde and myry, as he that moste do the comaundement of Merlin, and he hadde no power it to with-sonde, for the enchauntement wher-with he was so surprised that he myght it not forsake in no maner; ffor yef it were in poste he wolde it not haue do for all the reme of grete Breteigne, for sore he dredde oure lorde; and satte vp and resceyved the mayden in his armes, and she dide of hir smok, and leide hir down by hym, and her toke in his armes and she dide hym, and eche of hem made feire chere and right good semblaunt, as thei hadde be to-geder xx yere, for noon of hem was a-shamed ne dismayed of other, and all this hadde Merlin it ordeyned.

*[Fol. 217a.]
They remain
together till
daybreak.

In this manere *was the kyng and the damesell till day, and than com Merlin to the kyng Ban, and seide that it were tyme that the damesell yede a-gein, and she dide on hir smok and

Ban gives
the maiden
a ring.

hir kirtill; and the kyng toke a ringe of his fynger, and side, "Swete love, kepe this ringe for my love;" and the damesell it toke and sette it on hir finger, and so thei departed; and Merlin brought hir a-gein in to hir bedde, and made hir to ly down all naked that hadde conceyved a sone, of whom launcelot after hadde grete ioye and honour for the bounte and Chivalrie that was in hym. Whan Merlin hadde brought the damesell in hir bedde, he wente to his owne bedde and lay down, and than

Merlin
brings her
back to her
bed.

brake the enchauntement, and alle that were in the castell a-woke, and it was than feire day; and than a-rise knyghtes and squyres, and alle seruantes, and made redy theire armures, and sadeled theire horse, and trussed coufres and males, and Merlin com to the kyng that was a-slepe, ffor the enchauntement of the love of the damesell was cessed, and he wiste well that he hadde by hir leyen, but he knewe not in what maner ne how he hadde hir in his bedde, saf he supposed it was by Merlin; and Merlin com to hym, and seide it was sone tyme

He breaks
the enchant-
ment so that
all awake.

He comes to
the king and

to ride; and whan the two kynges were vp, and alle tho that were ther-ynne; than com the lorde and the thre damesselles to the two kynges and salued, and thei hem grete a-gein godely; and whan the kyng Ban saugh the doughter of Agravadain that al nyght hadde leyn with hym he be-heilde hir full ententify, and she hym full swetly bowinge down with the heed as she that was shamefaste, that she hadde be so prevy with hym, and that she hadde be so bolde; and but yef the force and the enchauntement hadde not cessed, she ne hadde ther-of be nothings a-baished for hym, and ther was neuer hour after but she hym loved more than eny other man, and that shewed well, for neuer after that wolde she neuer haue a-do with no man, but seide to hir-self that a woman that hadde ben so with a kyng ne ought neuer be so famyler with noon other man of lower degre. Ne neuer after wolde she be married; and the kyng Ban toke hir be the hande, and seide, "Damesell, I moste nede departe at this tyme, but wher-so-euer I be I am youre knyght as trewly as eny man may be, and I praye yow haue in mynde to kepe youre body, ffor ye be conceyved with a sone, and that I do yow verily to wite of whom ye shall haue ioye and honour;" and of this Merlin hadde do hym to vndirstonde that knewe a partye of thinges that were to come; and the damesell ansuerde in baas voyce sore syghinge, and seide, "Sir, yef it so be god to his pleiser sende me more ioye ther-of than I haue of youre departinge, ffor neuer here be-forn was love so soone departed, and seth yow be-hove nede for to go, I shall conforte my-self the beste wise I may with this that I am with conceyved; now god sende me grace that I be a gladder moder, ffor yef I lyve so longe that I may it se, hit shall be to me a myrour and confort in remembrance of yow;" with that worde the kyng toke hir in his armes, and with sighinge comaunded hir to god; and the damesell returned to hir chamber with the maydenes *and the two kynges; and Merlin comaunded the lady to god, and thanked hir for the grete curtesie and chere that thei hadde founden; and after thei toke their horse and departed oute

tells them it is time to ride.

The daughter of Agravadain is ashamed when she sees Ban.

She loves him more than any other man.

Ban tells her of the son she has conceived.

She says that it will be a comfort to her.

*[Fol. 217b.]

Merlin and the two kynges

depart out of
the castle.

They come
to Benoyk.

Merlin takes
leave of the
kings, and
goes to
Nimiane.

He then goes
to Blase, and
tells him
what has
happened.

of the Castell, and rode forth the cauchie oon after a-nother, and Agrauidain hem conveyed to the pyne tre, and than returned; and the two kynges rode forth to the see, and founden shippes, and passed ouer; and whan thei were landed thei ride forth till thei come to Benoyk, where thei were resceiued with grete ioye; but a-bove alle other were the two sustres, the Quenes gladde and ioyfull, and so the two kynges soiourned viij dayes in Benoyk with theire two wives, and with hem also Merlin; and the ixth day he toke leve of the two kynges and the Quenes, and of the other barouns, and repeed to Nimiane, his owne love, that made hym grete chire, and of hym was gladde and ioyfull, ffor moche she hym loved for the grete debonerte that she hadde in hym founden, and he loved nothings so wele as he dide hir, and wele it shewed, ffor he taught hir that he wolde not teche to noon other, and so he a-bode with hir viij dayes, and than departed and com to Blase, his maister, that so moche desired hym to se; and Merlin hym tolde the assemble on the playn of Salisbery, and how thei rescewed the Quene of Garlot, and the pray, and tolde hym alle thinges that were be-fallen seth he fro hym departed, and he hem wrote in his boke. But now shull we returne to speke of the kynge Arthur.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ARTHUR'S GREAT FEAST AT CAMELOT; THE BATTLE BEFORE TORAISE, AND
DEFEAT OF KING RION.

Arthur
abides at
Cameloth.

He tells Ga-
wein that he
will hold a
court,

Whan the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and Merlin were departed from the kynge Arthur for to go in to theire owne contrey, the kynge a-bode stille at Cameloth, gladde and myri with the Quene Gonnore that moche hym loved, and he hir, and so thei a-bide in ioye and myrthe longe tyme, till it drough nygh the myddill of Auguste; and than seide the kynge to sir Gawein, his newew, that at the feste of assumpcion he wolde holde court roiall, and that all sholde be sent fore

that were of hym holdinge londe or feo; ffor he seide he saugh neuer his hool power to-geder at no feeste that he hadde holden be-fore; "and therfore," quod he, "I will that alle be sent fore bothe fer and nygh bothe prive and straunge, and also I will that eche bringe with hym his wif or his love that my court may be the more honoured;" and sir Gawein seide that he hadde well devised, and that of gentell herte meved this purpos, "and ther-fore I be-seke yow that this be so don that it be to youre honour;" and the kynge seide, "Certes, feire newew, I desire to do so that I haue ther-of honour, and that all the worlde ther-of may speke." Than sir Gawein lete write lettres and writtes, and sente hem to the Barouns, and to knyghtes of the londe, and comaunded hem alle as dere as thei hym loved that thei be on the assumpcion even at Cameloth, ffor than wolde he holden court grete and roiall, and euery man to bringe with hym his wif or his love; and the messagers wente to the princes and Barouns, and shewed hem theire lettres, and dide theire message thourgh the contrey; and the princes and the barouns made hem redy in *the moste roiall wise and com to the court as the kynge hadde comaunded, and euery man brought with hym his wife, and he that hadde no wife brought with hym his love; and than ther com thider so many that merueille it was to be-holde the nombre, ffor ther ne myght not the tenthe part in to the Citee of Cameloth, but loigged with-out in the feire medowes in tentes and in Pavelouns; and the kynge hem resceiued with grete ioye and grete honoure, and the quene Gonnore, that was the wisest lady of the worlde, resceyved the quenes, and the ladyes, and the maydenes, and damesels with grete honoure eueriche of hem by hem-self as she that hadde more witte and curtesie than eny lady in hir dayes, and yaf to hem riche yestes of golde and siluer, and clothes of silke eueriche after theire astate; and she demened hir so well that thei seide ther was not soche a-nother lady in all the worlde as was she; and the kynge departed to knyghtes robes and armes, and horse, and dide hem so moche worshippe that day and curtesie, that thei loved hym the better as longe as their

to which all
far and near
are to be
invited,

so that all
the world
may speak
of it.
Gawein
sends to the
barons and
knights for
them to come
to Cameloth.

*[Fol. 218a.]
They come,
and each
brings with
him his wife
or his love.

Not a tenth
part can get
into the city.
The others
lodge in
tents.

Queen Gon-
nore receives
the ladies,

and gives
them rich
gifts.

The king di-
vides robes,
arms, and
horses among
the knights.

life endured; and that shewed well after in many a stour, and in many a nede, as ye shull heren her-after.

He holds a rich feast on the eve of the Assumption.

Grete was the feeste that the kynge hilde on the euen of the assumpcion to the riche baronye that to hym were come. Whan the kynge and the barouns hadde herde euesonge at the mynster of seint Stephene, the tables were sette in teintes and Pavelons, ffor thei myght not alle in to the town; and on that othir side was the Quene Gonnore, and the ladyes and damesels with soche ioye that merveile it were to reherse, ffor in all the londe of Breteigne, ne in all the power of kynge Arthur, ne lefte mynstrall ne iogelours ne oon ne other, but alle were come to that feeste; and at that soper were thei served

All the minstrels in the land of Britain come to Cameloth.

The joy and mirth endures till bedtime. On the morrow the king, queen, and the barons hear mass at the minster of St. Stephen.

so myghty a prince as was the kynge Arthure, and thus endured thei in ioye and myrthe till tyme was to go to reste till on the morowe. And on the morowe a-roos the kynge Arthure, and the riche barouns, and the Quene, and wente to hire masse at the mynster of Seint Stephene, and the servise was honorably seide in the worship and reuerence of that high feste, and grete and riche was the offrande; and the kynge Arthur and alle other kynges and Quenes that day bar crownes in worship of the day, and so ther were lx crownes, what of kynges and quenes; and whan the masse was seide, and the seruise ended the kynge Arthur lepe on his palfrey, and alle the other kynges after hym I-crowned, and so dide the

Arthur and the crowned kings ride;

so does Gonnore and the queens.

The kings and queens sit at the high dais.

quene Gonnore and alle the other quenes, and eueryche of hem a crowne of golde on their heedes; and the kinge Arthur satte at the high deyse, and made alle the xij kynges sitte at his table downward a reнге; and also in honour of the high feste of oure lady, he made the Quene Gonnore sitte by hym crowned, and so dide alle the other xij quenes by-fore their lordes; and at other tables satte other princes, Dukes, and Erles, and othir knyghtes were sette richely thourgh the medowes in tentes and Pavelouns with grete ioy and melodye that neuer was seyn gretter in no Court.

[Fol. 218b.] Kay brings the first dish

* And as thei were in this ioye, and in this feste, and kay the stiward that brought the firste mese be-fore the

kyнге, ther com in the feirest forme of man that euer hadde thei seyn be-fore, and he was clothed in samyte, and girtе with a bawdrike of silke harnysshed with golde and preciouсе stones, that all the paleys flamed of the light, and the heir of his hede was yelowе and crispe with a crowne of golde ther-on as he hadde ben a kyнге, and his hosen of fin scarlet, and his shone of white cordewan orfraied, and bokeled with fin golde; and hadde an harpe a-bowte his nekke of siluer richely wrought, and the stringes were-of fin golde wire, and the harpe was sette with preciouсе stones; and the man that it bar was so feire of body and of visage that neuer hadde thei sein noon so feire a creature; but this a-peired moche his bewte and his visage for that he was blinde, and yet were the iyen in his heed feire and clier; and he hadde a litill cheyne of siluer tacched to his arme, and to that cheyne a litill spayne was bounde as white as snowe, and a litill coler a-boute his nekke of silke harneysed with golde; and this spaynell ledde hym streight be-fore the kyнге Arthur, and he harped a lay of Breteigne full swetely that wonder was to here, and the refraite of his laye salewed the kyнге Arthur, and the Quene Gonnore, and alle the other after; and kay the stiward that brought the firste cours taried a-while in the settinge down to be-holde the harpur ententifly. But now we moste cesse of hem a-while, and speke of the kyнге Rion.

In this partie the storie seith that whan the kyнге Ryon was discounfited of the kyнге Arthur, and of the kyнге leodogan of Carmelide, he departed from that stour sory and wroth, as he that all hadde loste in that bateile, and rep[e]ired hom in to his contrey triste and sorowfull, and swor his oth that neuer sholde he haue ioye ne reste till he hadde distroied the kyнге leodogan, and chaced hym oute of his londe, and sente writtes and letteres to alle the lordes and knyghtes of his reame in lengthe and in brede, and to alle the reames that he hadde conquered, and that were ix by a count, and assembled so moche peple that it was merveile to se; the first kyнге that com at the comaundement of kyнге Rion was the kyнге

before the
kings.
A fair man
comes in

with a harp
set with pre-
cious stones.

He is blind,
and has a
chain of sil-
ver attached
to his arm,
by which a
spaniel leads
him.

When Rion
was discom-
fited by Ar-
thur, he de-
parted very
angry.

He sends let-
ters to his
lords, and
assembles
much people.

The princes
who came at
his com-
mandment.

Rion's
princes.

Palerens, and hadde in his companye xv^M men that were bolde and hardy; after com the kynge Tasurs with xij^M men; and the kynge Brinans brought xiiij^M men wele horsed and a-raied for to helpe theire lorde, and the kynge Argans brought xi^M men; and the kynge Taurus brought xi^M men whiche hadde grete corage to a-venge the shame of kynge Rion; after that com the kynge Arade de galoire with xv^M men in his companye; and the kynge Solimas brought xx^M men wele horsed; and the kynge Kahadins brought x^M; and the kynge Alipantius of the londe des pastures brought xx^M men; whan thei were come and assembled at the comaundement of the kynge Rion,

Rion com-
plains to
them,

•[Fol. 219a.]

and requires
them to
help him.

They are to
be ready at
Toraise
within two
months.

They all
agree, and
return to
their coun-
tries.

Rion besieges
Torayse.

Cleodalis
comes out
with 20,000
men, and
fights
fiercely.

and he hem saugh alle be-fore hym he made his complaynt and his clamoure heringe hem alle, and seide to hem full sympilly, "Lordinges, ye be alle my liege men, and of me ye holde youre londes and youre fees, and *ther-fore ye owe to bere me feith a-gein alle men; and for I knowe youre hertes fin and trewe, and that ye wolde in nothings a-gein me not erre, and therfore I yow pray and require that ye me helpe to a-venge my shame, nought only myn but alle youre; ffor he that doth to me shame or vylonye, he doth it not only to me, but to yow alle in generall, and therfore I pray yow and require be the oth that ye haue made to me that ye be with-ynne this two monethes be-fore Torayse a-gein the kynge leodogan of Carmelide that by his force hath me discounfited and chased oute of the feilde, and therfore I require yow that ther on be take vengauunce;" and thei ansuerde alle with oo voice, and seide, "Of that it nedeth vs neuer to preyen, for this shall be don at yours plesier." With that thei departed and wente hom in to thaire contrey, and made hem redy, and com at the day that was named with grete force be-fore the castell of Torayse; and the kynge Rion com with all his peple, and be-seged town all a-boute, and gadered the prayes in her comynge. But Cleodalis the stiward of Carmelide that was a noble knyght, and a trewe to his lorde chalenged it full fiercely of the forreyours, ffor he com out with xx^M men that he hadde with-holden to kepe the marches, and faught with hem fiercely,

and rescowed the pray, and brought it in to the Castell and made shette the yates; and the kynge Rion and his peple logged a-boute the castell, and sette vp teintes and Pavelons, and rested the firste nyght, and on the morowe thei assailed the town and the castell; and the kynge leodogan and Cleodales cam oute by a posterne that opened a-gein the river, euen right a-geins the teinte of kynge Solymas that was gon to the assaute of a yate, and the kynge leodogan drofe thourgh the teintes and Pavelouns, and with hym Cleodales, and caste down to the erthe all that vp-right dide stonde, and toke golde and siluer, and vesselles of golde and other Iuwelles, and brought in to the town, and in to the Castell by strengthe. Than were thei of the hoste full sory and wroth; and the kynge Rion seide all that sholde nought hem a-vaile, ffor he wolde neuer departe from the castell till he hadde it taken, and the kynge leodogan putte in his mercy; and than thei with-drough hem from the assaute, and so a-bide fyve dayes with-outen shotte or other dedes, and while that the kynge Rion lay thus at soiour, hit was tolde how the kynge Arthur hadde discounfited the saisnes, and chaced hem oute of the londe, and that at the assumpeion he sholde holde court roiall in the towon of Cameloth; and whan the kynge Rion herde thus, he seide, "Now lete hym feesten, ffor as soone as I haue the kynge leodogan in my bailly, I shall go vpon hym with so moche peple that he shall it not endure; and neuertheles yef the kynge Arthur come to me to aske mercy er I come vpon hym with myn hoste I will haue of hym pite, and suffre hym to regne, and of me holde his londe." "Sir," seide his men, "sende hym a message, and do hym to wite that it were better to hym to be-come youre man than to be distroied and his londe waste." "So will I do," quod the kynge Rion; and than he lete write a letter, and it dide ensele with his seell, and than he cleped to hym a knyght in whom he moche trusted, and made *hym for to swere that he sholde take this letter to kynge Arthur in his owne hande, and he swor that in the same maner it sholde be do; and than the kynge Rion delyuered

Leodogan and Cleodales come out and bring in gold and silver to the town.

News comes to Rion how Arthur has discomfited the Saxons.

Rion says when he has conquered Leodogan he will go against Arthur.

He writes a letter to Arthur, and sends it by a messenger.

*[Fol. 219b.]

Rion com-
mands his
men to arm
and assail
the castle.

hym this letters, and a-noon he departed and rode forth the nexte wey toward Camelot, and with hym but a squyer; and the kynge Rion a-bode stille be-fore Torayse, and comaunded his peple to armen hem, and to assaile the castell, ffor he hadde grete dispite that soche a place with so fewe peple sholde a-geins hym holde day or houre, ffor hym semed he hadde mo knyghtes in his hoste than ther were men, and women, and childeren in the town, "and therefore it is grete shame to ley the sege, ffor we myght haue taken it at oure first comynge by force, and therfore shull we be the lesse preised in other contreis, and turne vs to reprof and cowardise, and thei that we shull werre vpon here-after shull haue of vs the lesse drede."

The princes
and barons
are ashamed.

Whan the princes and the Barouns herde the kynge thus speke, thei were somdell a-shamed, for thei dredde leste he sholde holde hem cowardes, and ronne to theire armes in all haste, and be-gonne to assaile the castell strongly; and thei that were with-ynne hem deffended manly and casten out stones, and sharpe speres and dartes, and slough of hem I-nowe in the diches; and the kynge leodogan, and Cleodalis, and Guyomar his cosin, and herry de rivell, and Males le bruns issued out armed, vpon horse of prise couered with still, and smote a-monge the peple of kynge Rion that by force hadde take a barbican, and ledde a-wey xv sergauntes that were bolde and hardy, and of that harme hem thought shame; and Cleodalis smot the kynge Margant with a spere that neither shelde ne hauberk myght hym a-vaile, for the spere shaft shewed thourgh his bakke be-hynde, and he blussht down deed to grounde; and whan his men saugh hym falle, thei lefte the prisoners and ronne thider; and whan thei founde hym deed, than be-gan the cry and the noyse, and lefte the assaute, and Cleodalis and his companye rescowed the xv men, and brought hem in to the Castell, and closed the yates, and thei of the hoste also with-drough theire peple, and bar the deed kynge in to the tente of kynge Rion, that was therfore sorowfull and wroth. But now shull we leue hem makynge theire doell, and speke of the message that kynge Rion sente to kynge Arthur to Cameloth.

Leodogan,
Cleodalis,
Guyomar,
Herry and
Males issue
out of the
castle.

Cleodalis
kills Mar-
gant.

He and his
company re-
turn to the
castle.

When this messenger was departed from his lorde, he and his squyer rode forth till thei com to Cameloth on the day of the assumpcion, and a-light down of his horse, and com in to the halle as kay hadde sette the firste cours be-fore the kyng Arthur. This knyght saugh these kynges and these quenes that satte at the high deyse alle crowned for the high feeste, and saugh the harpours crowned with golde, he was all a-stonyed, and for the dogge that hym ledde thourgh the paleis; and he asked of kay that served whiche was the kyng Arthur, and kay hym shewed a-noon right; and the knyght, that was wise, and well cowde speke, com be-fore the kyng, and seide so lowde that alle myght it vndirstonde, "Kyng Arthur, I grete the nought, *ffor I am not ther-to comaunded by hym that hath me to the I-sente. But I shall do the to vndirstonde what he doth to the sende; and whan thou hast herde his comaundement do as thou art a-vised, and yef thou do his will thou shalt finde ther-in profite, and yef thou wilt it nought do the by-hoveth to forsake thi londe, and fle in exile;" and whan the kyng this herde he be-gan to smyle, and seide, "Full sobirly a-vised the of thi message, ffor of all that thou art comaunded thou mayst say boldly all thy will with-oute eny encombraunce of me or of eny other;" and than he seide,

Rion's messenger comes to Cameloth.

He asks Kay which is King Arthur.

He addresses the king.
*[Fol. 220a.]

Arthur tells him he may speak boldly.

"Kyng Arthur to the sente me the kyng of alle cristin that is the kyng Rion of the yles, whiche is at sege be-fore Toraise in Carmelide, and with hym ix kynges that alle ben his liege men, and holde of hym theire londes and theire fees in honour, ffor he hath made hem alle enclyne to hym by his prowess, and of alle the kynges that he hath conquered wher-of ther be ix, he hath flayn of theire beerdes. Now my lorde sendeth the comaundement that thou be-come his man; and that shall be to the grete honoure to be-come liege man to so puyssaunt a kyng as my lorde, ffor he is lorde from the east in to the west of all the londe;" and whan the knyght hadde thus seide he drough oute the letter of kyng Rion, that was seled with x seles roiall, and seide to the kyng Arthur, "Sir, do rede this letter that my lorde hath the sente, and

The messenger says Rion is before Toraise with nine kings, whose beards he has flayed off.

He draws forth Rion's letter.

The arch-
bishop reads
it.

than shalt thou heren his wille and his corage;" and ther-with he delyuered hym the letter, and the kynge hit toke to the archebisshoppe, that was come thider, to vndirstonde the message, and he it vnfolded and be-gan to rede a-lowde that thei myght it wele vndirstonde that were in the halle.

The letter.

Rion has a
mantle made
of kings'
beards.

He com-
mands Ar-
thur to send
his beard,

and after-
wards come
to him as his
liege man.

*[Fol. 220b.]

The arch-
bishop de-
livers the
letter back
to the king,
who is very
angry.

"I the kynge Rion, that am lorde of all the west, do hem alle to wite that these letteres shull seen, that I am at sege be-fore Toraise in Carmelide, and with me be ix kynges of my meyne, and alle theire peple of theire londes that armes may bere, and of alle the kynges that I conquere I haue theire suerdes be my prowesse, and also I haue made a mantell of reade samyte furred with the beerdes of these kynges, and this mantell is nygh all redy of all that ther-to longeth, saf only tasselles, and for the tassels faile I haue herde tidings of thy grete renoun that is spredde thou[r]gh the worlde, I will that it be honoured more than eny of the other kinges, and therfore I comaunde the that thou sende me thy beerde with all the skynne, and I shall hit sette on the tassels of my mantell for the love of the, ffor neuer be-fore this mantell be tasselled shall it not hange a-boute my nekke. Ne I will of noon other haue it made but of thy beerde, ffor a-boute the handes and the nekke ought euery prince sette the moste honorable thinges, and for thou art the most puyssaunt kynge as the renoun of the recordeth, I will that thou sende me thy beerde by oon or tweyne of thy frendes, and after come thou to me and be-come my liege man and holde of me thy londes in goode pees; and yef thou wilt nought thus don I comaunde the that thou go exiled and forsake thi londe, ffor as soone as I haue conquered the kynge leodogan I *shall come vpon the with all myn hoste, and make thy beerde be flayn, and drawe from thy chyn boustously, and that thou shalt knowe verily."

Whan the archebisshop hadde redde this letter be-fore the kynge Arthur, and be-fore alle the Barouns he delyuered the letter a-gein to the kynge that was full wroth and angry with this comaundement; and the messenger seide, "Kynge Arthur, do that my lorde the comaundeth that I may

returne;" and the kynge seide he myght wele returne whan-so-euer he wolde, and telle his lorde that his beerd sholde he neuer haue while he myght it diffende; and the knyght departed and com to his horse and rode forth, he and his squyer, till thei come to Toraise, in Carmelide, where he fonde the kynge Rion that assailed the Castell full fiercely; and thei with-ynne diffended hem full harde, that thei with-oute loste moche of theire peple, and therefore was the kynge Rion full wroth; and whan the knyght was come be-fore the kynge Rion, and tolde his ansuere from the kynge Arthur, he seide he sholde not so soone haue take the kynge leodogan, but a-noon he wolde come vpon hym with so grete power that he sholde not hem sustene ne endure, and now shull we speke of the kynge Arthur, and of his Barouns.

Arthur tells the knight he may return, but that Rion shall never have his beard.

The knight tells Arthur's answer to Rion.

The story returns to Arthur.

Whan the knyght that hadde brought this message from the kynge Rion was departed, the kynge Arthur lefte stille sittinge at mete in myrthe and in ioye; and the harpoure wente from oon place to a-nother, and harped myrily, so that thei be-hilde hym for a merveile bothe oon and other, and hem liked more the melodye of this harpoure than eny thinge that this other mynstralles diden; and the kynge Arthur hadde grete merveile fro whens this man myght come, and yet he ought hym well to knowe, for many tymes hadde he hym seyn in other maner and in others semblaunces; and whan thei hadde eten and the clothes were taken up, the harpoure com be-fore the kynge, and seide, "Sir, yef it plesse yow graunte me reward for my servise." "Certes, frende," seide the kynge, "it is reson, and ye shull it haue with goode will, and ther-fore sey youre will, for ye shull not faile yef it be soche thinge as I may yeve, savinge myn honour and my reame." "Sir," seide the harpoure, "ye shull neuer haue ther-in but honour, yef god will." "Than sey youre volunte," seide the kynge boldly. Than seide the harpoure, "I aske yow, and require to bere youre chief baner in the firste bataile that ye shall go to." "Ffeire frende," seide the kynge, "sholde that be worship to me and my reame; oure lorde hath sette yow in his prison; how myght

They marvel at the harper.

Arthur asks where he comes from.

The harper asks Arthur to grant him a reward,

and requests to bear the chief banner.

Arthur re-
fuses.

Ban recog-
nises Merlin
in this dis-
guise.

*[Fol. 221a.]

The harper
vanishes.
Arthur then
thinks it was
Merlin, and
is sorry he
did not grant
his request.

Gawein asks
who it was.

He remem-
bers Merlin's
disguises.

A little child
comes into
the hall,

and asks to
bear the
banner.

ye youre-self guyde that may nought se to bere a baner in bateile of a kyng that ought to be refute and counfort to alle the hoste." "Haa, sir," quod the harpoure, "God that is the very guyde, me shall condite and lede that in many perillouse places me hath ledde, and wite ye well it shall be for youre prow;e;" and whan the barouns it vndirstode thei hadde mer-veile; than be-hilde hym the kyng Ban, and remembred hym of Merlin that in the Castell of the marasse hym served in disgiise of a yonge knyght of xv yere age, and thought it sholde ben he, and seide a-noon to the kyng, "Sir, graunte hym his request, for he semeth to be *soche a man that his desire ne ought not to be refused." "Why," seide Arthur, "trowe ye it sholde be to oure profite and oure honour that a mynstrell sholde bere oure baner in bateile, whiche may not lede hymself, though I hit with-sey I do nothinge a-gein right, for it is a thinge that I sholde not graunte lightly, but I knewe right well the persone that it sholde bere;" and a-noon as this worde was seide, the harpoure vanysshed a-monge hem that noon wiste where he be com. Than Arthur be-thought hym on Merlin, and was sory and wroth that he ne hadde it hym graunted, and alle that were ther-ynne were a-baishshed, for that he was loste so sodeinly; and the kyng Ban of Benoyk that well a-parceived it was Merlin seide to the kyng Arthur, "Certes, sir," quod he, "ye ought hym wele for to knowen." "Trewty," seide Arthur, "ye sey full trewe, but for that he hath made a whelp he hym for to lede that hath take a-wey fro me the know-inge." "Sir," seide Gawein, "what is he than?" "Nevew," quod the kyng, "it is Merlin oure frende." "Yee," seide Gawein; "so helpe me god, I trowe yow wele that it be he, ffor often hath he be disgiised be-fore youre Baronye, and this hath he don to make yow solas and counfort." And as thei stode spekinge here-of, in the halle com in a litill childe, that semed of viij yere of age, and he was all naked and brecheles, and bar a staf in his honde and com be-fore the kyng, and seide, "Sir, appareille yow for to go a-gein the kyng Rion in bateile, and delyuer me youre baner for to bere;" and whan

thei that were in the paleys saugh hym in that aray, thei begonne to laugh harde; and the kynge ansuerde all in laughinge, as [he] that sposed well it was Merlin, "So helpe me god, ye owe it well to bere, and I it yow graunte." "Gramercy, sir," seide the childe, "ffor in me it shall be wele employde;" and with that he comaunded hem alle to god, and wente oute of the paleis, and than a-noon he toke his owne semblaunce soche as he was wonte to haue, and seide to hym-self that now hym be-hoveth to somown the kynges hoste, and wente toward the see and passed ouer and com to Gannes, to Pharien, and to leonces of paierne, and badde hem to assemble theire power of all that thei myght bringe oute of the londe and come to Cameloth, and thei seide thei wolde do hys comaundement; and Merlin com to the see, and passed ouer and wente to the londe of kynge Vrien, and by the londe of kynge looth, and seid to the Barouns, and to other princes that thei be with-ynne xv dayes afte oure lady day, the Natiuite in Septembre be-fore Cameloth, and thei hym graunted alle; and than he departed from them, and com a-gein to the court er euesonge were all seide vpon the same day of the assumpcion, and the kyng of hym made grete ioye, and asked why he hadde hym so kept oute of sight; and he ansuerde that he ought hym wele to knowen. "Ye certes," seide the kynge, "yef in me were eny witte." Thus thei a-bide in feeste and ioye all that day.

On the morowe the kynge made alle his princes to assemble in his paleis, and ther also was Merlin; and the kynge Arthur seide how hem be-houeth to somowne all the power *that thei myght assemble, for he wolde socour the kynge leodogan that was fade[r] to the Queene Gonnore; and Merlin seide how thei were alle somowned bothe at Gannes and at Benoyk, and thourgh alle the londes of the other barouns; and the kynge Arthur hym asked whan that was don, and he seide, "Seth yesterday after mete;" and whan the kynge and the other princes this vndirstode that he hadde this don, thei hadde grete wonder, and were ther in ioye and in feste till all here peple was assembled, and than meved the kynge Arthur and

Arthur grants the request.

The child goes out and Merlin takes his own form.

He goes to Pharien and Leonces, and bids them assemble their power, and come to Cameloth.

Er goes to Urien and Looth, and bids them come to Cameloth.

He returns to Arthur's court.

All the princes assemble on the morrow, and Arthur tells them he * [Fol. 221b.] will succour Leodogan.

They ride to Carmelide, and Merlin bears the banner.

He tells them all to follow him.

They come to the host of Rion.

Gawein kills king Pharaon.

Both hosts are assembled against each other.

Merlin drives into the press.

Rion and his people think

his baronye, and rode towards the reame of Carmelide; and the kynge graunted his baner to Merlin as he hadde promysed be-fore, and sped theire iournyes till thei come a litill iourney fro Toraise, where the kynge Rion had be-sege the kynge leodogan; and whan thei were nygh the hoste, Merlin seide to Gawein, and to sir Ewein, and to Segramor, "Loke ye be euer nygh a-boute me;" and thei seide thei wolde don his pleiser. "Now than," quod Merlin, "sueth after me softly, and alle thei of the hoste till we be in bateile, and ye shall smyte vpon hem of that other partye with-oute rennyng of youre bateile, and thinke euer to come nygh after my baner what wey that euer ye se me turne;" and thei ansuerde that so thei wolde with goode will, and so he seide to Arthur and to alle the othere princes, and wente forth till thei com in to the hoste of kynge Rion, and Merlin be-fore hem all so harde as his horse myght renne with the dragon in his hande that caste thourgh his mouthe fire and flame, that alle thei ther-of were a-baissed; and Gawein that folowed hym next mette with the kynge Pharaon that with all his bateile com hym a-geins; and as soone as he saugh hem approche, Sir Gawein hym smote so, that shelde ne hauberk myght hym warante, but bar hym thourgh the body deed to the erthe; and than he seide in game, "He this is sworn to pees, for by hym shall neuer the kynge Arthur lese acre of his londe ne his beerd be flayn from his chyn;" with that assembled bothe hostes that oon a-gein that other, and grete was the noyse, and the fray of the people of kynge Rion, and of the peple of kynge Arthur; and ther dide Gawein, and Ewein, and Segramor, and Gaheries, and the knyghtes of the rounde table merveiles with theire handes; ffor whan bothe hostes were mette, ye myght haue sein many oon leide to grounde of oo party and of other, ffor thei were bold and hardy on bothe sides; and Merlin that bar the dragon drof in to the prees, and sir Gawein and his companye after, and smote hem so harde that thei metten that thei neded no salve, and the speres fly in peces; and that was a thinge that discourtforted the kynge Rion and his peple, ffor thei wende verily that fendes

were fallen a-monge the hoste. But thei were so bolde and so chualrouse that ther-fore thei wolde not be discourfited, but hilde bateile grete and merveilouse a-gein the peple of kyng Arthur, and made hem resorte bakke at hir first comyng, and therefore was sir Gawein and his companye full of dolour; and Merlin that rode be-fore hem cried, "What lordinges, what shall this be-mene, be ye now a-rested? sueth me yef ye will *youre loos encrese and your pris." Than these felowes smyten in a-monge hem of Irelande that well hem resceyued with trenchaunt wepenes. But sir Gawein and his companye dide so well in armes that thei pressed thourgh the peple of kyng Rion, but first was ther many a hevy stroke yoven and resceived, and many a knyght straught deed to the erthe; and the kyng Arthur, and the kyng looth of Orcanye, and the kyng Ban, and the kyng Bohors were smyte in to the bateile on a-nother side, where thei dide merveilles a-monge theire enmyes, ffor a-gein theire strokes endured noon armure. But the peple of kyng Rion mette hem so fiercely, that thei smote down the kyng looth and the kyng Bohors from theire horse a-mydde the presse, and so thei myght soone haue hadde grete damage ne hadde ben the grete prowess that was in hem bothe, for thei lept on foot full vigerously with theire swerdes drawen, and be-gonne to smyte down horse and men so crewelly that ther ne was noon that hem saugh, but he hilde it for a merveile; and the kyng Arthur and the kyng Ban pressed that wey hem to remounte, and Merlin com drivinge with the baner in his hande that thourgh his throte caste fire and flame, and smote in to the grettest presse; and whan the peple of kyng Rion saugh the grete merveile of the dragon that so caste fire, thei hadden grete drede and forsoke place, and the two kynges on whom thei dide a-bide, and Merlin com to them and delyvered to euerich of theym a good horse and a swifte, for I-nowe ther were a-stray thourgh the felde, and thei a-noon lept vpon horse, and rode in to the bateile, and be-gonne to do so well in armes, and so dide alle theire companye. But the force of kyng Rion was so grete that thei of the reame of grete Bre-

fiends have fallen among them,

but they drive back Gawein and his company.

•[Fol. 222a.]

Arthur, Looth, Ban, and Bohors do marvels.

The people of Rionsmite down Looth and Bohors.

Merlin comes with the banner that casts out fire and flame,

and brings good horses to the two kings.

Rion's force is very great.

teigne myght it not endure, but sholde alle haue be discournted as to my felinge, ne hadde be the prowesse of sir Gawein and his companye, and the knyghtes of the rounde table, for these shewed merveiles wher thei com, ffor thei smyte down men and horse, bothe that alle that hem with-stode semed it were feendes.

Ventres,
Tradilyuans,
Urien, and
the King de
Cent Chival-
lers fight
fiercely
against the
people of the
fales.

On a-nother side of the bateile was the kynge Ventres, and the kynge Tradilyuans, and the kynge Vrien, and the kynge de Cent Chivalers that full fiercely faught a-gein the peple of the yles that kept hem short; ffor of the yles was many a vailaunt knyght, and bolde in armes; and hadde smyte down the kynge Tradilyuans of No[r]th wales, and hilde hym by the helme; and Merlin com to Gawein, and seide, "Now lete se what ye will do, ffor we haue loste the kynge Tradilyuans, but he [have] hastely socour; sewe me." Than wente Merlin that wey, and sir Gawein and his felowes folowinge till thei com to the kynge Tradilyuans that was in grete auenture of deth, and than be-gonne thei so harde bateile that wonder was to be-holde, so that thei that hilde the kinge Tradilyuans that were bolde, and hardy, and durable in bateile were all a-baishhed; but yet dide thei grete peyne hym to with-holde, and thei of the rounde table haue hym rescowed, and sette on horse, and were full wroth and angry, and be-gonne a-gein the bateile, and the medle that hidiousse was to haue seyn, ffor oon fill deed vpon a-nother, so that ther were grete mountayns of deed cors *thourgh the feelde ther as the bataile was; ffor sir Gawein hadde so many slain with his swerde, that bothe swerde and arme were all be-soiled with blode and brayn.

Merlin and
Gawein come
to succour
Tradilyuans,

who is
rescued.

*[Fol. 222b.]
Gawein
slays many.

Leodogan
sees the
dragon that
Merlin bears,
and knows
it is Arthur's
banner.

He calls his
knights to
arms,

Than the kynge leodogan saugh the bateile so crewell and so fell ther as he stode lenynge out at a wyndowe, and saugh the dragon that Merlin bar that caste fier thourgh his mouthe, so that the heyr was all reade; and he knewe it well, for he hadde it sein be-fore tymes, and knew well it was the signe of kynge Arthur; and than he called vpon his knyghtes and cried, "As armes, for my sone the kynge Arthur fighteth with oure enmyes, and is come me for to socour, god quyte hym;" and whan thei this vndirstode, thei ronne alle to armes

thourgh the castell, and com oute at the yate I-armed x^{mi}, and moo of bolde men, and hardy, and smyten in to the hoste of the kynges of the yles full fiercely, and thei hem resceived, for thei were of grete hardynesse; and Cleodalis the stiward, and herry de rivell, and her other felowes be-gonne to do merveiles of armes; and the bateile was so grete and so thikke on alle sides of the hoste of kyng Rion, that it was merveile so many ther were deed of oo parte and of other; and whan the kyng Rion saugh the grete mortalite and slaughtur of his peple, and also of the peple of kyng Arthur, his herte wax tender, and hadde ther-of pitee, and seide to hym-self that that mortalite wolde he no lenger suffre, and than he toke a braunche of sicamor in his hande, and wente be-fore the hoste to disseuer the bateiles, and wente forth till he fonde the kyng Arthur, and spake so high that he myght wele ben herde, "Kyng Arthur, wher-fore doost thou suffre thi peple to be slayn and distroied, and also myn; do thou now well yef ther be so moche worthinesse in the as the worlde recorded delyuer thy peple fro deth, and I shall deliuer also tho of myn, and we shull make oure peple with-drawe on bothe parties a-rowme, and thou and I shull fight to-geder body for body by soche covenannt, that yef thou may me conquere, I shall returne to my contrey with the peple that is me be left on lyve, and yef I may the conquere thou shalt holde thi londe of me, and be my soget as ben these other kynges that I haue conquered, and I shall haue thy berde with all the skyn to make the tasselles of my mantell." "In the name of god," quod the kyng Arthur, "thou sholdest so haue the better part of the pley, whan thou sholdest repeire in to thy contrey all hooll yef I the conquered, and ne sholdest not be-come my man, and thou desirest that I sholde be thy man yef thou myght me conquere. But I will fight with the in this maner as thou hast seide that yef I the conquere, thou shalt be my liege man, and in the same wise I graunte it the yef thou me conquere." "Sir," seide the kyng Rion, that was so stronge that he doutd no man body for body, and he hadde conquered so ix

and 10,000
come out of
the gate.

Cleodalis
and Herry
do marvels.

Rion grieves
at the great
slaughter,

and goes to
Arthur with
the branch
of sycamore
in his hand.

He asks him
to fight, and
let the peple
with-
draw.

If he is con-
quered he
will leave
the land;
but if Ar-
thur is con-
quered, he is
to become
his liege.
Arthur says
Rion must
become his
liege if he
conquers.

Rion agrees.

The barons
draw aside.

*[Pol. 233a.]
Gawein asks
to be allowed
to fight
Rion,
but Arthur
will not suf-
fer it.

kynges that alle were his liege men, "and I it yow graunte like as ye haue seide." Than thei sured theire feithes be-twene hem two to holde these covenantes, and made departe the bateilles that were so horrible; and the Barouns drough a-side that were wroth and angry with these couenantes; and sir Gawein that was wrother than eny other come to the kynges, his vncle, and seide, "Sir, yef it plesse yow graunte me *this bateile." "Now ther-of, require ye no more," quod the kynges Arthur, "nother ye, ne noon other; ffor noon other than I shall sette ther-to noon hande, ffor I shall do the bateile with the helpe of god, seith he hath me ther-to requireth."

The two
kings richly
armed meet
each other.

Than bothe hostes were drawn a-side on that oon part and on that other, and the two kynges were armed full richely all that nedeth to a noble prince, and eche of hem toke a spere stronge and rude; and than rode eche of hem from other more than two but lengthe, and than smote the horse with spores and mette to-geder as tempest, ffor well ran bothe horse, and were of grete force, and the two kynges were fierce and hardy, and mette with so grete raundon with speres that were grete and shorte, and the heedes sharp I-grounden vpon the sheldes that thei perced; but the hauberkes were so harde, that thei fauced no mayle, and the horse were of grete force, and the knyghtes of grete prowesse, that the speres splindred in splyntes; and than thei leide hande to theire swerdes that weren of grete bounte, and smyten grete strokes vpon helmes, that thei breke the serkeles of golde and stones which weren of grete vertu, and to-hewen the sheldes and hauberkes, and in the flessch so depe that the blood stremed after, and in short tyme eche of hem so a-raied other that ther ne was nother of hem but he hadde nede of a leche; and theire sheldes weren slitte and hewen that ther was [not] left of theym so moche that thei myght with hem couer; and than thei caste the rene-naunt to grounde, and caught the swerdes in bothe hondes, and smyte pesaunt strokes at disouert, so that thei to slitte helmes and to-rente hauberkes, so that the flessch shewed all bare, and ther ne was noon of hem bothe, but he was wery for

Their spears
are splin-
tered, and
they take
their swords.

They cut
into each
others flesh.

Their shields
are slit, and
they cast
them down.

They are
weary of
fighting.

traveile of yevinge of strokes and receivinge; and that was oon thinge that lengest hem hilde, ffor yef thei hadde ben fressh and newe to that thei weren with-outen sheldes, and theire hauberkes to-rente, and theire helmes to-quasshed, thei myght not haue endured, neuertheles ther ne was noon of hem bothe but he was sore hurt and wounded.

Whan the kynge Rion that was bolde and hardy a-bove alle thoo of the londe, saugh the kynge Arthur hym contene a-geins hym he hadde ther-of grete mervelle, ffor he wende that he sholde not a-gein hym haue endured, and seide to hym-self that neuer be forn hadde he seyn so goode a knyght, and than he doutyd hym sore, and seide, "Kynge Arthur! hit is grete harme of the, ffor thow art the beste knyght that I faught with euer be-forn, and I se well and knowe verily that thy grete herte that thow hast shall make the to dye, ffor it will not suffre the to come to my mercy; and I knowe well that thow haddest leuer dye than be conquered, and that is grete damage, and therfore I wolde pray the and requyre for the grete prowessse that is in the that thou haue pitee on thyself, and yelde the for outraied for to saue thi lif, though the couenauntes that ben be-twene vs, so that my mantell were performed in my live; ffor better I love thi lif than thi deth, and thow art come to thi fin that knowest thow well, and so don alle these barouns *here a-boute that here ben." Whan the kynge Arthur vndirstode the wordes of the kynge Rion he hadde grete shame, for so many a vailante prince hadde it vndirstonde; and than he ran vpon hym with his swerde in bothe handes as he that was full wroth and full of maltalente, and wende to smyte hym on the helme, but the kynge Rion blenched that saugh the stroke comynge with so grete ravyne, and neuertheles he a-raught hym vpon the helme, and kutte of the nasell, and the stroke descended and smote the stedes nekke a-sounder, and the kynge Rion fill to the erthe; and as he wende to haue rise, Arthur smote hym on the lifte shuldre in to the flesshe two large ynche, and the kynge Rion stombeled ther-with and fill a-gein to the erthe; and whan the kynge

Rion is
astonished at
Arthur's pro-
wesse,

and prays
him to yield,

*[Fol. 223b.]

but Arthur
runs upon
him with his
sword in both
hands,

and fells him
to the earth.

He calls on
him to yield,
but Rion will
not ;

so he smites
off his head.
The princes
are joyful,
and bring
Arthur into
Toraise.

Rion's
barons do
Arthur
homage.

When
Arthur's
wounds are
healed, he
rides to
Cameloth.

The princes
sojourn there
four days,
and then re-
turn to their
own lands.
Arthur
comes to
Logres.

Merlin says
he is going
away.

Arthur saugh the kynge Rion falle a-gein to grounde, a-noon he a-light to grounde, and ran to hym lightly, and caught hym by the helme, and drough it to hym with so grete force, that the laces brast a-sonder, and he it raced from his heed, and than lifte vp the swerde, and seide he was but deed, but he wolde yelde hym outerly ; and he seide that wolde he ne neuer, for he hadde leuer dye than live fecreaunt ; and whan Arthur saugh that he myght hym not ther-to bringe to holde hym for out-raied, he smote of the heed in sight of alle that were in the feelde, and than ronne to the princes on alle parties, and made grete ioye, and sette hym on a horse, and brought hym in to the castell of Toraise, and hym vn-armed, and serched his woundes ; and the baronye of kynge Rion com to hym and resceived of hym theire londes, and theire fees, and dide hym homage, and than returned in to theire contrey, and with hem bar the body of kynge Rion ; and it biried with grete lamentacion and wepinge ; and the kynge Arthur was at Toraise gladde and ioyfull of the victorie that godde hym hadde yoven, and soiourned in the castell till he was warissshed of his woundes that he hadde in the bateile ; and whan he was all hool, he departed fro Toraise with grete ioye and feste ; and the kynge leodegan conveyed hym on his wey, and after returned ; and the kynge Arthur and his companye ride till thei come to Cameloth, where-as the Quene Gonnore and the other quenes were a-bidinge that of theire comynge made grete ioye ; and ther soiourned the princes iiij dayes, and on the fifte day thei departed, and euery man repeired to his owne contrey, and ledde with hem theire wyves thei that eny hadden ; and the kynge Arthur com a-gein in to the Citee of logres, and soiourned ther longe tyme with the quene, and with hym was sir Gawein, and the companye of the rounde table, and Merlin that dide hem grete solas and grete companye, and he com to kynge Arthur, and seide that from hens-forth he myght hym wele for-beren, ffor he hadde somdell a-pesed his londe, and sette it in reste, and ther-fore he wolde go take his disporte where hym liked.

Whan the kynge this vndirstode he was pensif and sory, for he loved hym entirly, and fain wolde he that he a-bood stille yef it myght be; and whan he saugh he myght hym not with-holde, he praied hym dierly that he wolde come to hym a-gein in short *tyme, and Merlin seide he sholde come a-gein all be tyme er he hadde nede. "Certes," seide the kynge, "euery day and euery hour haue I to yow nede and myster, ffor with-oute yow I can nought, and ther-fore I wolde we sholde neuer departe companye;" and Merlin seide, "I shall come a-nother tyme to youre nede, and I shall not faile day ne hour." And the kynge was stille a longe while, and be-gan to stodie sore; and whan he hadde be longe in this thought, he seide all sighinge, "Ha, Merlin feire swete frende in what nede shall ye me helpe, I pray yow telle me to sette myn herte in more ese." "Sir," seide Merlin, "and I shall yow telle, and after I shall go my way. The lyon that is the sone of the Bere, and was be-geten of a leopart, shall renne by the reame of the grete Breteigne, and that is the nede that ye shall haue." With that Merlin departed, and the kynge be lefte in grete myssese, and sore a-baished of this thinge; ffor he knewe not to what it myght turne. But ther-of shull we cesse at this tyme, and returne to speke of Merlin.

Arthur is sorry,

*[Fol. 224a.] but Merlin says he shall come again.

The king asks when he shall be in need.

Merlin speaks of the lion that was son of the bear and leopard.

Arthur cannot understand him.

CHAPTER XXXII.

MERLIN'S INTERPRETATION OF THE DREAM OF FLUALIS, AND HIS VISIT TO NIMIANE; THE KNIGHTING OF THE DWARF; THE EMBASSY FROM THE EMPEROR OF ROME; ARTHUR'S FIGHT WITH THE GIANT; THE BATTLE WITH THE ROMANS.

In this partie, seith the storye, as soone as Merlin was departed from the kynge Arthur, as ye haue herde, he departed from the Cite of logres so faste, that in all the worlde was noon so swyfte a horse that myght hym haue sewed, so

Merlin departs at great speed.

He goes to
Jerusalem,
where is
king Flualis.

The king
assembles all
his wise
men,

and asks
them for an
interpreta-
tion of his
dream.
The vision.

that alle that euer hym saugh wende he hadde ben oute of his witte; and a-noon he drof in to the foreste that was grete and depe, and come to the see, and passed ouer that no tyme wolde a-bide be see ne be londe till he come to the parties of Iherusalem, where ther was a kynge of grete puyssaunce that was named flualis; he was a goode man of grete renoun as of his lawe, ffor he was a sarazin, and he hadde assembled alle the wise men of his londe, and of other londes as many as he myght gete; and whan thei were come all to the assemble be-fore hym in his paleys, he seide to hem so high that thei myght hym wele here and vndirstonde: "Lordinges," quod he, "I haue sente for yow, and ye ben come at my comaundement, and ther-fore I thanke yow, but ye knowe not the cause why, but yef I do yow to vndirstonde, hit be-fill that I slepte this other day in my paleys, and hilde the quene that is here in myn armes as me semed; and as I was in this a-vision com to me two serpentis, where-of eche of hem hadde two heedes, foule and hidouse, and of eche of hem com a grete flawme of fire wher-of all my contrey was light, and that oon of the serpentis caught me be-twene his feet by the flankes, and that other toke the quene be-twene myn armes, and bar vs bothe an high vpon the roof of my paleys that is so high; and whan thei hadde brought vs thider, thei rente of oure armes and legges from oure bodyes, and caste hem down oon here a-nother there; and whan thei hadde thus vs dismembred, ther com viij smale serpentis a-noon, and eche of hem toke a membre, and wente vp in to the heir a-bove the temple of Diane, and ther thei rente a-sondre oure membres in to smale pecis, and the two serpentis that hadde rente oure membres from oure bodyes

*[Fol. 224b.] *lifte vs an high a-bove the paleys, and sette fire on the paleis with-ynne, and brent vp oure bodyes in to aisshes; and the wynde a-roos, and gadered the powder and bar it ouer all the londe a this half the see, ne ther ne was no goode town, but ther-ynne lefte moche or litill. Soche was the a-vision that I saugh in my slepe, that me-semed was right perilouse and grevous; and ther-fore I haue yow hider somowned and assembled, and

therefore I pray yow and requyre in all seruises and guerdons yef ther be eny of yow that can telle the significacon of these thinges lete me wite, and here be-fore yow alle I graunte trewly to hym that telleth me ther-of the verite, that he shall haue my doughter to his wif, and all my reame after my deth, or yef he be maried he shall be lorde of me and all my londe alle the dayes of my life."

Whoever explains the dream shall have the king's daughter for his wife.

Whan the wise men herde the promyse and the wordes of the kynge, and thei hadde herde the a-vision, thei hadde merveile what it myght be-tokene, and oon seide othinge, and some seide a-nother, eche after that hym semed beste; and Merlin that was in soche semblaunce that noon cowde hym knowe ne sen, spake whan alle other hadden seide so high that alle that were ther with-ynne myght it here clerly, and seide, "Vndirstonde to me, and I shall telle the thy dreme;" and whan he hadde seide thus, thei loked aboute hem to se hym that hadde this spoken, and so dide all thei that weren in the paleis, but nothinge thei saugh, and yet hem semed it was a-myd monge hem that seide, "Vndirstonde to me kynge flualis, and here the be-tokenynge of thyn a-vision. The two serpentis that thow saughest be-fore the in thi slepe that hadde iiij hedes, and of alle foure heedes casten oute fier and flame, thei ben foure cristin kynges that to the marchen, and shull sette all thi contre in fier and flame; and that the serpentis bar the and the quene in to the highest part of thi paleis, signifieth that thei shull haue all thi londe in bailly, euen to the yates of thi chife fortresse. Of that the serpentis raced a-wey the membres of the and thi wif, be-tokeneth that thow shalt forsake the euell lawe that is roted in thyn herte, and shalt caste it oute from the to come to the be-leve of Ihesu crist. Of that the viij smale serpentis toke the membres of thi body, and of the quene, and bar it a-bove the temple of Diane whider as thi men shull fle for socour; of that thei rente thi membres, and the membres of the quene thi wif, signifieth that thi cheldren that shull be thy membres, and thi flesh shull be slain with-ynne the temple of Diane; of that the serpentis lefte the on

Merlin says he will tell the dream.

All look to see him, but they cannot.

Merlin explains the vision.

Signification
of the vision.

*[Fol. 225a.]

Merlin de-
parts, and
the king is
pensive.
Merlin goes
to Nimiane,

who en-
chants him.

He teaches
her much.

She writes
down all he
tells her.

high on thi paleis, and the quene also with the sooll be youre-
self signifieth that thourgh the and hir shall cristin feith be
encreced and strengthened; of that the serpentis brente the paleis
vndir the signifieth that the shall not be lefte the valew of a
peny of thinges that thow hast of this euell lawe; of that thow
and the quene were brent in to aissches signifieth that thow
shall be purged clene of all thy synne by the water of baptyme;
of that the powder of the fly ouer all the londe a this side the
see signifieth that thow shalt haue *children in thi good creaunce
that shall be bolde knyghtes, and hardy, and shall be worshiped
thourgh alle the londes of the worlde. Now hast thow herde
thyn a-vision that thow haste sein in thi slepinge, and shall
be-falle the like as I haue the tolde."

With that departed merlin; and the kynge a-boode pensif
of the voice that he hadde herde, and nothinge ther-of
hadde sein; and Merlin wente a grete spede, that neuer he
stinte, till he com to the reame of Benoyk, and yede to Nimiane
his love that sore desired hym for to seen, ffor yet cowde not
she of his art of that she desired for to knowe, and she made
hym the grettest ioye that she myght, and ete and dranke, and
lay in oon bedde; but so moche cowde she of his connyng that
whan he hadde will to ly with hire she hadde enchaunted and
coniured a pelow that she kepte in hir armes, and than fill
Merlin a-slepe; and the storie maketh no mencion that euer
Merlin hadde flesshly to do with no woman, and yet loved he
nothinge in this worlde so wele as woman, and that shewed
well, ffor so moche he taught hir oo tyme and other, that at
laste he myght holde hym-self a fooll, and thus dide he
soiourney with his love longe tyme; and euer she enquired of
his connyng, and of his maistries, ech thinge by hit-self, and
he lete her all knowe, and she it wrote all that he seide as she
that was well lerned in clergie, and lerned it lightly all that
Merlin hir taught; and whan he hadde soiourned with hir
longe tyme, he toke his leue, and seide that he sholde come
a-gein at the yeres ende, and so eche of theym comaunded
other to god full tendirly; and than com Merlin to Blase his

maister, that gladdē was of his comynge, and sore he longed hym for to se, and he hym also; and Merlin tolde hym alle the a-uentures that were be-falle sēth he fro hym departed, and how he hadde be with Nimiane his love, and how he hadde hir taught of his enchauntmentz; and Blase wrote all in his boke. Whan Merlin hadde tolde to Blase his maister alle thinges as were be-fallen oon after a-nother, he soiourned with hym as longē as hym liked, and than toke his leve of hym and com streight in to the Cite of logres, where-as the kynge Arthur and Gonnore his wif, and resceyved Merlin with grete ioye, and a-noon as he was come. Ther com in a maiden to the halle dore, and a-light down from a mule, and hadde brought be-fore hir on hir sadell a dwerf, the moste contirfet and foulest that eny hadde sein, ffor he was [deformed], and his browes reade and rowe, and his berde reade and longē, that henge down to his breste, and his hecir was grete and blakke, and foule medled, and his sholdres high and courbe, and a grete bonche on his bakke be-hinde and a-nother be-fore a-gein the breste, and his handes were grete, and his fynGRES short, and his legges short, and his chyne longē and sharpe, and the mayden was yonge and of grete bewte, and thei were sore loked on of oon and other; and a-noon as she was a-light she toke hir dwerf in hir armes, and toke hym down of the horse swetly, and brought hym in to the halle be-fore the kynge Arthur that was sette atte mete at the high deyse, and than she salued the kynge right curteisely as she that was connyngē and wele taught, and the kynge greete hir a-gein full debonerly, and than seide the mayden,

*“**S**ir, I am come to yow from fer contrey, for the grete renomede that of yow renneth thourgh the worlde; ffor to aske and require of yow a yefte, ffor as the grete renoun of yow recordeth that no mayden shall faile of no request that she yow demaunded, and for that ye be holde the worthiest kynge of the worlde. I haue trauailed for to come to youre court for to aske of yow a request, and ther-fore loke ye graunte me nothings but ye will it me parforme.” “Damesell,” seide

Merlin goes to Blase, and tells him all that has be-fallen since he left him.

He goes to Logres.

A maiden comes with a dwarf on her saddle.

The maiden is young and beautiful.

She brings the dwarf into the hall before Arthur.

*[Fol. 225b.] She asks Arthur to grant her a request.

The king
promises to
perform it.

The maiden
asks him to
knight the
dwarf, who
is a lord
of noble
lineage.

All in the
palace begin
to laugh.

Kay tells her
to take care
of the dwarf,
or the
queen's maid-
dens may
take him
from her.

Arthur
agrees to do
her pleasure.

Two squires
come into
the court,
one bearing
a shield, and
the other
leading a
horse.

They drive a
sumpter be-
fore them.

They take
out of the
coffers a

the kynge, "aske what yow liketh, for I am redy it to par-
forme, yef it be soche thinge that I may it do savinge myn
honour and my reame." "Of that," quod she, "that I will
yow require shull ye haue but honour." "Damesell," than
seide the kynge, "sey your volunte." "Sir," seide the maiden,
"I am come to pray yow, and require that ye of my love that
is here, this gentill yonge lorde that I holde by the honde, make
hym knyght, for he is ther-to digne and right worthi; ffor he is
bolde and hardy, and come of grete lynage, and longe here-to-
forn sholde haue ben knyght yef he wolde of the kynge Pelles
of lytenoys that is a full noble kynge, and a trewe; but my
leife here will not, but hath made his oth that he shall neuer be
knyght, but of youre hande, and ther-fore I pray yow, and
require that ye make hym knyght;" and than alle thei that
were in the paleis be-gonne to laugh bothe oon and other; and
kay the stiwarde, that was an euell spekere, and scornfull of
wordes, seide all smylinge, "Kepe well youre leef, and holde
hym nygh yow that he be not take from yow of the quenes
maydenes, for soone myght thei do yow that forfet for the
grete bewte that is in hym." "Sir," seide the mayden, "the
kynge is so good a man, and so right-full, that he wolde it not
suffre, yef god will, that noon sholde do me that wronge."
"Certes, damesell," seide the kynge, "ther-of be ye sure, and
I it yow graunte well." "Sir," seide the mayden, "Gramercy.
Now do than that I haue yow required." "Damesell," seide
the kynge, "at youre plesier." With this worde entred in to
the court two squyres vpon two rounsies stronge and swyfte
amblinge, of which that oon bar a shelde with thre leopartes of
golde crowned of azure, and the champ of the shelde was sable,
and the gige orfrayed of golde harnysshed, and a swerde hanged
at his sadill, and the tother brought a stede in his right hande
that was feire shapen, and the bridill and the harneys of silke
and golde, and the two squires drof be-fore hem a somer with
two cofers, and thei a-light a-noon vnder the pyne tre, and
tacched theire horse, and vn-lokked the cofres, and toke oute
an hauberk as white as snowe, for it was all of fin siluer and

doble maille, and hosen of the same werk, and an helme of siluer and golde, and com in to the halle where the kyng and the Barouns were be-fore the maiden; and whan she saugh thei were come, than she seide to the kyng, "Sir, I aske of yow my request, for I a-bide here longe, ffor here is althinge redy that longeth to a knyght, ffor with these armes that ye se here shall my leef be a-dubbed." "Ffeire love," quod the kyng, "I shall do youre plesier and your volunte with goode will, but cometh to youre mete;" and she seide that she wolde neuer ete mete er hir lief were a knyght. Thus was the damesell in the paleis be-for the kyng, and euer hilde hir lief by the right hande; and whan the kyng hadde eten, and the clothes *weren vp, the damesell drough oute of an awmeners a peire of spores of golde that weere wounden in a cloth of silke, and seide to the kyng, "Sir, delyuer me, for I haue ben here longe." With that lepte forth kay the stiwarde, and wolde haue sette on his right spore; and the damesell hym sesed by the hande, and seide, "What is that," quod she, "sir knyght, that ye purpose to do." Quod kay, "I will sette on his right spore, and also make hym knyght with myn owne hande." "Of youre hande," seide the maiden, "shall it neuer be-falle, yef god will, for noon ther-to shall sette hande saf only the kyng Arthur, ffor he hath me graunted in couenaunt, and I truste that he will me not faile, yef it be his plesier, ffor so myght he me bringe to the deth and me be-traye. Ne noon ne ought to touche so high a persone as is my lief, but he be kyng or worthy prince." "So helpe me god," seide the kyng, "ye haue right, and I shall do all youre volunte." Than the kyng toke his right spore of the damesell, and sette it on the right hele, and the damesell sette on the lifte; and whan the kyng hadde don on his hauberk vpon the dwerf, the kyng girt hym with his swerde, ffor the maiden wolde not suffre noon to touche hym saf only the kyng; and whan he was all appareiled of all that longeth to a knyght, the kyng yaf hym the a-colee, and seide, "God make hym a good knyght;" and than the mayden asked yef he sholde do eny more. "Damesell," seide the

hauberk and
a helmet.

The king
says he will
do her plea-
sure.

*[Fol. 226a.]
The damsel
draws out a
pair of golden
spurs.

Kay leaps
forward, and
says he will
make him a
knight,

but the
maiden will
not let him.

The king
says she is
right, and
puts the
right spur on
the dwarf.

He knight-
s him.

The king
prays him
to be the
maiden's
knight.

The maiden
hangs the
shield about
the dwarf's
neck.

She sends
the squires
home, and
she and her
knight go
another way.

The com-
pany laugh
when they
have gone.

Merlin says
the dwarf is
the son of a
king and
queen.

The king
asks who the
* [Fol. 226b.]
damsel is.

Merlin says
he will know
soon,

but it is not
time to tell
now, and the

kyнге, "I haue don that to me aperteneth." "Sir," quod she, "than now pray hym that he be my knyght;" and the kyнге hym preide; and than wente thei oute of the halle, and com vnder the pyne tre; and the maiden made the dwerf to lepe vpon his stede that was so feire, and she hir-self henge the shelde a-boute his nekke that was of soche colour as ye haue herde, and than she toke hir mule and than made the two squyres to take theire horse, and sente hem bothe home in to theire contrei, and she and hir knyght yede another wey in to the foreste that was grete and merveilouse; and the kyнге Arthur a-bode stille in his paleis, he and Merlin, and sir Gawein, and his companye; and I-nough thei lough of the maiden that so hadde yoven hir love to the duerf. "Certes," seide the quene, "I haue grete merveile, fro whens this thought myght hir be-falle, for so foule a thinge, and so lothly ne saugh I neuer; and the damesell is full of grete bewte, that in foure remes sholde not be founden hir pareile, and I trowe verily that it be som fende or of feire that thus hath hir disceived." "Madame," seide Merlin, "she is not disceived, but for the grete lothlynesse that is in hym; ffor neuer in youre lif saugh ye so hardy a pece of flesshe as is this duerf, and he is bothe kynges sone and quenes." "Sir," seide the quene, "the damesell semeth well to be of high lynage, for she is right feire, and hir lief right lothly." "Madame," quod Merlin, "the grete bounte of hym shall a-bate the grete lothlynesse that ye se in hym, and that shall ye knowe hastely more verily." "Ffeire frende, Merlin," seide the kyнге, "what is the damesell; know ye *hir eny thinge?" "Sir," seide Merlin, "I telle yow in trouthe that I saugh hir neuer be-fore, and yet I knowe well what she is, and what is hir name, and that she shall telle yow hir-self with-ynne short tyme, and so shall she be better be-leved than sholde I, and by the duerf hym-self shall ye knowe what he is soner than ye wene, and ther-of shull ye haue bothe ioye and sorowe." "Ye," seide the kyнге, "therof I praye yow to telle me the verite." "Sir," seide Merlin, "it falleth not at this tyme that I sholde it sey, ffor

ye shull right soone haue other weyes to vndirstonde, ffor Luce the Emperour of Rome hath sent yow his messages, and thei be at the grees of the halle."

messengers
from Luce
are waiting.

And as Merlin spake to the kynge Arthur, ther com vp xij princes full richely be-seyn, and clothed in riche clothes of silke, and com two and two holdinge eche other be the handes, and eche of theym bar a braunche of Olyve in his hande, and that was a signe that thei were messagiers; and in this maner thei com be-fore the kynge Arthur that satte at the high table in the paleis, and his barouns hym¹ be-forn; and the messagiers com in and made no salutacion to noon that ther was, and than spake oon that was maister of hem alle, and seide, "Kynge Arthur, we be xij princes of Rome that be sente to the from Luce the Emperour." Than he drough oute a letter that was wrapped in a cloth of silke, and straught it to the kynge, and bad hym do rede the letter, and the kynge toke the letter and delyuered it to the Archebisshoppe that satte hym be-side, and comaunded hym to rede, and the archebisshop began in this maner:

Twelve
princes come
up.

They make
no saluta-
tion.

One ad-
dresses Ar-
thur, and
draws out a
letter,

which the
archbisshop
reads.

"I Luce, Emperour of Rome, that haue the powste, and the signiourie of the Romainys, sende to myn enmy the kynge Arthur in-as-moche only as he hath agein me deserued; and agein the power of rome, and it merveilith me sore, and I haue ther-of grete disdeyn, that he thourgh his grete pride leste to a-rise a-gein Rome as longe as he knoweth me on lyve, and this formednesse is come to the by fole hardynesse, and of malencolie whan thow durst euer a-rise a-gein Rome that hath the power and signiourie ouer all the worlde as thou thy-self hast well seyn and knowen, and yet shalt thou knowe and se a-pertly that thow hast don as a fooll that Rome durst wrathe, thou hast trespassed a-gein rightwisnesse whan thow hast withholde the seruise and the trewage of Rome, and takest oure rentes and oure londes that thow knowest aperteneth to the power of Rome; wher-fore dost thou that, or what right

The letter of
Luce, Em-
peror of
Rome.

¹ The word "hym" is repeated in the MS.

The letter of
Luce.

hast thou ther-to, wite thou right wele yef thou holde it longe thou shalt be as wery ther-of as the lambe is of the wolf, ffor thou art a-gein vs as fooll hardy as the shepe a-gein the shepherd; for Iulius cesar oure auncestre toke it be force, and by his hardynesse toke bateile in Breteigne, and trwys was hym yolden, and so it was of alle the yles ther a-boute; and thou woldest it vs be-reve thorough thy folie, and thi grete pride, and the grete outrage that is in the; and I the comaunde as Emperour that thou do right, and with-ynne the day of the holy Natiuite that thou be by-fore vs for to a-mende that thou hast mysdon; and yef thou wilt not this do, I shall take from the all Breteigne, and all the londe that thou hast in bailly, and I shall passe mongin this first somer with so grete force of peple that thou shalt haue no hardynesse me to a-bide. Ne thou shalt not knowe *whider to fle, but I shall the sewe, and I shall take the, and bynde and caste the in my prison."

*[Fol. 227a.]

There is a
great mur-
mur and
noise in the
palace.

When the archebisshoppes hadde redde this letter in this maner as ye haue herde, in the paleis was grete murmur and noyse of hem that this hadde vndirstonde, and swor and seide thei sholde dishonour the messagiers that these lettres hadde brought, and a-noon thei sholde hem haue don shame I-nough, but as the kyng seide to hem full debonerly, "Ffeire lordes, lete hem be, thei be but massengiers, and be sent by comaundement of theire lorde; and ther-fore thei owe to sey that thei were with charged, and thei sholde ther-fore haue no doute of no man." Than the kyng cleped his princes and his barouns, and entred in to a chambre to counseile; and than spake a knyght that was bolde and hardy, and his name was Cador, and seide that "longe haue we be idill and in slouthe in deduyt a-monge ladyes and damesels in Iolite and wast; but on this day we be a-waked by these Romayns that come to chalenge oure londes and oure contrey; and yef thei do as the lettres speke thei haue grete prowesse and hardynesse that be in so fer contreyes." "Certes," seide Gawein, "full good is it to haue pees after the werre, for the londe is the bettere and

The king re-
tires to take
counsel with
his princes.

Cador says
they have
been too long
idle.

Gawein says
it is good to
have pees
after war.

the more sure, and full good is the game and pley a-monge ladies and maydenes, ffor the druweries of ladies and damesels make knyghtes to vndirtake the hardynesse of armes that thei don." Than the kyng comaunded hem alle to sitte, and thei dide his comaundement, and he himself a-bode stondinge, and seide, "My frendes and my felowes in my prosperite, and in myn honour and traucile that ye haue me mayntened in grete bateiles, and in werres that I haue hadde seth I com to haue londe, and yow haue I ledde in many a grete nede bothe be see and by londe, and ye haue me helped, god quite yow, to conquere the londes that I haue wonne, that by youre helpinges beth alle to me obeysaunt, and ye haue herde the maundement that the Romayns haue sent that I-nough haue vs contraried. But yef oure lorde kepe me and yow thei shull nought haue ours but it be dere bought at the departinge, ye se here the message of the Emperoure, and ther-fore yeve me counseile in what manere I may hem ansuere moste auenauntly by honour and by reson; ffor oon ought to purveye er the stroke falle ther as is pereile, for he that seeth the arow comynge he ought to blenche that he be not smyten; ye se how the Romayns will a-rise a-gein vs, and therefore we ought vs so to appareile that thei vs not greve ne annoyen. Thei wolde haue trewage of Bretagne, and of other yles that of me beth holdinge; and sein that Cezar hem conquered by force, and that the Bretouns ne myght hem not diffende a-geins hem but paide hem trewage, and force is no right, but it is pride and oute of reson, and he holdeth not of right that holdeth of force. Thei haue vs re-proved by the shames and damages that thei haue vs don, and the trauciles, and the annoyes that thei haue do to oure *auncestres, in that thei a-vaunte hem how thei haue hem ven-quysshed, and that thei paide hem trewage, and so moche the more ought we to hate hem and to greve, and the more thei haue to restore, ffor we moste hate hem that haten vs, and for thei hadde trewage of hem thei wolde it haue of vs by heritage and by auncestrie; and by soche reson may we chalenge Rome, ffor Belyns that was kyng of Breteigne, and Brenne his brother,

The king
commands
them to sit
down, and
addresses
them;

and asks
their counsel
how he shall
answer the
emperor's
letter.

Force is not
right.

*[Fol. 227b.]

Belyns and
Brenne con-
quered

Rome; after
them came
Constantinus
and Maxi-
mian.

conquered Rome and henge xiiij of her ostages in sight of her frendes, and after hem com Constantynus that was kyng of Bretaigne, and was Emperour of Rome; and also maximian was lorde of Bretaigne, and was lorde of Rome, alle these were oure auncestres, and were kynges of Bretouns, and eche of theym was Emperour and lorde of the Romayns, and therby may we knowe that I owe to haue Rome by heritage as I haue Bretaigne. Romayns haue hadde trewage of vs, and my parentes haue hadde trewage of theym. Thei clayme Bretaigne for theiers, and I clayme Rome for myn; and so this is the ende of my counseile that he haue the londe, and the rente that may it gete; ffor in this I se noon other rightwysnesse, but who that all may gete, all shall haue, ffor as for my part I will noon other-wise do but as I haue yow seide."

Arthur
claims Rome.

The princes
and barons
answer that
Arthur has
well said.

When the princes and the Barons herde the kyng thus speke, thei answerde with oon voice that he hadde well seide, and counseiled to sende for his peple fer and nygh, and assemble all his power, and go a-gein the Emperour of Rome, that thourgh his grete pride hadde sente outrage of crewelte and felonye, "and put the signiourie of Rome in youre powste, and remembre yow of the signiourie and prophesie of Sibile, that seide ther sholde thre Bretouns come oute of Bretaigne that Rome sholde conquere be force, and ther hath ben tweyne that Rome hath conquered. The first was Belyn that was kyng of Bretouns, and the seconde was Constantinus, and thow shalt be the thridde that shall it conquere by force, and so shall the prophesie be fulfilled. Now a-vaunce yow to resceyve the honoure that god hath yow ordeyned." With these wordes the kyng com oute of the chamber, and the barouns and the knyghtes com in to the paleis, where as the massagiers that were xij princes were a-bydinge, and than spake the kyng, and badde hem returne to theire Emperoure, and telle hym that his auncestres of Bretaigne hadde Rome in her bailly, "and therefore in-as-moche as myn auncestres dide it conquere, and were ther-of Emperours, and ther-of hadde trewage, I will hit haue of auncestrie and heritage, ffor that thei haue not done that thei ought do a-gein

He shall be
the third
British king
to conquer
Rome by
force.

He bids the
messengers
return to
their Em-
peror and
tell him.

me of right;" and with this ansuere they departed, and the kynge hem yaf riche yestes and presentes at theire departinge, as he that was the moste curteise prince of the worlde, and full of largesse, and therefore he wolde not that thei sholde speke eny euell of hym ne vilonye; and thei returned in to theire contreye as soone as thei myght, and tolde Luce the Emperour the ansuere of kynge Arthur, and ther-of was the Emperour wroth and angry, and somowned his peple, and assembled his power, and passed the mountaynes of mongia, and com in to Burgoyne nygh a Cite that is cleped Oston, and sesed the londe in lengthe and brede. But *a-while we shull reste of hym, and speke of the kynge Arthur.

He gives them rich gifts.

The emperor is angry at Arthur's answer, and summons his people.

*[Fol. 228a.]

Now seith the storie than whan the xij Massagiers were departed from the kynge Arthur, the kynge and his baronye a-bide stille full wroth and angry, for the maundement of Luce the Emperour; and Merlin seide, "Sir, sende for youre peple hastely, for the Emperour appareileth hym right faste." "Merlin, frende," seide the kynge, "I shall mete with hym sonner than he wolde." "He shall you mete," seide Merlin, "to his damage; and a-bide here in ioy, for I go to make the message to the Barouns." With that he vanysshed, that Arthur ne wiste where he be-come; and Merlin wente first in to Orcanye and dide the message to the kynge looth, that with xv dayes he sholde be at logres with all his power; and he seide he wolde so with good will, and than Merlin departed, wher-for sholde I make yow longe tale, he warned alle the princes and barons that of the kynge arthur were holdinge to be the xv day at logres, saf only the kynge Ban of Benoyk, and the kynge Bohors of Gannes; and after that he returned a-gein, and fonde the kynge Arthur in his chambre, and seide, "Your message is don to alle the Barouns, and thei shull be redy here fro hens xv dayes." Whan the kynge this vndirstode he was gladde and ioyfull, and sojourned at logres till his baronye was come, and thider come the kynge looth first, and his companye with vj^{MI} men, and the kynge Vrien with iij^{MI} men, and the kynge Carados foure MI men, and the kynge de Cent Chiualers iij^{MI},

Merlin tells Arthur to send for his people.

He vanishes and goes to King Looth in Orcanye.

He then goes to warn all the princes,

and returns to Arthur, who is joyful.

The princes arrive.

Arthur
thanks them
heartily.

They enter
the ships and
go to Gannes.

Merlin goes
before and
meets them.

They rest.

Arthur's
vision of a
bear and a
dragon.

•[Fol. 228b.]

The king
prays Merlin
to tell him
the significa-
tion of his
dream.

The bear sig-
nifies a great
giant,

and the kynge ventres foure MI, and the kynge Tradilyuans iiij^{MI}, and the kynge Belynans iiij^{MI}, and the kynge Clarion iiij^{MI}, and the Duke Escam ij^{MI}, and Gosenges and Nabunall his senescall iiij^{MI}, and the kynge ydier iiij^{MI}, and the kynge Agutysans iiij^{MI}; and whan thei were alle assembled in the medowes be-fore logres, the kynge Arthur was gladde, and thanked hem hertely, and tolde hem the outrage that the Emperour hadde hym sente, and thei hym counseiled to haste that he were a-venge of the shame. Than was the navie appareiled and entred in to shippes; and Merlyn was be-fore, and stinte neuer till he com to Gannes, and fonde the kynge Ban and the kynge Bohors, and he badde hem thei sholde hem appareile, for the kynge Arthur is entred in to the see for to go vpon the Romainys, and thei seide thei wolde be redy hym to mete; and Merlin returned and com to the port er the kynge Arthur were loded, and whan he hym saugh he asked whens he com; and he seide he hadde ben at Gannes for to somowne bothe two kynges that shull be redy with yow to mete with grete companye of peple; of this thanked hym Arthur, and than thei issed oute of the shippes, and logged a litill from the port vpon the river in tentes, and in pavilouns for to take their reste of traueille that thei hadde in the see, and slept that nyght; and as the kynge Arthur slepte hym com a vision, that a grete bere was on a grete mountayne, and as hym semed ther com a-gein hym a grete dragon from the Clowdes of the orient, and caste fire and flame thourgh his throte so mervelouse that all the contrey ther-a-boute ther-of was light, and this dragon assailed the bere full fiercely, and the bere hym diffended full wele; *but the dragon embraced the bere as hym semed, and cast hym to the erthe, and hym slough.

Whan the kynge a-woke he mervelled sore of his dreame, and made Merlyn come be-fore hym, and praid hym dierly to tell hym the significacion of his dreame, and than he tolde hym all worde for worde to Merlin as he hadde seyn in slepinge; and than seide Merlin, "Sir, I shall sey you the tokeni[n]ge the bere, the bere that ye saugh signifieth a grete

monstre, a grete Geaunte that is here nygh in a mountaigne that is come oute of the contrey of spayne in to this londe, and here he a-bideth, and doth the contrey shame from day to day ne noman dar hym a-bide for the grete force that is in hym; the dragon that ye saugh in youre a-vision that caste thourgh his throte fire and flame so grete that all the londe ther-of was light signifieth youre-self by the fire of youre hardinesse that is clier and feire shyninge by grace, and the dragon that assailed the bere so vigerously signifieth that ye shall assaute the Geaunte, of that the dragon enbraced hym and caste to the erthe signifieth that the Geaunte shall enbrace yow, but in the ende ye shull hym sle, of that be ye nothings in doute." With that the[i] trussed tentes and pavilons, and ride forth on their wey, but thei hadde not longe gon whan tidinges com to the kynge Arthur of the Geaunte that distroied the londe and the contrey, so that ther-ynne duelled nother man ne woman, but fledde thourgh the feldes as bestes disolate for drede of the Geaunte, and hadde born by force a mayden of the contrey that was nyece to a lorde of the contrey that was a grete gentilman, and he hadde born hir with hym vp to a mountaigne, where-as he repered that was all closed with the see, and that monteigne is yet cleped the mounte seint Michel, but at that tyme ther was nother mynster ne chapell, ne ther was no man so hardy ne so myghty that durst fight with the Geaunte; and whan the peple of the contrey dide hym assaile, thei myght not a-gein hym endure neither on londe ne on se, for he slough hem with the roches, and made their shippes to sinke; and the peple of the contrey fledde thourgh the wodes and forestes, and mounteynes with their children in their armes, and so thei lefte their londes and their richesses.

Whan Arthur herde how the Geaunte distroied so the londe, he cleped kay the stiward, and Bedyuer, and badde hem make hem redy armed a-boute mydnyght, and thei dide his comaundement, and com to-geder thei thre and two squyres only, and no mo, and rode till thei com vpon the mounte, and saugh a grete fire bright shynynge on that o side;

and the dragon signifies Arthur,

who will slay the giant.

Tidings come of the giant,

who had borne off a maiden to a mountain,

which is called Mount St. Michael.

When the people assailed him, he kills them and sinks their ships.

Arthur calls on Kay and Bedyver to be ready.

The three ride to the mountain.

They see an-
other moun-
tain,

and Bediver
goes to it.

He hears
great weep-
ing.

*[Fol. 229a.]

He sees the
fire and a
tomb with
an old wo-
man beside
it.

The woman
tells him to
fly for fear
of the giant.

Bediver asks
the woman
why she
weeps.

She weeps for
the niece of
Hoell, who
lies under
the tomb.

The giant
had brought
them here.

and on that othir side was a-nother mounte that was not so grete as that, and ther-on was a fire merveilouse grete, and thei wiste not to whiche thei sholde gon; than he cleped Bediuer, and bad hym go loke on whiche mounte the Geaunte was. Than Bediuer wente in to a bote that was full of the flos of the see, and whan he was come to the next monteyn he wente vp hastily on the roche, and herde grete wepinge; and whan he that herde he hadde doute, ffor he wende the Geaunte hadde be there, but he toke vpon hym hardynesse, and drough his swerde, and wente forth and hoped for *to fight with hym as he that for no drede of deth ne wolde be founde no cowarde, and in this thought he clymbed vpon the mountein; and whan he was come vp he saugh the fier that was clier brennyng, and saugh a tombe faste by that was newly made, and be-side that tombe satte an olde woman discheueled, and all to-rente hir heir, and wepte and sighed full sore; and whan she saugh the knyght, she seide, "Haa, gentilman, what art thou, what dolour hath brought the in to this place, ffor with grete dolour thou shalt ende thy life, yef the Geaunte the finde, fle hens hastily as faste as thou maist, for thou art to vn-happy yef thou a-bide till that this deuell come that hath no pite of nothings, fle hens as fer as thou maist, yef thou wilt thi lif saue."

Whan Bediuer saugh the woman so wepe, and so pitously regrated helayn sighinge, and bad hym to fle but yef he wolde dye, and he seide, "Good woman, lete be thy wepinge, and telle me what thou art, and why thou makest so grete sorowe, and why thou art vpon this mounte by this tombe, and telle me all the occasion of thy sorowe, and who lith here in this sepulture." "I am," quod she, "a dolerouse caitif that wepe and make waymentacion, for a mayden that was nyce to Hoell of nautes that I norished and yaf souke with my mylk, and she lith vnder this tombe, and it was me com-aunded hir to norish and to kepe. Now is ther a deuell that hir hath taken a-wey and brought hider her and me, and wolde haue leyn by the childe that [was] yonge and tender. But she myght hym not svffre ne endure, for he was moche and hidiouse,

and lothly, and so he made the soule departe from the body, and thus he be-rafte my doughter falsly and be treson, and ther I haue hir biried, and for hir wepe bothe day and nyght."

"And wherfore," quod Bediuer, "gost thou not hens seth thou art left here a-lone, and hast hir loste seth that ther is noon recouer." "Sir," quod she, "I knowe well ther is no recouer,

but for that I se ye be a gentilman, and ther-to so curteise I will kepe nothings from youre knowinge, but I will telle yow

the trouthe, whan that my dere doughter was entered, for whos love I wende wele haue loste my witte, and dyed for doel, the

Geaunte made me to a-bide stille to haue his foule lecherouse iust vpon me, and he hath me diffouled by his strengthe that

I moste suffre his wille whedir I wolde or noon, for I haue no myght a-gein hym, and I take oure lorde god to recorde

it was neuer my will, and ner therwith he hadde me slain, ffor with hym haue I suffred grete peyne and gret anguyssh,

ffor he is vn-mesurable grete, and he cometh hider to fulfille his lecherie vpon me, and thou art but deed, and maist in no

maner ascape, for he cometh a-noon right, for he is ther a-bove in that mountayn where thou seist that fier, and ther-fore I

pray the go hens thy wey, and lef me here to compleyne, and make my mone for my doughter."

The woman weeps for her daughter day and night. Bediuer asks her why she does not go away.

She has no power against the giant.

She tells Bediuer where the giant is.

Grete pite hadde Bediuer of the woman, and moche he hir counforted, and seth he com a-gein to the kyng, and

tolde that he hadde sein, and seide how the geaunte was vpon the high hill ther he saugh the grete fier and smoke. Than

the kyng made *his felowes go with hym vpon the mounteyne, and thei were come vpon the hill; than the kyng comaunded

his felowes to abide, and seide that hym-self alone wolde go fight with the Geante, "neuertheles," seide the kyng, "loke

that ye waite well vpon me, and yef it be myster cometh me to helpe," and thei seide thei wolde with good will, and thei

a-bide; and the kyng wente toward the Geaunte that satte be-fore the fire, and rosted flessch on a spite, and kut of the side

that moste [was] I-nough, and ete it; and the kyng wente toward hym with swerde in honde drawn a softe pas gripinge his

Bediuer comforts the woman, and comes to the king,

*[Fol. 229b.]

who goes to fight with the giant alone.

The giant is sitting before the fire.

The king goes to him softly with his sword drawn, but the giant hears him. The giant catches a great club out of the fire, and comes against the king;

who leaps aside.

Arthur blinds the giant with his sword Marmyadoise, so that he knows not where to strike.

The giant seizes Arthur by the arm,

but the king gets away,

and smites him.

The giant sees the king's shadow,

shelde, for he wende hym to haue supprised. But the Geaunte that was full false and maliciouse be-helde, and saugh the kynge come and lept up, ffor the kynge hadde his swerde in his hande, and the Geaunte stert to a grette clobbe that stode by hym that was grete and hidiousse of a plante of an oke that was a grete birthon for a myghty man, and caught it from the fire, and leide it on his nekke, and com fiercely a-gein the kynge as he that was of grete force, and seide to the kynge that a grete fooll was he to come ther, and reised the batte for to smyte the kynge on the heed, but he was wight and delyuer, and lept a-side, so that he of hym failed, and ther-with the kynge smote at hym and wende to smyte hym on tho heed; but the Geaunte that was bolde and hardy kept it on his clobbe, or elles hadde he be deed, neuertheles somdel he touched hym with Marmyadoise his good swerde, that he conquered of the kynge Rion, and touched hym be-twene the two browes that he wax all blinde, for the blode that ran ouer his yen, and that was a thinge that sore hym greved, for he myght not se where to smyte, and be-gan to scarmyshe and to grope a-boute, hym with his staffe as a wood devell and sore a-baissed, and the kynge hasted hym full harde but a-reche hym myght not, ffor the Geaunte caste a-boute hym grete strokes that yef he hadde hym smyten he hadde ben all to-brosed, and thus thei foughten longe, that the oon ne touched not that other, and therefore thei were sore anoyed; and than the Geaunte wente tastinge here and there that he sesed the kynge by the arme; and whan he hadde hym caught, he was gladde and ioyfull, ffor a-noon he wende hym to haue threst to deth, and so he hadde, but that the kynge was wight and delyuer, and wrast out of his gripinge with grete payne, and than he ran vpon hym with his swerde, and smote hym on the heed and on the lifte sholdre that all the arme fremysshed, and so harde was the hide of the serpent that in the flessch myght it not atame; and the Geaunte myght hym not se, ffor his iyen were all couered with blode, and than he saugh the shadowe of the kynge, and than he ran that wey; but the kynge that wiste he was of

grete force durste not come in his handes, and so hath he gon vp and down that he stombeled on his clubbe, and it sased and ran ther as he wende to finde the kynge. But the kynge blenched so that he myght hym not a-reche, and ther-fore hadde he grete sorow in herte, and than he caste a-vey his clubbe and tasted to chacche the kynge in his armes, and so he wente gropinge and frotinge his iyen till he saugh *the light and the shadowe of the kynge; and than he spronge to hym and caught hym by the flankes with bothe his armes that nygh he hadde with his gripes brosten his chyne, than he be-gan to craspe after his arme, for to take from hym his swerde out of his honde. But the kynge it well perceyved and threwe down the swerde, that in the fallinge he myght here it ringe cler; and than he griped the kynge with that oon hande, and stouped down to take the swerde with that other hande, and in the stoupinge the kynge smote hym with his kne that he fill in swowne, and than he lept to the swerde and hente it vp, and stert to the Geaunte ther he lay, and lifte vp the serpent's skyn, and rof hym thourgh the body with the swerde, and so was the Geaunte slain; and kay the stiwarde, and Bediuer made grete ioye of the kynge, and be-helde the Geaunte that so grete was that wonder was to be-holden, and thanked oure lorde of the honour and the victorie that he hadde yove the kynge, ffor neuer hadde thei seyn so grete a feende; and the kynge bad Bediuer smyte of the heed that it myght be born in to the hoste to se the grete merveile of the gretnesse of hym, and he dide his comaundement, and than com down of the mounteyne, and lepe on theire horse, and the flode was come a-gein that gretly hem disesed, and with grete payne thei passed the greves and com a-gein to the hoste; and the Barons were sore a-baishshed for the taryinge of the kynge, for that thei wiste not whider he was wente, and thei were meved hym for to seche in diuerse parties, ne hadde ben Merlin that bad hem be nothinge dismayed, for he sholde come hastily.

*[Fol. 230a.]
and gropes
after him.
He catches
him.

The king
throws down
his sword.

The giant
stoops to
pick it up,
and the king
kills him.

Kay and
Bediuer mar-
vel at the
size of the
giant.

Bediuer
smites off the
giant's head.

They return
to the host.

While the princes and the barouns were in this afayr, for the kynge Arthur, he and the stiwarde and Bediuer

The barons
see the
giant's head
at Bediuer's
saddle.

com down in to his teinte, and hadde the heed of the Geaunte trussed at Bediuers sadell by the heir, and thider com alle the Barouns whan he was a-light, and asked fro when she com, for he hadde put hem in grete afray; and he seide he com fro thens ther he hadde foughten with the Geaunte that distroied so the londe and the contrey ther-about and how he hadde hym slayn thourgh the grace of oure lorde; and than he shewed hem the heed that Bediuer hadde trussed, and whan the barons it

They marvel
at the sight.

saugh thei blessed hem for the wonder ther-of, and seide that neuer in all theire lif had thei not seyn so grete an heed, and

They praise
God for the
king's vic-
tory.

alle that were in the hoste preised god for the kynges victorie, and than thei dide vn-arme the kynge with grete ioye and gladnesse, and rested ther all that day, till on the morowe that thei

They ride
forth till
they come to
the river
Aube, where
they hear of
the Emperor
Luce.

trussed teintes and Pavilouns and ride forth the streight wey towarde Burgoyne, and spedde hem so in her iourneyes till thei com vpon the river of [Aube]¹ and ther thei herde tidinges of Luce the Emperour was com a-gein hem, and than was the kynge Arthur gladde that he hadde founde hym so nygh, and sory for that he hadde so distroyed and wasted the contrey, and loigge his hoste by the river; and the same day com the

Ban and Bohors
come to
the host.
*[Fol. 230b.]
Grascien,
Pharien, and
Leonce keep
the land
against Clau-
das.

kynge Ban and the kynge Bohors in to the hoste with viij^m *knyghtes and good men of werre. But Grascien and Pharien ne leonce of paierne were nought there, but dide a-bide to kepe and to diffende the londe a-gein the kynge Claudas de la desert, yef it were myster, and a-noon as the two kynges were come

Arthur sends
messages to
Luce,

in to the hoste thei dide picche theire teintes be-fore the kynge looth, and he made hem grete cheir and feste, for he loved hem hertely, and ther thei a-bide till the kynge Arthur hadde fortified a Castell that thei myght repeire to yef thei hadde

by Gawein,
Segramor,
and Ewein.

myster; and than sente the kynge his messages to the Emperour Luce by the counseile of his barouns, and sente hym to sey that he was folily come vpon his londe, and but he wolde come to a-mendement he wolde hym chace oute of Rome; and on the message he sente sir Gawein, and Segramor, and sir Ewein,

¹ There is a blank in the MS.; the French MS. (fol. 206, col. 2) has "la riuere daube."

ffor that thei were curteise and well I-taught, and ther-to hadden grete hardynesse and high prowesse; and the kynge seide to sir Gawein, "Ffeire nevew, ye shull go to the Emperour on my message, and bidde hym returne hom a-gein, and leve the londe, for it is myn, and yef he will not so, lete hym come to bateile, and prove whiche of vs hath right, ffor while I live I shall it diffende a-gein the Romaynes, and conquered it by bateile, and prove it a-gein hym body for body, whiche of vs two shall it haue of right." Whan the kynge Arthur hadde seide these wordes the messagiers hem turned wele I-armed in stiell with sheldes hanginge at theire nekke, and girde theire goode swardes, and in theire handes grete speres; and his felowes that were yonge and lusty bachelers counselled sir Gawein to do soche thinge er thei returned agein, that it myght be spoken of euer after, and that men myght sey the werre was well begonne "wherewith the Romaynes haue vs manased;" and thus thei ride till thei com nygh the hoste; and whan thei saugh the messagiers comynge thei lepe oute of theire teintes on all partes to se hem and be-holde and for to wite what thei were com to seche and asked what thei were, and fr̃o whens thei com. But thei hilde with hem no ple ne wolde not stinte till thei com to the Emperou[r]s teinte and ther thei a-light and made theire horse to be holde with-uten. And than thei come be-fore the Emperoure, and tolde hym theire message that thei brought from the kynge Arthur.

"Sir," quod Gawein, "the kynge Arthur sente the to vndirstonde that thow voide his londe and his contrey for it is all his quyately and he defendeth the to be so hardy to sette ther-ynne foot, and yef thou wilt ought chalenge be bateile he shall it diffende, ffor Romaynes had it conquered be-fore tyme be bateile and be bateile shall he it conquere. Now lete it be proved by bateile whiche oweth to haue the signiourie and the poweste, and com forth to-morowe yef thow wilt the contre chalenge or elles go bak a-gein for here hast thow nought to do; ffor we haue take the londe, and thow hast it loste, and ther-fore yef thow be wise do after my counseile."

Arthur tells Gawein what he is to say to the Emperor.

The messengers depart.

They want to do something that shall be spoken of ever after.

The Romans come out of their tents to see the messengers,

who come before the Emperor.

Gawein gives Arthur's message.

The emperor
is wroth, and
says he will
not leave the
land which is
his.

*[Fol. 231a.]

Tutillius
says the
words of the
Britons
are
greater than
their deeds.

Gawein
smites off his
head.

The messen-
gers then
leap to horse.

The emperor
cries out for
them to be
taken.

The Romans
come after
them on all
sides.
One knight
passes all his
fellows, and
cries out to
the messen-
gers.

Gawein kills
him.

Segramor
kills another
knight.

Whan the Emperour herde sir Gawein speke in this maner he ansuerde with-out more a-bidinge full sory and full wroth, and seide, returne wolde he not, for the londe and the contrey was his, and therefore he wolde holde his wey forth, and he was well plesed with **soche maundementes*, and yef he hadde his londe loste he wolde it recouer whan he myght, and that he trowed sholde be hastely. A knyght ther was that satte by the Emperour that Tutillius was cleped, and was the Emperou[r]s suster sone, he ansuerde full felliche, and seide that Bretouns coude well manece but at the dedes thei were but esy, and therefore ought thei to haue the more reprof. But sir Gawein ther-with wrathed and drough his swerde, and lepte to hym and smote of his heed, and than he bad his felowes go to theire horse lightly, and a-noon thei dide his comaundement, and Gawein lepte on his horse also with-out other leve-takinge nother of the Emperour ne of the romayns, and than was all the court trouble and full of romur, ffor the Emperour cried, "Take hem and lete hem not ascape." Than thei cried, "Ore as armes." Ther sholde ye haue seyn peple arme hem in euery side and lepe to horse, and prike after the messengiers, and thei ride forth a grete randon, and the Romayns com after hem on euery side by the weyes thourgh the feldes here v, here iij, here vj or vij. Oo knyght ther was that richely was horsed and passed alle his felowes, and cried to the massegers full fiercely, "Parde ye shull a-bide, for I shall delyuer yow to the Emperour." Whan sir Gawein this herde, he griped his shelde, and turned his horse and hym hitte so harde that he bar hym deed to the erthe; and than he seide, "Now is it werse for the that thyn horse was so swift, for thou hadest ben better haue be a myle be-hynde, or a-biden stille in the hoste;" and Segramor lete renne to a knyght that com shovinge after hym, and he smote hym thourgh the throte that he fill deed vp-right; and than he seide, "Sir knyght, with soche morsels I can yow fede and myn other enmyes. Now be stille ther and a-bide hem that come after, and telle hem that this wey gon the messagiers of the kynge Arthur, that is theire rightfull lorde."

After hym com a knyght that was born in Rome, and come of high lynage, and was cleped Marcell, he satte on a stronge horse, and a swyfte, and hadde no spere for grete haste; he ouer-toke sir Gawein, and seide he sholde hym yelde to the Emperour, and Gawein loked and saugh hym come costinge his wey, and turned his horse at the passinge forth, and Gawein hym smote so harde in to the brain so depe that the swerde entred to the teth, and Gawein that seide, "Thow haddest to moche haste, thou myght better haue come be-hynde." Than thei turned alle thre, and smote down thre romayns deed. A knyght ther was that was cosin to Marcell, and satte on a stronge horse that was swyfte, and was sory for his newew that he saugh ly deed, and be-gan to prike ouerthwert the felde, and sir Ewein it saugh and ran that wey, and smote hym so harde that he hadde no leiser to turne a-gein, for ther he loste his heed, and thre romayns brake their speres vpon sir Ewein, and he smote of the heed of that oon, and the arme of the seconde, and smote the thirde vpon the helme that he fill from his horse to the erthe, and than he wente forth after his felowes, and the romains hem chaced till thei com to a wode that was nygh the castell that kyng Arthur hadde fortified. But now we shall stinte a while of the messengers, and speke of the kyng Arthur.

*Whan Arthur hadde sente his message to Luce the Emperour he sent after hem vj^m men by the counseile of Merlin for to socour hem, yef it were myster, and thei rode till thei com to the wode, and ther thei a-bide on horsbak till thei saugh hem comynge, and after hem all the feilde couered with kny[g]thes and horsemen that chaced the knyghtes that were messagiers, and whan thei saugh this thei spronge oute of the wode hem a-geins, and the romayns resorte a-noon right as thei saugh hem come, and many of hem were wroth that thei hadde chaced hem so fer, ffor the bretons than hem chaced full crewelly, and ther was many of hem taken and many slain. A knyght ther was of grette renoun, whos name was Petrius, ffor in Rome was not his pareill of prowesse and of hardynesse, and herde speke of this a-wayte that the Bretouns hadde made, and a-noon

Marcell
overtakes
Gawein,

who kills
him.

A cousin of
Marcell
comes to re-
venge his
death,

but Sir
Ewein kills
him.

Three Ro-
mans set on
Ewein, who
smites all
three.

*[Fol. 231b.]
Arthur sends
6,000 men
after the
messengers
to socour
them.
They ride to
the wood.

They spring
out on the
Romans.

Petrius rides
to them with
6,000 men,
and chaces
the Britons

back to the
wood.

he rode thider with vj^m men of armes, and as soone as he was come in to the stour, he made the bretons be fin force entre in to the wode, for thei myght not hym and his peple endure, but turned to flight, and the chace dured to the wode, and ther thei stode at diffence, and Petrius hem assailed full vigerously, but many he loste of his men, ffor the Bretouns slough of hem grete plente, and many ther were deed on bothe sides.

Arthur sends
Ydiers after
the messen-
gers.

Whan Arthur saugh the messangiers taried so longe, he cleped ydier the sone of Vunde and comaunded hym to go after hem till he hadde hem founden, and he dide his comaundement and rode forth till he fonde bothe hostes that fought to-geder, and sir Gawein and his felowes dide merveiles

Ydiers and
his company
spring in
among the
Romans, and
the Britons
recover the
field.

and wele, and ydiers and his companye spronge in vpon the Romayns fiercely, and than com alle the bretouns oute of the wode, and haue recouered the felde; and Petrius that was a noble knyght, and bolde and hardy, relied his peple a-boute hym, and cowde well fle and returne at a vantage, and well fight with his enmyes, and who that will mete an hardy knyght lete hym go to hym, ffor whom that he smote died hym be-houed, and the bretouns pressed to the bateile as thei that were desirous to Iuste and covetouse to do chivalrie, so that thei rought not how it yede so the werre were be-gonne; and on that other side was Petrius full dolent, and kepte his felowes clos a-boute hym, and

Segramor
smites down
knights and
horses.

Segramor of Costantin noble wente thourgh the bateile smytinge down knyghtes and horse, and was war of Petrius that threwe down bretouns, and maymed and slough, and saugh wele by the merveiles that he dide that soone myght the bretouns have grete losse, but yef Petrius were deed or taken quyk, ffor by his

Gawein takes
counsel of his
friends,

prowesse all only a-boode alle the Romayns, and Gawein toke counseile of the beste of his frendes, and seide, "We haue be-gonne this stour with-oute the leve of kynge Arthur, and yef it happen vs wele he will conne vs thanke. And yef it myshappe we shull haue magre, and therefore it be-houeth vs to

and says they
must either
kill Petrius
or take him
alive.

slay Petrius or take hym quyk and yelde hym to kynge Arthur, ffor otherwyse may we not departe with-oute losse, and therefore I pray yow do as I shall do, and foloweth me;" and thei

seide thei wolde with good will ; and whan Segramor this herde he was gladde, *ffor he hadde well sein and parceyved whiche *[Fol. 232a.] was Petrius.

Than Segramor shof that wey as he saugh Petrius, and alle his felowes after that neuer thei stinte till thei come in to the place ther Petrius gouerned his meyne, and Segramor spored his horse so nygh, that he caught hym in his armes that thei bothe fill to the erthe as he that trusted wele vpon his felowes, and he lay at the erthe, and griped him sore in his armes ; and Petrius peyned hym sore to a-rise and turned wrasteling ; but all that auailed not, ffor Segramor helde hym faste so that he hadde no power to meue ; and whan the Romyans saugh hym falle thei pressed hym for to rescowe, and ther was harde stour and rough medle, and Gawein com thourgh the presse makinge wey with the trenchaunt suerde, wherwith he slough down right all that stode in his way, so that ther was no romayn so hardy ne so myghty but he made hym wey ; and ydiers the sone of vut made grete lardure of Romyans ; and sir Ewein the sone of kynge Vrien so peyned hym to perce the presse, that eche of hem laboured for other so vigerously that thei haue remounted Segramor by force, and sette hym on horse, and take Petrius that sore was beten, and diffouled, and haue hym drawen oute of the presse be fin force, and delyuered hym to goode wardeynes, and returned a-gein in to the stour, and the Romyans that hadde no gouernour hadde loste theire diffence whan he was gon that hem dide condite ; and the bretouns hem slough and caste to grounde so thikke that thei passed ouer grete hilles of deed bodyes to pursue hem that fledde, and thei slough many in the chace, and toke prisoners and hem bounden and presented the kynge Arthur, and the kynge hem thanked hertely ; and than thei counseiled hym to sende hem in to the reame of Benoyk, and sette hem ther in prison till the Romyans hadde don his plesier, ffor yef he kept hem in the hoste thei myght hem wele ascape. Than the kynge cleped Borell, and Richer, and Cador, and Bediuer, that were gode knyghtes and hardy, and of grete perage, and comaunded hem to a-rise erly on

Segramor
spurs his
horse against
Petrius, and
catches him
in his arms.

They both
fall to the
ground.

Gawein slays
all that stand
in his way.

Ydiers and
Sir Ewein
remount Seg-
ramor,

and deliver
Petrius to a
guard.

The Britons
slay the Ro-
mans, who
have no
leader,

and present
the prisoners
to Arthur.

The king
commands
Borell,
Richer, Ca-
dor, and Be-

diver to convey the prisoners to a safe place.

The emperor is angry when he hears the prisoners will be led to Benoyk; he commands 10,000 men to prepare to rescue them.

He commands five princes to lead them. They depart and abide where the prisoners will pass. *[Fol. 232b.]

The men of Arthur lead the prisoners, who are bound.

The Romans spring out on them.

Bediver leads the prisoners into a safe place, and leaves them with the squire.

The Britons are divided into four companies.

the morowe, and conveye the prisoners till thei were in saf warde; and here shull we reste of the prisoners, and of hem that shull hem conveye, and speke of the Emperour.

Whan the Emperour wiste of the damage that his men hadde resceived, he was full of dolour and wrath, and than com asspies that seide how the prisoners sholde on the morowe be ledde in to the londe of Benoyk; whan the Emperour herde this, he made x^M men lepe to horse, and traueile all nyght for to come be-fore ther the prisoners sholde passe, and hem to rescowe yef it myght be; and than the Emperour cleped Gestoire that was lorde of lybee, and the kynge of Surre that Euander was cleped, and Calidus of Rome, and Maus, and Cathenois. These v cowde skile of bateile, and moche thei knewe of werre, and the Emperour hem comaunded to condite these x^M, and than departed these v princes with alle these x^M men, and rode till thei come in to the wey ther as these prisoners sholde passe, *and ther thei a-bode stille in a delitable place that thei fonde nygh the wey. And on the morowe a-roos the meyne of kynge Arthur as thei were comaunded, and ledde the prisoners, and rode in two parties for doute of peple, and hem condited Bretell, and Richer, and Cador, and the companye ther the prisoners were made hem be ledde with theire handes bounden be-hynde at theire bakke, and theire feet vndir the horse belyes; and thei that wente be-fore blusht vpon the wacche of the Romayns; and the Romans spronge out hem a-geins so harde that the erthe trembled, and the bretouns hem diffended as peple of grete vertu; and whan Bediuer that com be-hynde herde the strokes resounde he made lede the prisoners in to a sure place, and comaunded the squyres hem to kepe, and than smote theire horse with the spores, and wolde not stinte till thei com to here felowes, and hem diffended with grete force and vigour; and the romains shof here and there, and hadde not so grete entente to disconfite the bretouns as for to rescowe the prisoners and hem to seche; and whan the bretouns saugh hem thus demened, thei departed in foure bateiles, and Cador hadde in his companye the peple of Corne-

waile, and Bediuer the peple of bediers, and Richer hadde a compaye of his owne peple, and Bretell hadde hem of Galvoye; whan the kynge Evander saugh his peple turne to disconfiture, and that theire force be-gan to amenuse, he gadered hem a-boute hym clos; and whan thei saugh the bretons recouer, thei ronne vpon hem in ordre, and than be-gonne a stour right grete; and than hadde the bretons moche the werse, for thei loste grete plente of theire knyghtes, and ydiers le fitz vut was mette so sore with the kynge Euander, that he fill deed to the erthe, and ther-fore were the bretons sore dismayed, for thei loste moche peple at that shoofte, and alle thei hadde be deed or taken; but as Cleodalis the Senescall of Carmelide com with v^M men that the kynge Arthur hadde sent by the counseile of Merlin; and whan Bedyuer hem perceived, he seide to his compaye, "Holde stille now, and fle not, lo here cometh socour;" and than thei cried the signe of kynge Arthur so high, that Cleodalis com with v^M men, and the Romayns entended to take the bretouns, and toke no tent to hem of Carmelide till thei were falle, euen vpon hem, and in theire comynge thei ouerthrewe a hundred of romayns that neuer rise after. And than the romayns were alle a-baished, ffor thei wende it hadde be the kynge Arthur, and his power; and so thei were dismayed that thei fledde toward theire herberges, for thei coueited noon other garison, and these hem chaced that cowde hem not love, and in that chace was slayn the kynge Euander, and Chachelos, and of other moo than two thousande, and many ther were taken prisoners; and than thei repeed in to the feelde of the bateile, and toke the erle bourell and other deed cors that lay thourgh the felde, and hem biried, and bar a-vey hem that were wounded; and these that the kynge hadden comaunded to kepe and conveie the prisoners thei ledde hem forth, and other that thei hadde taken in the bateile newly, and bounde hem streite, and sent hem thider as thei were comaunded; and Cleodalis and his compaye returned to the kynge Arthur, and tolde hym how thei hadde spedde. But here a-while we shull reste of hem, and speke of the Emperour luce.

Evander gathers his people about him.

The Britons lose many of their knights.

Cleodalis comes with 5,000 men.

Bediuer sees them coming, and calls out to his company.

One hundred Romans are overthrown.

The others fly.

Evander and Chachelos are slain.

The Britons bury the dead, and bear away the prisoners.

Cleodalis and his company return to Arthur.

*[Fol. 233a.]
The emperor
is full of
sorrow when
he knows of
the discom-
fiture of his
people, and
of the death
of Evander.

He makes
his people
leap to horse
and come to
Logres.

Arthur
makes his
people ride
privily.

They come
to a valley
called To-
roise on the
way from
Oston to
Logres.

The Earl of
Gloucester
leads 6,766
knights, who
are to remain
in a wood till
they are
needed.

Arthur is
constable of
another com-
pany.
His dragon
is held for a
sign.
He divides
the people
into eight
companies.

*Full of sorowe was the Emperour whan he knewe the
discounfiture, and the grete losse of his peple, and
wepte full tendirly for the kynge Euander, and for other that
were deed and taken, and saugh well the myschef, and that
dismayed hym sore, and was in doute whedir he sholde fight
with the kynge Arthur, or he sholde a-bide his rere-warde that
sholde come after; and than he hym be-thought and made his
peple lepe to horse and come to logres with all his hoste, and
loigge hym in the vales vnder the Citee; and whan the kynge
Arthur wiste that, he wiste well that he wolde not fight, though
he hadde more peple, and so wolde not he suffre hym sojourne
ne sitte nygh hym, and made prvely his peple lepe to horse,
and rode on the right side of the Cite be-twene the town and
the hoste of the Emperour, and lefte the hoste on the left side,
and that was to disavaunce the Emperour, and by-reve hym the
wey to Oston, and laboured all the nyght till on the morowe,
and com in to a valeye that was cleped Toroise, and that was
the streight wey fro Oston to logres; and ther the kynge made
to arme his companye lest the romayns com vpon hem, and that
thei myght lightly put hem bakke; and the cariage, and the
mene peple that hadde no myster of bateile, the kynge made
hem to a-bide by an hill, and made a mustre of armed peple that
yef the romayns hem saugh thei sholde be dismayed, for the
grete multitude of peple; after that the kynge sette in a wode
vj^m knyghtes vij^o lxxvj, and comaunded hem to the Erle of
Gloucester to lede, whiche was bothe Duke and Castelein, and
the kynge hem comaunded that thei sholde not meve thens in no
maner till thei saugh the nede. "And yef I haue myster," seide
the kynge, "I shall turne to yow, and yef the Romayns turne to
discounfiture, loke ye hem not spare;" and thei hym ansuerde
that so thei wolde do with good chere, and than tolde the kynge
a-nother companye of knyghtes that were well appareile, and
sette hem in a place, and hym-self was constable; and ther was
his prevy meyne that he hadde norissed, and made his dragon
to be holde in myd wey for a signe; and than departed his peple
in viij parties, and putte in each Partye ij^m knyghtes, and the

half were on foote, and half on horse-bak, and tolde to eche partie in what maner thei sholde hem contene, and also he putt to so moche peple, that in eche partie was viij^M and v^O, and so hadde the kyng Aguyans the first bateile, and that other ledde the Duke Escam of Cambenyk, and Belcys the Danoyes kyng, and the kyng Looth of Orcanye ledde a-nother. And the kyng Tradilyuans of North walis, and sir Gawein was with the kyng Looth as he that was a kyng of grete pris; after these iiij firste bateiles that wente be-fore come iiij other after wele a-raied, of whiche the kyng Vrien ledde the firste, and with hym was sir Ewein his sone, and Ewein a-voutres, and the kyng Belynans, and the kyng Ventres, and hadde in her companye the peple of her companye and contrey. The seconde bateile of these foure ledde the kyng de Cent chiualers, and the kyng Clarion of Northumbirlande, and the kyng Carados, and in theire companye the peple of theire contreyes. The thridde bateile ledde the kyng Bohors, and thei of his contre, and Cleodalis the Senescall of Carmelide, and thei that he brought oute of his contrey; the fourthe of these iiij, and the laste *ledde the kyng Ban of Benoyk, and hadde with hym alle the sergeautes, and arblastiers, and iiij^M men wele horsed; and whan the kyng hadde stablissed his peple and his bateiles devised, he seide to his barons and to his peple, "Lordes, now it shall be sene how wele ye will do; ffor all that euer ye haue don in all youre lif is loste, but ye do well at this tyme a-gein these Romayns;" and the princes hym ansuerde a-noon with oo voice that lever hadde thei to die in the felde, but he hadde the honoure and the victorie; and whan the kyng Arthur herde this he was gladde and ioyfull. But now shull we retourne to speke of the Emperour.

Here seith the book, that whan the Emperour was loiged in the vale vnder logres, he and his Baronye that were noble knyghtes and sure, that ther he lay that nyght, and on the morowe he departed from logres, and wende to go to Ostons, and than com tidinges how the kyng Arthur hadde leide a-waite a-gein hym, and so he saugh wele that he moste nede fight or

In each there
are 8,500
men.

The leaders
of the first
division.

The leaders
of the second
division.

The leaders
of the third
division.

The leaders
of the fourth
division.
*[Fol. 233b.]

The king ad-
dresses the
people.

The emperor
and the
barons go to-
wards Ostons.

They hear
tidings of
Arthur.

The emperor
calls his
princes and
addresses
them.

Rome is the
head of the
world.

It would be
shameful if
they lost the
heritage of
their fathers.

The Britons
will not let
them pass to
Oston with-
out a battle.

The Romans
prepare for
battle.

There was
great sound
of horns and
trumpets.

The arrows
fly about
quickly.

The fight is
very sore.
*[Fol. 234a.]

elles returne, and that wolde he not do in no maner, ffor that sholde be holde cowardise, and yef he fledde his enmyes wolde hym chace on euery side, and do hym any and damage, and the two thinges myght not oon do lightly bothe to fle and to fight. Than he made his princes come be-fore hym, wher-of he hadde two hundred of hem that were of his counseile; and than he spake to hem and seide, "Gentill knyghtes, good conquerours, the sones of good auncestrie, that the grete honours and londes conquered, by there grete prowesse and hardynesse is Rome the heed of the worlde; and yef this Empire falle in youre tyme it were shame to yow, ffor bolde and hardy were youre auncestres, and by reson of gentill fader ought come gentill issue, youre fadres vailaunt and worthi, and eueriche of yow ought to enforce hym to resemble his fader, ffor grete shame oueth he to haue that leseth the heritage of his fader, and that for slouthe lete falle that his fader conquered, not that ye be euell ne a-peired. Thei were bolde and profitable, and so I holde yow the same; and the bretons haue be-rafte vs the way toward Oston, that we may not passe but by bateile; take youre armes and a-dubbe yow, and yef thei vs a-bide loke that thei be well beten, and yef thei fle we shull hem pursue by force, and peyne vs to a-bate there pride, and distroie there powestee."

Than the romayns ordeyned there bateiles, and there sheltrons renged, and many a paynym medled a-monge the cristein peple that were come to deserue there fees and there londes that thei hilde of Rome, and many of hem on foote, and many on horse, and sette some on the hill, and some in the valey. Than sholde ye haue herde grete sown of hornes and trumpes, and mules and Olyfauntess, and thei ride forth clos holdinge till the[i] fill on the wacche of kyng Arthur, and than sholde ye haue sey shotte of arowes and quarelles fle so thikke that noon durste discouer his heed, and after that com thei to brekinge of speres vpon the sheldes; and whan the speres were spent thei gripe the axes, and gleues, and swerdes, and smyte sore vpon helmes and hauberkes, ffor ther was stour merueilous and sore fight; ther was no nede of foles ne of *cowardes, for

longe thei foughten to-geder and hurteled, that neuer the Romayns ne rused ne the bretons myght nought recouer vpon hem, ne noon wiste whiche hadde the better ne the victorie, till that the warde of kinge Vrien and kynge Ventre, and kynge Belynans frusshed a-monge the Romayns with all their peple where thei saugh the thickest presse, and the thre princes smyten in wonderfully, and kay the stiward that was in their companye dide as a noble knyght; ffor the thre Princes seide, "Mercy god whiche a stiward is this;" and the same thei seide of Bediuer the constable, and ther was many a knyght leide to grounde, and many deed, and many grete strokes yoven and resceived, and kay and Bediuer dide merveiles, for thei trusted in their prowesse, and hilde hem to-geder, and a-vaunced to fer forth, and mette a bateile that the kynge of mede dide bringe, and his name was Boclus, a paynym of grete prowesse, and thei medled with hem and her peple, and many thei slough; and whan the kynge boclus saugh the two knyghtes that dide hym so grete damage of his peple, he was sory, and hilde a grete short spere, and ran to Bediuer, and smote hym with so grete ire, that the stele heed passed thourgh the bouke; and yef he hadde touched hym a litill lower, deed hadde ben for euer, and neuertheles he bar hym down to the erthe out of his sadill all in swowne; whan kay saugh hym falle, he hadde grete sorowe at his herte, ffor he wende verily he hadde be deed, and com toward hym with as moche people as he myght, and made theym of mede resorten, and com to Bedyuer, and clipte hym in his armes, and wolde haue born hym oute of the presse from the horse feet for the grete love that was hem be-twene, and the kynge of Mede hym turned and smote kay with his suerde vpon the helme that he yaf hym a grete wounde on the heed so that he be-houed to lete Bedyuer ly stille, and bothe hadde thei soone haue be slain ne hadde be their meyne that full stifly hem diffended; and a knyght spronge in to the presse that was cleped Segras, and was newew to Bediuer; and whan he saugh his vncler so ly at erthe, he wende he hadde be deed, and he assembled his kyn and frendes that were well thre hundred,

Urien,
Ventre, and
Belynans set
on the Ro-
mans.

Kay and Be-
diuer do
marvells.

They slay
many of the
people of
King Boclus.

Boclus smites
Bediuer and
bears him to
the ground.

Kay comes
to Bediuer
and takes
him in his
arms to bear
him away,

but Boclus
smites Kay
on the head.

Segras, a
nephew of
Bediuer,
assembles
his friends,

and comes
towards Bo-
clus, whom
he kills,

and hews
into small
pieces.

He bears his
uncle out of
the press.
*[Fol. 234b.]

King Ventres
is wounded.

Gawein and
Hoell smite
into the
battle.
The people
of little Bre-
taine do
great deeds.

They come
to the em-
peror.

Hermans is
killed.

The people
of the em-
peror slay
2,000 of the
Britons.

and seide, "Seweth after me, and lete vs a-venge the deth of myn vnclē." Than he lefte the Romayns, and a-spide the kyng of mede, and turned that wey, and cried the signe of kyng Arthur as a wood man oute of witte for angre to a-venge the deth of his vnclē, and his felowes sewed after hym with sharp grounden speres wher-with was alain many a paynym; and whan Segars saugh the kyng Boclus that hadde smyte down his vnclē, he smote hym on the helme with so grete ire, that he cleft hym to the teth that he fill deed to grounde, and than he light down and caught hym vp, and hym lede on his horse and brought hym ther as his vnclē lay, and ther he hewe hym in to smale peces; and than he seide to his peple, "Sle these hethen houndes, that in oure lorde haue no creauunce;" and with that he herde his oncle sighe, and than was he gladde in herte, and toke hym vp softly, and bar hym oute of the presse to the harneys, *and than returned to the bataile that was full crewell and fell; and the kyng Ventres mette the kyng Alipatin, and the kyng Ventres was wounded thourgh the body, ffor the Romayns were of so grete power that the bretouns be-hoved to rusen of fin force; and whan sir Gawein and hoell of the litill Bretayne saugh hem resorte, thei were wroth and sory. Than thei smote in a-monge hem, and the peple of the litill Bretayne hem slough euer nygh theire lorde, so that no presse myght hem with-stonde, and so wele thei dide that thei made them turne theire bakkes to hem and fledde, and ther was many slain and throwe to grounde; and in this wise thei hem demened till thei com to the maister Gawfanon of the Egle of golde, and ther was the Emperour, and the myghthiest men of the worlde, and the grettest gentles of Rome.

Ther sholde ye haue seyn stiffe stour and fell, and crewell bataile, and hermans that was Erle of Tripill was in companye of sir Gawein and hauell, but a knaue hym slough with a ganelok, and the peple of the Emperour smyte so on the bretouns that thei slough of hem two thousande in the self place wher-of was grete damage and pite, for thei were full worthi men and many noble knyghtes, and whan sir Gawein saugh his

companye thus dye, he spronge in a-monge the Romayns as a wood lyon a-monge wilde bestes, and he was of noble high prowesse, and was not wery to smyte grete strokes vpon eyther side till he com nygh the Emperour; and whan he saugh the Emperour he knewe hym wele, and he hym also, and a-noon that oon lete renne to that other, and smyten to-geder with grete myght, but thei dide not falle, for bothe were thei of grete force; and the Emperour was right stronge and hardy, and was gladde that he was mette with Gawein, for he knewe hym by his armes that men hym hadde devised, and the signes, and seide to hymself, yef I may ascape a-lyve, I may ther-of a-vaunte me at Rome. Than he griped his swerde, and couered hym with his shelde, and faught with sir Gawein full fiercly, and sir Gawein hym smote with Calibourne his good suerde, that he slitte his helme, and his heed down to the teth; and whan the romayns saugh the Emperour deed, thei ronne vpon the bretouns and yaf hem a dispitouse shour and crewell, and smyte down in her comynge moo than thre hundred; whan Arthur saugh the romayns recouer, and his peple so demene, he cried with an high voyce, "What lordinges, what do ye holde stille youre grounde, and lete noon of hem ascape, for I am the kynge Arthur, that for no man will forsake the felde; sewe me, and loke ye be not recreaunt, and remembre you of youre noble prowesses that so many remes haue conquered, ffor ther shall noon passe quyk oute of this felde, but I haue the victorie vpon these romayns, ffor this day shall I lyve or dye;" with that he spronge in a-monge the romains, and be-gan to smyte down knyghtes, and horse and men, that whom so he a-raught be-houed to dye, ffor he smote no stroke with his swerde, but he slough other man or horse, and in his wey he mette hestor the kynge luby, and he smote hym so that his heed fill to grounde; and than he seide, "Cursed be thou that euer thou hider com to do vs soche damage to my men;" and after he smote Polibetes, the kynge of mede, that he fonde in his wey, that he fill deed to grounde; whan the barouns saugh the kynge Arthur do so wele, thei assailed the romayns, and the romayns hem vigerously, that

Gawein
springs in
among the
Romans.

He comes to
the emperor.

They smite
together.

Gawein kills
the emperor
with Cali-
bourne.
When the
Romans see
their em-
peror dead,
they rush on
the Britons,
and smite
down more
than three
hundred.
Arthur calls
out to his
people,

and springs
in among the
Romans,
and smites
down horse
and men.

He kills
Hestor

and Poli-
betes.

The Britons
and Romans
fight vigor-
ously.

*[Fol. 235a.] grete *damage dide to the bretons, and yef the Emperour ne hadde be slain, the bretouns ne myght not a-gein hem endured, for that discourtforted hem alle; neuertheles thei contened hem so wele, that noon wiste who sholde haue the better. Than the
 The 6,666 come down from the mountain,
 and smite the Romans from behind.
 The Romans fly.
 after these were come myght the romayns not endure, but turned to flight, for sore were thei discourtforted, for the Emperour that was slain, and the Romans and the sarazins fledde discourtfited, and the bretouns hem enchaced, and slough of hem as many as thei hadde talant.

Arthur is glad at the victory that God had given him.

The dead bodies are buried.

Arthursends the body of the emperor to Rome.

He asks Merlin where he shall go.

Merlin says he is to go on his way.

He tells of a devil by the lake de Losane,

Full gladdre was the kyng Arthur of the discourtfiture of the Romans, and of the victorie that god hadde hym yoven, and than com in to the feelde ther the bateile hadde be and biryed the deed bodies in chirches and abbeyes of the contrey; and the wounded lete hem be ledde to townes, and serched their sores, and after made take the body of the Emperour, and sente it to Rome on a beere, and sente worde to the romains that it was the trewage of Bretaigne, that he sent to Rome, and yef thei wolde aske eny more he wolde hem sende soche a-nother in the same wise; and whan he hadde don thus, he toke counseile wheder he sholde holde forth his wey, or turne a-gein in to Gaule, and the princes seide he sholde take counseile of Merlin. Than the kyng called Merlin, and seide, "Dere frende, how pleseth it you that I shall do." "Sir," seide Merlin, "ye shull not come at Rome, ne ye shull not yet returne, but holde forth youre wey, ffor ther be peple that haue grete nede of youre helpe." "How so," seide the kyng, "is ther werre in this contrey." "Sir," seide Merlin, "ye! beyonde the lak de losane, for ther repeireth a devell, an enemy so that ther dar nother a-bide man ne woman, for he distroieth the contrey, and sleth all that he may gete." "How so," seide the

kyng, "may ther no man hym endure, than is he no man as other ben." "No," quod Merlin, "it is a catte, full of the devell that is so grete and ougly, that it is an horrible sight on to loke." "Thesu mercy," seide the kyng to Merlin, "whens myght soche a beeste come?" "Sir," seide Merlin, "that can I telle yow."

which is a
great and
ugly cat.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ARTHUR'S FIGHT WITH THE GREAT CAT; THE SEARCH FOR MERLIN, AND HIS IMPRISONMENT; THE TRANSFORMATION OF GAWEIN INTO A DWARF, AND RETURN TO HIS PROPER FORM; THE BIRTH OF LANCELOT.

"**H**it be-fill at the assencion hens a-foure yere, that a fissher of the contrey com to the lak de losane with his nettes and his engynes; and whan he was redy to caste his nette in to the water, he promysed to oure lorde, the firste fissh that he sholde take; and whan he drough vp his nette, he toke a fissh that was worth xxxs.; and whan he saugh the fissh so feire and grete, he seide to hym-self softly be-twene his teth, "God shall not haue this, but he shall haue the next that I take." Than he threwe his nett a-gein in to the water, and toke a-nother fissh that was better than the firste; and whan he saugh it was so good and so feire, he seide that yet our lorde god myght wele a-bide of this. But the thridde sholde he haue with-oute eny doute; and than he caste his nett in to the water, and drough oute a litill kyton as blakke as eny cool. And whan the *fissher it saugh, he seide that he hadde nede ther-of in his house for rattes and mees, and he it norissed and kept vp in his house till it strangeled hym, and his wif and his children, and after fledde in to a mountayn that is be-yonde the lak, that I haue to you of spoken, and hath be there in to this tyme, and distroieth and sleth all that he may se and a-reche; and he is grete and horrible that it is merueille hym to se; and we shall go that wey, for it is the right wey toward Rome, and yef god

A fisher came
to the lac de
Losane with
his nets.

He vowed to
give to God
the first fish
he should
take,

but he breaks
his vow three
times.

The third
time he cast
in his net he
drew out a
kitten;

*[Fol. 235b.]

he nourished
it, and it
strangled
him, his wife,
and children,
and fled to
the moun-
tain, and de-
stroyed all it
saw.

The barons
marvel and
say that it is
God's ven-
geance.

The king
commands
them to
make ready
to ride.
They go to-
wards the
lak de Lo-
sane.

Looth, Ga-
wein, Gahe-
ries, Ban,
and Merlin,
go up the
mountain
with Arthur.

Merlin
points out
where the
cat is.

Arthur tells
them all to
draw back.

The cat leaps
out of the
cave, and
runstowards
Arthur, who
prepares to
receive it
with a spear,
which the
cat breaks in
his mouth.

will, ye shull sette the peple in reste that be fiedde in to straunge londes." Whan the barons undirstode these wordes thei gonne to blesse hem for the grete merveile that thei hadden, and seiden that it was vengeance of oure lorde, and a tokne that he was wroth, for the syane that the fissher hadde broken his promys, and ther-fore thei trowed oure lorde were wroth with hym, for that he hadde falsed his couenaunt. Than the kynge comaunded to trusse and to make hym redy to ride; and thei dide his comaundement, and toke theire wey toward the lak de losane, and fonde the contrei wasted and voide of peple, that nother man ne woman durste ther-ynne enhabite. And thei laboured so till that thei com vnder the mounte, wher-as this devell dide a-bide; and loiged hem in a valey a myle fro the mountein; and the kynge Looth toke his armes, and sir Gawein, and Gaheries, and the kynge Ban, and Merlin, for to go with the kynge Arthur, and seide thei wolde go se this feende that so grete damage and harme hadde don in the contrey; and thei clymbe vpon the mountein as Merlin hem ledde, that well knewe the wey, for the grete witte that was in hym. And whan thei were come vp, than seide Merlin to Arthur, "Sir, in that roche ther is the Catte;" and shewed hym a grete cave in a medowe that was right large and depe. "And how shall the Catte come oute?" seide the kynge. "That shull ye se hastely," quod Merlin, "but loke ye be redy you to diffende, for a-noon he will yow assaile." "Than drawe yow alle a-bakke," seide the kynge Arthur, "for I will preve his power;" and thei dide his comaundement, and a-noon as thei were with-drawen, Merlin whistelid lowde; and whan the catte that herde, a-noon he lept oute of the cave, for he wende that it had be som wilde beste, and he was hungry and fastinge, and ran woodly a-straye toward the kynge Arthur; and as soone as the kynge saugh hym comynge he bar a-gein hym a short spere, and wende to smyte hym thourgh the body. But the feend caught the steill heed in his teth so harde, that he made it bende, and in the turnynge that the kynge made, the shaft to brake faste by the heed that was in the cattes mowthe; and he be-gan to make a grym noyse

as he were wood, and the kynge caste down the tronchon of the
 spere, and drough his suerde, and caste his shelde hym be-fore;
 and the catte lepte to hym a-noon, and wende to sese hym by
 the throte, and the kynge lifte the shelde a-gein hym so fiercely,
 that the catte fill to grounde; but soone he lepte vpon his feet
 and ran vpon the kynge full fiercely, and the kynge lifte vp the
 suerde and smote the catte on the heed that he cutte the skyn;
 but the heed was so harde that he myght not entre; and
 neuertheles he was so astonyed, that he fill to the erthe vp-right,
 but er the kynge myght his shelde recouer, the catte sesed hym
 at discourt *be the sholdres so harde that his clawes griped
 thourgh his hauberke in to the flesshe, and plukked so harde
 that he braste moo than iiij^c mayles, that the reade blode
 folowed his clawes, and ther failed but litill that the kynge
 hadde falle to the erthe; and whan the kynge saugh his blode,
 he was wonder wroth, than he caste his shelde be-fore his
 breste, and hilde his swerde in his right hande, and ran to the
 catte vigerously, that likked his clawes that were weet of blode;
 and whan he saugh the kynge come toward hym, he lepe hym
 a-geins, and wende to sese hym as he hadde do be-forn, but the
 kynge launched his shelde hym be-fore, and the catte smote
 ther in his two feet be-fore with so grete fiersnesse thourgh
 the shelde, and breied so harde that the kynge enclyned to the
 erthe, so that the gige of the shelde fly from his nekke; but he
 griped the shelde so faste by the enarmynge that the catte
 myght it not hym be-reve, ne pulle oute his clawes, but henge
 in the shelde be the two feet be-fore; and whan the kynge
 saugh this, he griped faste the shelde and smote hym with his
 swerde vpon bothe legges, that he cutte hem a-sonder by the
 knees, and the catte fill to grounde; and the kynge caste a-vey
 his shelde, and ran to hym with swerde drawn; and the catte
 sterte vpon the hynder-feet, and grenned with his teth, and
 coveited the throte of the kynge; and the kynge launched at
 hym and wende to smyte hym on the heed, and ther-with the
 catte strayned hys hynder feet and lept in his visage, and griped
 hym with her hynder feet, and with hir teth in to the flesshe

The king
draws his
sword,

and smites
the cat on
the head.

The cat
seizes the
king,
*[Fol. 236a.]

and makes
the blood to
flow.

The king
runs to the
cat, with his
shield before
him.

The cat fixes
its claws in
the shield,

and cannot
pull them
out.

The king cuts
off its two
fore legs.

The cat flies
at the king's
throat,

and bites
him, that

the blood
streams out.

The king
cuts off its
hind feet.

The cat
creeps to-
wards the
cave;
but the king
goes between
the cave and
the cat,
which he
slays.
Merlin and
the others
run to him.

*[Fol. 236b.]
The barons
look at the
feet left in
the hauberk.

The king
goes to his
tent, and un-
arms.
The leeches
wash his
wounds.

They return
towards
Gaul.

that the blode stremed out in many places of breste and sholdres on high; and whan the kynge felte hym holde so harde, he sette the point of his swerde to the bely for to launche hym thourgh, and whan the catte felte the suerde she lefte hir bitinge, and wolde haue falle to grounde; but the two hynder feet were so depe ficched in the hauberke, that the heed of the catte hanged down-ward, and than the kynge smote a-sonder the two hynder feet, and the body fill to grounde; and as soone as the catte was fallen she be-gan to whowle and to bray so lowde, that it was herde thourgh the hoste; and whan she hadde caste this cry she be-gan to crepe faste down the foreste by the grete strengthe that was in hir, and drough toward the cave where-as she com oute; but the kynge wente be-twene hir and the cave, and ran vpon the catte, and the catte launched toward hym, and wende to cacche hym with hir teth; but in the launchinge the kynge smote of hir two legges be-fore, and than Merlin and the other ronne to hym, and asked how it was with hym. "Well," seide the kynge, "blessed be oure lorde, ffor I haue slain this devell, that grete harme hath don in this contrey, and wite it verily that I hadde neuer so grete doute of my-self as I hadde now a-gein this catte, saf only of the Geaunte that I slough this other day on the mountein, and ther-fore I thanke oure lorde." "Sir," seide the barouns, "ye haue grete cause." Than thei loked on the feet that were lefte in the shelde, and in the hauberk, and thei seide that neuer soche feet hadde thei sein be-fore, and Gaheries toke the shelde and wente to the host makinge grete ioye; and whan the princes saugh the feet and the clawes that were so longe thei were a-baissed, and ledde the kynge to his tente and vnarmed hym, and loked on the cracchinges, and the bitinge of the catte; and the leches waissed softly his woundes, and leide ther-to salve and oynesmentes to clense the venym, and dight hym in soche maner, that he letted nothinge to ride; and that day thei soiourned till on the morowe that thei returned toward Gaul, and the kynge lete bere the shelde with the cattes feet, and the feet that were in the hauberk lete put in a cofer, and comaunded to be well

kept; and the kinge asked Merlin how this mountein was cleped, and Merlin seide that peple of the contrey cleped it the mountein de lak, ffor the lak that was in the valey. "Certes," seide the kyng, "I will that this name be taken a-wey, and I will it be cleped the mountain of the catte, ffor the catte hadde ther his repeire, and was ther slain;" and after that the name of that hill neuer chaunged, ne neuer shall while the worlde dureth; and now a-while cesseth the tale and returneth to hem that ledde the Prisoners.

Now seith the storie, that whan the kyng Arthur hadde comaunded the knyghtes to lede the prisoners of the romayns that were repeired f[r]om the disconfiture of the romayns that the prisoners wende to haue rescowed, that thei toke the prisoners that the squyers kepte out of the stour, and wente toward fraunce, and in euery town that thei com thei toke condite fro oo town to a-nother, and laboured day and nyght till thei com nygh a Castell that longe to Claudas de la desert; and ther com a-gein hem xlv knyghtes of the londe of kyng Claudas, that by theire esspies wiste that the kyng Arthur sente prisoners in to fraunce that were knyghtes of the romains, and yef they myght yelde hem to kyng Claudas he sholde conne hem grete thanke, ffor he loved the romayns and the Emperour. Thei were well horsed and a-raied, and com a-gein hem that ledde the prisoners that were well CC knyghtes and squyres, and of hem of the contrey that bar hem companye; but with-oute faile thei ne were but xl knyghtes, and thei on that other side were xlvj, and were nygh the castell where-ynne were I-nowe of squyres and sergeauntes on foote in whom thei trusted moche. Thei en-busshed hem in a grove a litill oute of the wey; and whan thei saugh hem come, thei spronge oute a-gein hem, and hem assailed that nygh thei haue hem surprised; but a-noon as thei saugh hem breke, thei ronne hem a-geins, and mette so harde vpon the sheldes that thei perced and rente hauberkes, and many ther were smyte thourgh the bodies, and slain and wounded on bothe parties; and whan thei that were with the prisoners saugh the knyghtes reuerse, thei

The king asks how the mountain is called;

and says it shall hereafter be called the mountain of the cat.

The knights that lead the prisoners go towards France.

They come near a castle belonging to Claudas. Forty-five of his knights come against them,

and spring out of a grove.

Many are slain on both sides.

ronne hem to socour, and for to take the other, and grete was the afraie and the medle, and gretly were a-peired the peple of kynge Claudas, and yet sholde thei haue hadde more damage; but as the peple of the Castell hem socoured, be strengthe that were well an hundred and fifty of horsemen, and the bateile wax right sharpe and fierce, for the *bretouns were stronge and hardy, and Claudas peple were stronge and hardy in her owne londe, and diffended hem wele; and than com oute of the castell fifty sergeauntes with bowe and arowes, and be-gonne to shete at the bretouns, and slough many in her comynge, and therfore were the bretouns sore dismayed, and of fin force were made resorte to the prisoners that the yomen on foote dide kepe; and elles hadde the bretouns all loste ne hadde be oon auenture that hem be-fill, as god wolde, ffor Pharien of Trebes and leonce of Paierne com that wey for to prise the Castell, and hadde in her companye vij^o knyghtes wele horsed and richely armed, and com vpon hem fightinge euen as the bretouns were at disconfiture; and whan thei of the castell hem a-perceiued, and knewe theire armes thei were sore dismayed, and lefte the assaute of the bretouns and fledde toward the castell, and gat in who that myght sonest, that the sone a-boode not the fader, ne the fader the sone, but so faste cowde thei not haste, but that leonce, and Pharien, and her companye slough of hem moo than xxx; and the[i] ronne in to the castell to garison, and thei vpon the walles lete falle the portcolys vpon hem and slough of hem two horse; and Pharien and leonce reperiured toward the bretouns that hadde gadered a-gein alle the prisoners that thei ledde; and Pharien hem asked what thei were, and thei ansuerde, "We be with the kynge Arthur that these prisoners sendeth in to ffraunce;" and whan thei vnderstode this, thei seide thei were welcome. Than thei wente alle to-geder to Benoyk, and made the prisoners a-light be-fore the paleis, and after lete sette hem in prison as the kynge Arthur hadde comaunded, and after thei hem vn-armed and duelled ther in ioye and in feste. And now shull we returne and speke of the lorde of the marasse and of his dou hter.

The people
of the castle
come to suc-
cour the
*[Fol. 237a.]
knights of
Claudas.

Many of the
Britons are
killed.

Pharien and
Leonce come
with a com-
pany of 700
knights.

When the
people of the
castle see
them, they
are dismayed
and fly to the
castle.

Thirty of
them are
killed.

Pharien asks
the Britons
what they
are.

They all go
to Benoyk,
and put the
prisoners
into prison.

A-noon with-ynne xv dayes after the kynge Ban, and the kynge Bohors, and Merlin were departed from the castell of the marasse, where thei hadde ley in ioye and feste, a riche man of the contrey com to the castell on a nyght; and the lorde of the castell, that was a worthy knyght and a wise, made hym grete chere, and in reuerence of hym made his doughter to serue of the cuppe as she that was full wise and wele lerned; and the knyght that ther-in was herberowed be-helde the damesell that he liked right wele, and requered her of hir fader, and seide he wolde hir haue to his wif yef it hym liked, and the fader hym thonked of the honour that he hym profered, and was ther-of full gladde, for he was the highest lorde of that contrey, and seide he wolde speke ther-of to his doughter, and than yeve hym ansuere; whan thei hadde soped, thei yede to reste, and on the morowe thei a-rise erly, and agravadain a-resoned his doughter of that the knyght hym requered, that was so myghty a lorde, that by hym myght alle his frendes be a-vaunced and worshiped; and whan the damesell this herde she ansuerde hir fader debonerly, and seide, "Sir, it is not yet tyme for me to be maried, for I am yonge, and ther-fore I be-seche yow speketh not ther-of, but suffre me a-bide yef it please yow." "Ffeire doughter," quod he, "to leue spekinge herof I se no profite; ye ought to haue grete ioye in youre herte, for that so high a lorde deyneth to aske yow in *marriage; ffor ye be a woman but of lowe lynage a-gein hym, and ther-for I pray yow and comaunde to do my will." "Sir," quod she, "ye may well yet suffre a-while, for be the feith that I owe to yow that be my fader, I am not yet in will to be maried." "How so, feire daughter," quod he, "will ye than refuse my plesier and my volunte." "Sir," quod she, "I knowe well youre will is not for to haue me I-loste." "I-loste," seide he, "nay, but I-wonne to grete honour." "Nay, sir," quod she, "but I-loste; for I sholde neuer haue ioye at myn herte, yef I were maried to eny other than to hym that I haue my-self promysed and graunted, and yet I knowe well that I shall neuer hym haue, but I shall holde me to hym that he hath me

A rich man comes to the castle of the Marasse,

and demands the lord's daughter for his wife.

The father is glad,

and speaks to his daughter.

She says she is too young to be married.

Aggravadain says she ought to be joyful that **[Fol. 237b.]* so great a lord desires her for his wife.

His daughter says she should never have joy if she married him.

lefte, and he is of higher astate and feirer knight than is this." "Doughter," seide he, "of whom speke ye; tell me more clerly youre thought and soche thinge I may of yow heren, that I shall put this thinge in respite." "Sir," seide the damesell, "I shall yow telle, seth that ye will it knowe, and I shall of no worde make yow lesynge." Than she tolde hym all in ordore how it was hir be-falle be-twene hir and th[e] kynge Ban of Benoyk, and how she was by hym with childe; "and he tolde me that I sholde haue a sone by whom all my lynage shall be a-vaunced; wherfore I praye yow be not a-boute to marye me to noon other but to the kynge, ffor be the feith that I owe to god and to yow, I shall neuer haue other but hym."

She tells of
Ban, and how
she was with
childe by him.

The father
is angry,

but says he
will speak to
the lord.

He tells the
lord that he
shall have
his daughter
in two years.

The lord
swears that
he will take
her by force.

He summons
his men,

and pitches
his tents
before the
castle.
The lord of
Maras has
provisions
for five
years.

Whan the fader vndirstode his doughter, he was pensif and wroth, but chere ne semblaunt durste he noon make, and ansuerde soberly, "Doughter, seth it is thus, I moste it suffre, and therfore disconfort yow no-thinge, and I shall go speke with this lorde, and telle hym youre will and nothings myn;" and than he com to the knyght that was in doynge on his spores, and salued hym curteysly, and seide, "Sir, yef it plesse yow to suffre this two yere, I will do youre volunte;" and that he seide, for he knewe well he wolde it not graunte that respite; whan the knyght this vndirstode, he ansuerde ther-to no worde, but lepe to horse, he and his men, and departed with-oute leve takinge, and swor that seth he myght hir not haue with love he wolde hir haue be force, and after hym sholde haue hir who that wolde; and in this maner he departed and com in to his contrey and somowned his men, till he hadde wele viij^o knyghtes, and squyres, and yomen, and many other sowdiours, and com with an hoste be-fore the Castell des Maras, and pight his teintes by the pyne tre nygh the cauchie, and swor his oth that neuer sholde he departe thens till he hadde hir to his wif; and whan the lorde des Maras saugh hym-self be-seged, he was full of hevynesse, not for no drede to be taken by strengthe, ne famyn myght thei not lightly for all the reme myght hym net take, for I-nough he hadde of vitaille, for v yere that neuer hym neded to com oute at the

yate; and he hadde ther-ynne xliij knyghtes that were bolde and hardy in armes, ffor the lorde des Mares was a noble knyght; and thus thei were be-fore the Castell viij dayes that neuer was caste ne shotte, *and the ixth. day, a-boute the hour of prime, be-fill that a knyght of the hoste that was cleped Maudras com to the horn that ther henge, and sette it to his mouthe, and blewe thries with grete myght, so that the lorde of the castell it herde clerly; and than a-noon he armed hym richely, and lepte vpon a stede with shelde be-fore his breste and a spere in hande, and the yate was hym opened, and he rode oute a grete raundon all the cauchie towarde the hoste, and cried with high voice whiche was he that was so hardy to blowen his horne with-oute his leve, and in euell tyme hadde he it be-gonne, yef in hym were so moche hardynesse with hym to Iuste, and Maudras seide that for noon other cause was it do, "and I shall Iuste be soche couenaunt that he that falleth shall yelde hym-self taken prisoner with-oute more doynge." "And I it graunte," seide Agravadain, "yef youre lorde will assent that I haue of hym no doute ne encombraunce ne of noon saf only of yow." "In feith," quod he, "ye shull haue no doute of noon other seth ye be come so fer." Than Agravadain com down of the cauchie, and he a Maudras ronne to-geder; and the knyghtes were renged rounde a-boute to be-holde the Iustinge, and the two knyghtes mette with so grete raundon, that the sheldes perced, Maudras brake his spere, and Agravadain shof so sore, that he bar hym to grounde so rudely, that he brake his lifte arme be-twene the hande and the elbowe. Than he straught oute his hand and hente the horse by the reyne, and sette hym on the cauchie; and than he seide to Maudras that he sholde hym sewe and holde his couenaunt, and than he rode forth towarde the Castell, and drof Maudras horse hym be-fore, and entred in at the yate where he was receyved with ioye; and leriador and his knyghtes com to Maudras, and fonde hym on swowne, and thei wende he hadde be deed. And in a while after he yaf a grete sigh, and opened his iyen, and comaunded that oon sholde bringe hym to the

*[Fol. 238a.]

Maudras
blows the
horn thrice.The lord
arms and
rides out
towards the
host.He calls on
Maudras to
joust with
him.The two run
against each
other with
great force.Agravadain
bears Maudras
to the
ground,and drives
his horse be-
fore him to
the castle.

Leriador
sends Maud-
ras on a bier
to the castle.

Agravadain
puts him in a
fair chamber.

Each day
comes a
knight, and
Agravadain
conquers
them all.

On the
twelfth day
Leriador
blows the
horn himself.

The two
knights
meet.

*[Fol. 238b.]

They bear
each other to
the ground.

They fight
on foot,

but Leriador
has to cry
for mercy,
and returns
to his coun-
try.

Agravadain's
daughter is
delivered of
a son,

castell to a- quyte hym of his oth. Than leriador lete make a beere of smale bowes on horsbak, and leide hym ther-ynne, and couered with a riche cloth of silke and henge this litter be-twene two horse, and sente hym to the castell. And Agra-uadain hym resceived, and lete put hym in a feire chambre where is arme was well dight with salues and oynementes. And thei that brought hym thider returned a-gein, and fonde leriador sori and wroth, and so were all the other.

On the morowe com a-nother knyght, and blewe the horne ; and agra-uadain com and Iusted with hym, and smote hym down, and toke his feith to be prisoner, and wente with hym to the castell, and thus Agra-uadain wan xj, and therfore was the lorde sory and angry ; and the xijth day he blewe the horne hym-self ; and whan Agra-uadain was come as he was wonte to do, than seide Leriador that at this Iustinge sholde be fynysshed the werre, and the sege departe ; ffor yef Agra-uadain hym conquered, he wolde returne a-gein in to his contrey with all his hoste. Ne neuer he ne noon of his sholde touche no-thinge of his, "and yef I yow conquere ye shull me yeve youre doughter to be my wif, for I aske yow no more." This was graunted on bothe parties. And than wente the two knyghtes to-geder, and mette with grete raundon on the sheldes a-bove the bokeles *that thei perced and rente the hauberkes, that the spere poyntes passed be the sides, so that the blode spronge oute of bothe parties ; than thei hurteled so harde with bodies and sheldes, that eche bar other to grounde, bothe horse and man, that bothe were sore astonyed, and lay longe while at the erthe ; but bothe thei lept vpon foot, and drough theire suerdes and smote grete strokes at discouert, and made grete woundes and merveilouse, and bothe waxen feble for the blode that thei bledde ; but in the ende leriador be-hoved to come to mercy, and departed from the sege, and wente hom to his contrie ; and Agra-uadain returned to his castell, and leide salue to his woundes, and sente the prisoners in to her contreyes ; and he a-bode gladd and myrre till his doughter was delyuered of a sone, that after was of grete renoun in the reame of logrea, and

in many other contreyes, and was cleped by his right name Estor; and of hym hadde Agrauadain grete ioye, and made hym be norished in his chambre, and delyuered hym thre norices; and the damesell hir-self yaf hym sowke of hir owne mylke, ffor ther was nothinge that she loved so moche, ffor he was so like the kynge Ban as he hadde be portreyed. But now shull we cesse of hym a-while, and of his moder, and of Agrauadain, that helde hym dere, and returne to speke of the kynge flualis that longe hath be stille.

whose name
is Estor.

She gives the
child suck.

Now whan that Merlin was departed from the kynge flualis, to whom he hadde tolde his a-vision; and the kynge flualis a-bood sore dismayed of that Merlin hadde seide, and in short tyme after be-fill like as he hadde tolde, for he saugh his children in the temple of diane I-slayn, and the temple caste down and dispoiled, and his londe distroied, and his paleys brente, and hym-self taken and his wif; but thei that hym toke ne slough hym not, but shewed hem the poyntes of the cristin feith, and made hem so to vndirstonde fro day to day, that thei were baptised and waisshe fro the filthe of synne of mysbeleve, and was cleped be the same name that he hadde be-fore, and that was flualis; but the ladies name was chaunged, and cleped hir misiane, and hir name was be-fore cleped Lumble; and after were thei longe to-geder till thei hadde foure doughtres, that after hadde foure princes that were cristin, and were full good peple and trewe, and hadde many children; ffor the elthest hadde x sones, that were alle good knyghtes by the kynge flualis lif, and viij doughteres; and the seconde hadde xij sones and thre doughtres; and the thridde vj sones and xij doughtres; and the fourthe xv sones and a doughter, and were alle maryed, and the sones knyghtes while the kynge was lyvinge, and the quene Misiane, that ther-of hadde grete ioye and gladnesse, and thonked our lorde. Whan the kynge flualis and the foure princes saugh that thei hadde liiiij children that were alle bretheren and cosins germain, thei made grete ioye, and seide that oure lorde hadde hem sent to avaunce the cristin lawe, and seide thei sholde neuer cesse till

It befalls
Flualis, as
Merlin had
said.

His children
are slain.

He and his
wife are bap-
tized.

The lady's
name is
changed.

Afterwards
they have
four
daughters,
who marry
four princes.

They have
fifty-four
children.

thei hadde made alle paynmys cristin, and obbeys the lawes of god and holy cherche.

They sum-
mon their
power, and
overrun pa-
gan lands.

*[Fol. 239a.]

Fualis dies
in Spain.

They take
divers lands.

Some come
to serve
Arthur;

Four knyghts
come with
them.

Arthur and
his company
stay for eight
days at the
castle on the
River Aube,
and then go
to Benoyk.

Than thei somowned and assembled all her power, and ronnes thorough paynym londes, and toke townes, and slough many a paynym, and conquered the londes of the straunge contreyes, and passed *in to Galya, and in to Spayne, so that nothings myght a-gein hem endure, till that the kynge fualis was deed in spayne, and therfore were the foure princes full dolent and the newewes, and was biried in a Cite that tho was cleped Nadres; and than thei repeed towarde the parties of Ieshuralem, and set the londes in her handes, and after departed by diuerse londes, and hem conquered and toke the honours, that oon hilde Costantynnoble; and that other greece, where he hadde foure regionys; and the thridde hilde barbarie; and the fourthe Cipre; and some come in to the reame of¹ logres for to serve the kynge Arthur, for the grete renoume that of hym was thorough the worlde, and with hem com foure knyghtes that were bolde and hardy in armes, but litill tyme thei lyved, and that was grete harme to all cristin peple, ffor thei were noble and trewe, and the tweyne were deed in a bateile that launcelot made a-gein the kynge Claudas; and the thridde in a bateile that the kynge Arthur made a-gein Mordred as shall be rehersed here-after. But now shull we returne to speke of the kynge Arthur.

In this partie, seith the storie, that whan the kynge Arthur and his companye had disconfited the romayns, and the kynge hadde slayn the catte, thei returned and rode till thei com to the castell that the kynge hadde fortified vpon the river of Aube, and were there viij dayes; and after thei departed and rode forth till thei com to Benoyk, ffor it was tolde hem that there were the prisoners, and Pharien and Cleodalis hem resceyved with grete ioye; and after thei tolden how thei hadde rescowed thaire peple, and the Prisoners and all thinge as it was fallen, and how thei of the castell wolde

¹ The word "of" is repeated in the MS.

haue taken hem be force. "Be my feith," seide the kynge, "in euell tyme thei it be-gonne, for dere shall it be bought." Than the kynge cleped sir Gawein, and bad hym go to the castell that was cleped the marche, and throwe it down to the grounde, so that thei of other contreyes be not so hardy eny more to encombre me ne noon of myn, and sir Gawein made x^M lepe to horse, and rode forth till thei com to the castell a-boute mydnyght, and enbusshed hem in a wode that was v bowe draught ffrom the castell, and ther thei a-bide till on the morowe that thei of the castell sette oute theire beestes, and a-noon as it was oute sir Gawein sent oute xiiij knyghtes that passed the pray, and drough toward the yate, and with hem v arblastres for to shete vp to the barbycans, and to kepe the yate till he were come, and thei dide as Gawein hem com-aunded; and it was yet so erly that un-ethe oon myght knowe a-nother, and thei hem dressed toward the yate as soone as the pray was oute; whan sir Gawein sye the praye come nygh he wiste well that the other were be-fore; and he sente be-yonde hem that drof the praye xx knyghtes; and whan thei hem saugh thei lefte the praye and wolde haue turned a-gein to the yate, but the knyghtes and the arblastres that sir Gawein had sente diffended hem the entre till that Gawein was comen, and smyten in at the yate moo than vj^o. Than was ther grete crie and noyse, and thei that were in the tour lete falle the port-colys, and smote¹ a-sonder two horse be the croupe and the knyghtes fill with-ynne, with-oute more harme; and than a-ros the noyse and the crye thourgh the contrey, and thei ronne to the barbicans and caste *stones and calious; and the v arblastres shote vpwarde, and the other be-gonne to hewe the yates a-sonder, and thei that were with-oute entred in; and thei that were of the castell dide hem yelde to the volunte of sir Gawein, and he made hem be ledde to Benoyk; and than he lete beete down the walles and the bretesches, and after returned to the kynge Arthur that ther-of was gladde and

Arthur bids Gawein go to the castle of the March and throw it down.

Gaweintakes 10,000 men.

They ambush in a wood.

Fourteen knights go towards the gate where the herds come out.

The knights and bowmen defend the entry, and 600 smite into the city.

There is a great noise and cry.
*[Fol. 239b.]

The people of the castle yield to Gawein. Gawein returns to Benoyk.

¹ The word "smote" is repeated in the MS.

Arthur makes the prisoners to be sworn, and sends them back to their country.

A messenger brings tidings that Leodogan is dead.

Arthur leaves Ban and Bohors, and never sees them again.

ioyfull; and the kynge made the prisoners to swere that thei sholde neuer be a-gein the kynge Ban, ne the kynge Bohors; and so made he hem swere that were of Rome that thei sholde neuer be a-gein the reame of logres; and whan thei were thus sworn, he sente hem a-gein in to theire contrey, and sojourned all that day, and on the morowe with the kynge Ban with grete ioye and grete feeste. With that com a messagers to the kynge Arthur that brought tidinges that the kynge leodogan of Carmelide was deed, and that was the cause he departed so soone fro the kynge Ban. On the morowe the kynge Arthur departed fro the two kynges that were brethern, and after that tyme he saugh hem neuer more; and that was grete scade that thei sholde die so soone, as the storie shall declare whan tyme cometh.

Whan the kynge Arthur was departed fro the two kynges that were brethern, that so moche honour hadde hym

He goes over the sea and lands at Dover. He rides to Logres, and comforts Gonnore.

don, he traueilled so by his iourneyes that he com to the see and entred in to shippes, and passed ouer and landed at the port of Dover, and lepe on their horse and ride forth to logres, and ther thei fonde the Quene Gonnore, that hem receiued with grete ioye, and tolde how hir fader was passed oute of this worlde, and he hir counforted in the beste wise he myght; and after the kynge departed his peple and thei yode hom in to theire contreyes, and the kynge Arthur a-boode at logres, and sir Gawein and the knyghtes of the rounde table, and Merlin sojourned ther longe tyme. Than he hadde grete talent for to se Blase his maister, for to telle hym of all that was be-fallen seth he fro hym departed; and fro thens he wolde go to Nimiane his love, for the terme drough faste on that was sette; and he wente to the kynge and seide that hym be-hoved to go; and the kynge and the quene prayed hym right entierly soone for to come a-gein, for he dide hem grete solas and counfort of his companye, ffor the kynge hym love[d] feithfully; for in many a nede he hadde hym socoured and holpen, ffor by hym and by his counseile was he kynge; and he seide to hym right tenderly, "Dere frende Merlin, seth ye will go, I dar yow not with-holde a-gein youre wille a volunte; but I shall neuer be in hertes

He abides at Logres with the knights of the round table and Merlin.

Merlin tells the king he must leave. The king and queen pray him to return soon.

ese till that I may se yow, and therefore I pray you for the love of oure lorde haste you soone to come a-gein." "Sir," seide Merlin, "this is the laste time, and ther-fore to god I you comaunde." Whan the kynge herde how he seide it was the laste tyme that he sholde hym se, he was sore a-baissshed; and Merlin departed with-oute moo wordes sore wepinge, and tra-uailed till he com to Blase his maister, that grete chere hym made, and asked how he hadde sped sethen, and he seide wele; and than he tolde him alle thinges as thei were be-falle of the kynge Arthur and of the Geaunte that he hadde slayn; and of the bateile of the Romains; and how he hadde slain the cat; and tolde hym also of the litill duerf how the damesell hadde hym brought to court, and how the kynge hadde made hym knyght. "But thus *moche," seide Merlin, "I shall telle yow, he is a grete gentilman, and is no duerf by nature, but thus hath a damesell hym myshapen whan he was xiiij yere of age, for that he wolde not graunte hir his love, and he was than the feirest creature of the worlde; and for the sorowe that the damesell hadde a-raied she hym in soche wise that now is the lothliest creature and of moste dispite; and fro hens ix wikes shall cesse the terme that the damesell sette, and shall come in to the age that he ought for to be, for at that day shall he be xxij yere olde." Whan Merlin hadde all thinges rehersed, and Blase hadde hem alle writen oon after a-nother in ordre, and by his boke haue we the knowinge ther-of; and whan Merlin hadde be ther viij dayes he toke leve of Blase, and seide, "This is the laste tyme that I shall speke with yow eny more, ffor fro hens-forth I shall sojourne with my love, ne neuer shall I haue power hir for to leve ne to come ne go."

Whan Blase vndirstode Merlin, he was full of sorowe, and seide, "Dere frende, seth it is so that ye may not departe cometh not ther." "Me be-houeth for to go," quod Merlin, "for so haue I made hir couenaunt, and also I am so supprised with hir love, that I may me not with-drawn; and I haue her taught and lerned all the witte and connynge that she can, and yet shall she lerne more, for I may not hir with-

Merlin says it is the last time they will see him.

He departs and goes to Blase.

He tells him all that has happened.

*[Fol. 240a.]

The dwarf was misshapened by a damsel,

who is now the loathliest creature.

After eight days Merlin takes leave of Blase,

who is sorry to hear that he will never see Merlin again.

Merlin comes
to his love,
who learns
all his craft.

She says
there is one
thing she
wants to
learn;

that is, how
to make a
tower with-
out walls, so
that he who
was in should
never be able
to come out.
Merlin sighs.

The maiden
kisses him,

and tries to
persuade
him to teach
her how to
•[Fol. 240b.]
enclose a
place by art.

sein ne it disturue." Than departed Merlin from Blase, and in litill space com to his love, that grete ioye of hym made and he of hir, and dwelled to-geder longe tyme; and euer she enquered of his craftes, and he hir taught and lerned so moche that after he was holden a fooll and yet is, and she hem well vndirstode and put hem in writinge, as she that was well expert in the vij artes. Whan that he hadde hir taught all that she cowde aske, she be-thought hir how she myght hym with-holde for euer more; than be-gan she to glose Merlin more than euer she hadde do euer be-forn, and seide, "Sir, yet can I not oon thinge that I wolde fain lerne, and ther-fore I pray you that ye wolde me enforme;" and Merlin that well knewe her entent, seid, "Madame, what thinge is that?" "Sir," quod she, "I wolde fain lerne how I myght oon shet in a tour with-uten walles, or with-oute eny closure be enchauntement, so that neuer he sholden go oute with-uten my licence;" and whan Merlin it herde he bowed down the heed and be-gan to sigh, and she it a-parceived, she asked whi he sighed. "Madame," seide Merlin, "I shall telle yow; I knowe well what ye thinke, and that ye will me with-holde, and I am so supprised with love that me be-houeth to do youre plesier;" and than she caste hir armes a-boute his nekke and hym kiste, and seide, "that wele he ought to be hers seth that she was all his; ye knowe wele that the grete love that I haue to you hath made me forsake alle other for to haue yow in myn armes nyght and day, and ye be my thought and my desire, for with-oute yow haue I neither ioye ne welthe. In you haue I sette all my hope, and I a-bide noon other ioye but of yow, and seth that I love you, and also ye love me, is not right than that ye do my volunte and I yours." "Certes, yesse," seide Merlin, "now sey than what ye will." "I will," quod she, "ye teche me a place feire and couenable, that I myght enclose by art in *soche wise that neuer myght be vn-don, and we shall be ther, ye and I in ioye and disporte whan that yow liketh." "Madame," seide Merlin, "that shall I well do." "Sir," quod she, "I will not that ye it make, but lerne it to me that

I may it do, and I shall make it than more at my volunte." "Well," seide Merlin, "I will do youre plesire." Than he be-gan to devise the crafte vnto hir, and she it wrote all that he seide; and whan hadde alle devised, the damesell hadde grete ioye in herte, and he hir loved more and more, and she shewed hym feirer chere than be-forn; and so thei soiourned to-geder longe tyme, till it fill on a day that thei wente thourgh the foreste hande in hande, devisinge and disportinge, and this was in the foreste of brochelonde, and fonde a bussh that was feire and high of white hawthorne full of floures, and ther thei satte in the shadowe; and Merlin leide his heed in the damesels lappe, and she be-gan to taste softly till he fill on slepe; and whan she felt that he was on slepe she a-roos softly, and made a cerne with hir wymples all a-boute the bussh and all a-boute Merlin, and be-gan hir enchauntementz soche as Merlin hadde hir taught, and made the cerne ix tymes, and ix tymes hir enchauntementes; and after that she wente and satte down by hym and leide his heed in hir lappe, and hilde hym ther till he dide a-wake; and than he loked a-boute hym, and hym semed he was in the feirest tour of the worlde, and the moste stronge, and fonde hym leide in the feirest place that euer he lay be-forn; and than he seide to the damesell, "Lady, thou hast me disceiued, but yef ye will a-bide with me, for noon but ye may vn-do this enchauntementes;" and she seide, "Feire swete frende, I shall often tymes go oute, and ye shull haue me in youre armes, and I yow; and fro hens-forth shull ye do alle youre plesier;" and she hym hilde wele couenaunt, ffor fewe hours ther were of the nyght ne of the day but she was with hym. Ne neuer after com Merlin oute of that fortresse that she hadde hym in sette; but she wente in and oute whan she wolde. But now moste we reste a-while of Merlin and of his love, and speke of the kynge Arthur.

Merlin says
he will do
her pleasure.

He loves her
more and
more.

They disport
in the forest
of Broche-
lond.

Merlin
sleeps,
and the dam-
sel makes a
circle.

Merlin
awakes,

and says she
has deceived
him.

Merlin never
came out of
the fortresse,
but she went
in and out.

The same hour that Merlin was departed fro the kynge Arthur, and that he hadde seide how it was the laste tyme that he sholde hym se; the kynge a-boode sore a-baished and full pensif of that worde, and in soche maner he a-boode

Arthur is
heavy on
account of

the absence
of Merlin.

Gawein asks
what ails
him.

Arthur prays
Gawein to go
and seek for
Merlin.

*[Fol. 241a.]

Gawein,
Ewein, and
their fellows
agree to go
in quest of
Merlin.

They divide
into three
parties at a
cross.

The damsel
and the
dwarf.

after Merlin vij wikes and more; but whan he saugh that he com nought he was full pensif and full of hevynesse, and on a day sir Gawein asked what hym eiled. "Certes newew," seide the kyng, "I thinke on that I trowe I haue loste Merlin, and that he will neuer more come to me, ffor now hath he a-biden lenger than he was wonte, and gretly I am dismayed of the worde that he seide whan he fro me departed, ffor he seide this is the last tyme, therfore I am in doute that he sey soth, ffor he ne made neuer lesinge of nothings that he seide, ffor so helpe me god I hadde leuer lese the Cite of logres than hym, and ther-fore fain wolde I wite yef eny myght hym finde fer or nygh, and ther-fore I pray you as derely as ye me love that ye hym seche till ye knowe the verite." "Sir," seide Gawein, "I am all redy to do youre volunte, and a-noon ye shall see me meve fordwarde, and I suere to you be the oth that I made to you whan ye made me *knyght, that I shall seche hym a yere and a day, but with-ynne that space I may knowe trewe tidinges." In this same wise swor sir Ewein, and Segramor, and Agraubin, and Geheret, and Gaheries, and xxv of her felowes, and that oon was Doo of Cardoell, and Sacren of the streite Marche, and Taulus le rous, and Blioc de Cassell, and Caues de lille, and Amadas de la Crespe, and placidas li gais, and laudalus de la playne, and Aiglins des vaus, and Clealis lorfenyns, and Gires de lamball, and kehedins li bens, and Caros de la broche, and Segurades de la forest perilouse, and Purades de Carmelide, and Carmeduk the blake; alle these swor the same oth with sir Gawein, and departed fro the Cite of logres alle to-geder by the volunte of kyng Arthur, and wente alle in the quest for Merlin; and whan thei were oute of the Cite thei departed alle at a crosse that thei fonde at the entre of a foreste where ther mette thre weyes, and ther thei departed in thre parties. But of hem shall we reste a-while, and speke of the damesell that ledde a-wey the duerf knight.

Whan kyng Arthur hadde a-dubbed the duerf by the preier and request of the damesell, and she hadde hym

ledde as ye haue herde gladd¹ and ioyfull, and returned to hir contrey, and rode so the firste day till it was nygh the nyght; and than thei com oute of the foreste and entred in to a feire launde that was grete and large; and than the damesell loked be-fore hir and saugh comynge a knyght armed vpon a stede, and she shewde hym the duerf; and he ansuerde, "Damesell, dismaye yow nought but ride forth boldly, for ye shull haue no drede of hym." "Sir, he will me bere a-vey be force, and he cometh hider for noon other cause;" and the duerf ansuerde a-gein, "Damesell, ride forth suerly, and beth not a-ferde;" and the knyght hym ascried with lowde voys, "Welcome be my damesell and my love, ffor now haue I founde that I haue longe sought." And the duerf that well hym vndirstode, seide debonerly, "Sir, be not to hasty, for ye may desire hir to moche at the be-gynnyng, ffor yet ye haue hir not in youre bailly, wherfore ye sholde make so grete ioye." "I owe well to make ioye," quod the knyght; "for I am of hir sure I-nough, ffor though I haue hir not, yet I shall right soone;" and euer he com on as faste as he myght ride; and whan the duerf saugh hym com so faste, he caste his spere in fewtre, and couered hym with his shelde that nothinge apered saf the shelde only, and smote the horse with the spores on bothe sides faste by the skirtes of his sadell, for his legges were so shorte, and the horse hym bar with so grete raundon that it semed as he hadde flowen, and cried to the knyght that he sholde hym diffende; and he that was full fierce and prowde hadde shame to iuste with so litill a wrecche, and lifte vp his spere, and seide, yef god will, with soche a disfigure worme sholde he neuer Iuste, and hilde his spere vp-right, but neuertheles he couered hym with his shelde; and the duerf hym smote so harde, that he perced shelde and hauberk, that the spere passed by the side and hurtled so harde with his shelde, and with the grete myght of his horse, that to grounde goth the knyght horse and man, and in the fallinge his sholdre spronge oute of ioynte, and the

They come
to a forest.

The damsel
sees a knight
coming,

and fears he
will take her
away by
force;
but the dwarf
tells her not
to fear.
The knight
welcomes
the damsel,

and comes as
fast as he can
ride.
The dwarf
covers him-
self with his
shield, and
rushes on the
knight,

who thinks it
shameful to
joust with a
dwarf;

but the
dwarf smites
him and his
horse to the
ground.

¹ "Gradde" in the MS.

*[Fol. 241b.]
The knyght swoons.
The damsel takes him off his horse,
and the dwarf calls on him to yield,
and requires him to go as a prisoner to Arthur.
The knyght tells the dwarf where he will find his place.
The damsel draws him up on to his saddle.
Six squires come for their lord.
They take him up on a bier, and send for leeches.
The knyght makes the best cheer he

duerf rode ouer his body and hym all to-brosed, so that the knyght swowned for anguyssh *that he felte; and whan the duerf that saugh, he cleped the damesell, and prayed hir to take hym down, and she toke hym in hir armes, and helped hym down of his horse, and he drough his swerde and ran to the knyght and vn-laced his helme, and manaced hym to smyten of his heed, but he wolde hym yelde vtterly; and the knyght that was hurt saugh the suerde that he hilde ouer his heed, and hadde drede of deth, and cride "mercy," and put hym in his wille of all thinge. "Than," quod the duerf, "shalt thou go, yelde the to the Prison of kynge Arthur, and sey hym that the litill knyght that he dubbed hath sent the to be his prisoner, and that thou shalt put the only in his mercy;" and the knyght ensured hym his feith to do in this maner. Than he badde hym go to his horse, and he seide he hadde ther-to no power, for his sholdre bon was oute of Ioynthe; "but here I moste a-bide," quod he, "till I fynde oon that me may beren, but ye shull go take youre horse and ride to the ende of this launde in a valey where ye shull finde a place of myn, ffor it is tyme for you to herberowe, and a-bide ye ther stille, and sende some of my men that may bere me thider, and haue ye no doute of nothinge." And the duerf hym graunted, and com towarde the Damesell that hilde his stede, and she stouped ouer the nekke of hir palfrey, and caught hym by the armes, and drough hym vp with grete payne till that he myght nyghe his sadell; and than turned toward the knyghtes recete, and a-geins hem com vj squyres that were ther-ynne, and toke hym down, and the damesell and hym vn-armed, and dide hym on a mantell full riche; and the duerf hem seide how hir lorde was hurt, and thei toke a biere and brought hym a-gein to his recete, and hym vn-armed, and sente after leches, and dight hym softly in the beste wise thei cowden; and after thei asked who hadde hym thus araied; and he sede a knyght that he nothings knewe, ne he durste not sey for shame that the duerf hadde it don; and than he made his hoste the beste chere that he myght, and made hem richely be serued at ese in a feire chambre where-

ynne were two riche beddes, and ther thei slepte till on the morowe that thei a-rise and made hem redy, and the maiden armed hir duerf, for she hym loved feithfully, and wolde not suffre noon to sette on hym eny hande but hir-self; and whan she hadde hym armed, and a-pareiled saf only of his helme, she toke hym by the hande and ledde hym in to a chambre ther the lorde of the place lay, and bad hym good morowe; and he hem salued right curteisly, and thei be-taught hym to god, and thanked hym of the honour that he hadde hem don. Than wente thei oute of the chambre, and the mayden laced on his helme, and helped hym on his horse, and delyuered hym his spere and his shelde; and than the squyres brought the mayden hir palfrey, and sette hir ther-on; than thei departed fro thens and toke the wey toward Eastrangore; and the knyght that was hurt thought to a-quyte hym of his feith, and lete make an horse liter full riche, and hadde with-ynne a feire bedde, and the liter couered with a riche cloth of silke, and the knyght was leide with-ynne; and the liter leide vpon two palfreyes softe amblinge, and toke the wey streight to Cardoell in walis where the kyng and the quene soiourned with grete companye *of peple; and the kyng satte at dyner in the halle, and the knyght made hym to be born in to the halle be-fore the kyng, and seide, "Sir kyng, for to a-quyte me my feith and my graunte I am I-come to put me in thi prison, and in thy mercy, as he that is full sore a-shamed of the lothlyest creature of this worlde, that by his armes me hath conquered;" and whan he hadde seide thus, he badde his squyers bere hym thens; and than seide the kyng, "Sir knyght, what is this, thou seidest thou were come to my prison and my mercy." "Ye sir," seide the knyght. "Than I requyre," quod the kyng, "that ye as a prisoner you mayntene, and that ye telle me in whos be-halue ye yelde yow take, and how that ye were conquered." "Sir," seide the knyght, "I se well I moste telle my grete shame and myn annoye, and I shall telle it you seth I am come ther-to for to parforme youre will and my feith for to a-quitte. This is the trouthe that I haue loved a damesell

can for the dwarf and the damsel.

The damsel leads the dwarf to the lord of the place. They wish him good morrow,

and go on the way to Eastrangore.

The knight has a litter made, and is led to Cardoell.

*[Fol. 242a.]

He is taken before the king, and tells why he has come.

How he loved a

damsel of
great beauty,

who would
not grant
him her
love;

but forsook
him for a vile
and loath-
some crea-
ture.

He saw her
come,

and rode fast
against her;

but the
dwarf smote
him to the
ground.

The king
asks the
knight what
is his name.

He is Tra-
dilyvaunt,
the godson of
the king of
North Wales.
His squires
bear him
home.

of grete bewte, and a kynges doughter, and yef ye will knowe her name it is the feire beaune the doughter of kynge Clamedien that is riche and puyssaunt, but neuer myght I bringe hir therto nother for prayer, ne for love, ne for chivalrie, that I myght do for hir, she ne wolde neuer graunte me hir love, and I wolde gladly haue hadde hir to my wif, and hir fader wolde it well also, and ther-of was gladde, for I am kynges sone and quenes, but she euer for-soke me for the moste vile and lothsom creature of the worlde, and fill me so that I rode this other day thourgh a launde all alone I-armed, and mette my dame-sell that repered from youre contre, and hir dide condite the duerf knyght to whom she is love; and whan I saugh hir come with so small condite I was right gladde, and thanked god that thider hir hadde sente, and I wende to haue hir ledde away with-oute more with-seyinge. But the duerf seide that I come to sone, and that it was folye for me so sore to haste, for it sholde go all others wise than I wende, ffor I trowed to haue my desire with-oute diffence; and ther-fore I seide my volunte was well a-complished, and I rode faste a-gein the damesell hir to haue taken, and haue ledde hir with me to a place of myne that was not fer thens; and whan the duerf knyght saugh me so be-fore he leide his spere in fewtre, and I wolde not Iuste with hym with my spere, for me thought it shame and dispite to Iuste with soche a creature, and ther-fore I wolde not amyte, and he bar me so rudely to grounde, that in the fall my lifte sholdre yede oute of loynte that I swowned for anguyssh; and he vn-laced myn helme and wolde haue smyten of myn heed, but yef I hadde hym assured to yelde me to youre prison, and ther-fore I do me in youre grace."

"Trewly, frende," seide the kyng, "in good prison hath he you sette that to me hath you sente, ffor I clayme yow quyte; but ye shall telle me youre name." "Sir," quod he, "my name is Tradilyuaunt, and am the kynges godson of North walis, that for grete cherite yaf me his name;" with that his squyres toke hym vp, and bar hym oute of the paleise, and leyde hym on two palfreyes, and ledde hym a-gein in to his

contrei; and the kynge Arthur and his barouns spake I-nough of the duerf, and of the damesell, and seide it were grete ioye yef the duerf myght come a-gein in to his bewte; and *preyse the damesell that in no myschef wolde forsake hir love for no lothlynesse. But now at thys tyme cesseth of hem, and returneth to speke of Segramor that wente in to the quest of Merlin, and with hym ix knyghtes full profitable bolde and hardy.

Arthur and his barons speak of the dwarf. [**Fol. 242b.*]

Segramor's quest.

Whan Segramor was departed fro sir Gawein, he ledde with hym ix of his felowes of the same enquest, and rode till the sonne was go to reste; and than of a-uenture thei looked at the comynge of the foreste at the issue of a roche, and saugh a celle where-ynne woned an hermyte, and that wey thei turned ther for to be herberowed, and thei knockked at the yate, and the hermyte it opened a-noon and herberowed hem that nyght as wele as he cowde; and on the morowe erly he seide masse; and than thei departed fro thens, and com to the entringe of a foreste, and than seide Segramor to his felowes that thei sholde departe thourgh the foreste, and so thei diden; and so that oon wente here and a-nother there, as a-uenture hem ledde, and in that quest be-fill many feire a-uentures wher-of this storie maketh no mencion, but so thei yede vp and down by diuerse contrees that thei performed that enquest that neuer cowde thei lerne no tidinges of that thei were meved for to seche; and at the yeres ende thei com a-gein and tolde their a-uentures, and some ther were that tolde more their shame than their honours, but trouthe moste thei sey by their oth that thei hadden sworn; and in the dayes gentilmen were so trewe, that thei wolde rather lese their lif than be for-sworn; and now shull we speke of Ewein.

He and nine of his fellows

come to a hermit's cell, where they asleep.

On the morrow the hermit says masse. Segramor and his fellows separate in the forest.

They can learn no tidings of Merlin.

A gentleman would rather lose his life than be for-sworn.

Whan Ewein and his felowes were departed fro Gawein, he rode till he com to the issue of a foreste, and ther thei mette a damesell that rode vpon a mule, and made the moste sorowe of the worlde, and rente hir heer, and cried lowde, "Alas, where shall I be-come whan I haue loste hym that I haue loved so wele, and he me. And for the love of me hath

Ewein and his fellows meet a damsel,

who mourns for the loss of her love's beauty.

She says five
knights will
slay him.

Ewein rides
to the place.
The damsel
follows him.

Two knights
lie in the
middle of the
field.

Two others
are feeble.

Sir Ewein
and his fel-
*[Fol. 243a.]
lows praise
the dwarf.

Ewein
throws down
one of the
knights.

The fifth
would fly;
but the
dwarf keeps
him, and
would have
killed him,
but Ewein
calls out to
let him be.

he loste the grete bewte that was in hym;" and whan sir Ewein this herde, he hadde ther-of grete pite, and com hir a-geins and asked why she made soche sorowe; and she answerde, "Gentill knyght, haue pite of me and of my love, that v knyghtes sle in this valey be-nethe this hill." "Who is youre love, damesell," quod sir Ewein. "Sir," quod she, "it is Auadain the duerf, the sone of kynge Brangore." "Now let be youre doell," seide sir Ewein, "for by the feith that I owe to you he shall noon harme haue, yef I may come be-tyme." "Sir, gramercy," seide the damesell; "but ye moste you hasten." Than sir Ewein rode that wey as the maiden hym taught as faste as his horse myght renne; and the damesell hym sewed as moche as she myght, for her mule wente werily, and sir Ewein hath so riden that he saugh the duerf that vigorously faught with two knyghtes, and saugh thre ly in myddell of the feilde that hadde no power to a-rise; ffor that oon was smyte with a spere thourgh the sholdre, that al was disseuered fro the body, and that other was smyte with a suerde down to the teth; and the other tweyne were full feble, and hadde grete doute of theire deth, for the duerf sought on hem vigorously; and whan sir Ewein saugh hym thus contene, he shewed to his felowes, and seide *that it was grete harme of the duerf that was so mysshapen, "for he is bolde and hardy, and of grete herte." "Certes, sir," seide oon of his companye, "neuer no man of his stature dide soche prowess, but for goddes sake departe hem that thei no myscheve, for that were pite, yef hym myshappe." "Ye sey trouthe," quod sir Ewein; and than he priked thider. But er he com he hadde leyde oon to grounde, and rode ower his body thre tymes, that nygh he hadde hym slayn; whan the fifte saugh he was a-lone, he hadde drede of hym-self, and be-gan to blenche, and wolde haue fledde, and with-out faile he was wounded in thre places right depe; but the duerf that richely was horsed hilde hym so strait, and so hym hastad, that deed he hadde I-be ne hadde sir Ewein come the soner, and seide, "Feire, sir, ne do no more, but lete hym be for curtesie, for we se well how it is, and I-nough haue ye

don;" and whan the duerf herde how he hym required so curteisly, he ansuerde as he that was curteise and deboneir. "Sir, pleseth it you that I cesse thus." "Ye," seide Ewein, "and ther-of I thanke you, for we se well how it is." "And I shall do youre request," seide the duerf, "for ye seme well to be a worthy man;" with that com the knyght¹ that had foughten with the duerf to sir Ewein, and seide, "Sir, gramercy, for ye haue saued me fro deth by youre comynge, and blissed be that lorde that hider you bath brought." Than he dide yelde his suerde to the duerf, and the duerf hit resceiued; and in the same wise dide the tother that were lefte on lyve, and he hem sente in to the prison of kynge Arthur, and sir Ewein and his companye departed fro the duerf and fro the damesell, and spredde a-brode thourgh diuerse contrees, and sought Merlin vp and down, but neuer myght thei here of hym tidinges, and ther-fore were thei sory and wroth, and repeed to court at the yeres ende, and eche of hem tolde his auenture *that* was hym be-falle in his quest, but the kynge Arthur made all to be writen. But now cesseth of the kynge, and of alle the other companye, and returne to sir Gawein.

Whan that sir Gawein was departed fro his felowes, he rode forth thourgh the foreste, he and v knyghtes of his companye, and ther thei departed, and eche wente his wey, for he wolde ride sooll by hym-self, and in this wise thei departed, so that eche of hem toke his wey; and sir Gawein rode so a-lone serchinge grete part of the londe, till it fill on a day that he rode pensif and hevy, for that he myght not finde Merlin; and in this stody he entred in to a foreste, and he hadde riden a-boute two walsh myle ther com a damesell hym a-gein that rode on the feirest palfrey of the worlde, and was all blak, and the sadell and the stiropes were all of golde, and the cloth of scarlet trailinge to the erthe, and the bridill of golde, and she was clothed in white samyte, and hir kirchires of silke, and richely atired, and com ridinge be-fore sir Gawein

The knight
thanks
Ewein,

and yields
his sword to
the dwarf.

Sir Ewein
and his com-
pany depart
from the
dwarf and
the damsel.

They repair
to court at
the year's
end.

Sir Gawein
and five
knights of
his company
separate in
the forest.

Gawein rides
into a forest.

He is pen-
sive.

He meets a
damsel,

¹ "Knyghtes" in the MS.

but does not salute her. as he was in this pensifnesse, that he dide her not salue; and whan he was passed the Damesell she reyned hir bridill, and turned the heed of hir palfrey, and seide, "Gawein, Gawein, *hit is not trewe the renomee that renneth of the thourgh the reame of logres; ffor it is seide of the that thou art the best knyght of the worlde, and of that thei sey trouthe. Also it is seide that thou art the gentilest and the most curteise knyght, but in that failleth the renoon, for thou art the moste vileyn knyght that euer I mette in my lif, that in this forest so fer fro peple haste me I-met a-lone, and so grete felonye in the is roted, that thow deynest not me ones to salue ne to speke a worde, and knowe thow verily thow shalt it repente of that thow hast don, in so moche that thou shalt wissh thou haddest it not don for all the reame of logres." And whan sir Gawein vndirstode the damesell, he was sore a-shamed, and turned a-gein hir his bridell of gringalet, and seide all shamefast as ye shull heren.

She calls to him, **[Fol. 243b.]* "Damesell," quod sir Gawein, "so helpe me go[d], I thought vpon a thinge that I go sechinge, and ther-fore I pray yow that ye for-yeve it me that I haue mys-don." "So helpe me god," quod the damesell, "rather shalt thou a-bye it full dere, ffor I-nough thou shalt haue of shame and lothlynesse, and ther-fore remembre a-nother tyme whan thou metest with eny lady or damesell, that thou hir salue for curtesie. But I sey not that it shall the euer endure, ne of that thou goist sechinge shalt thou finde noon in the reame of logres that the can telle no tidinge, but in the litill breteigne maist thou here som maner tidinges; and I will go now ther as I haue to don, and thou shalt go seche that thou art moved fore; and the firste man that thou metest with mote thou be like till thou se me eft-sones." Than departed sir Gawein and the damesell; but he hadde not riden fully half a walissh myle thourgh the foreste that he mette with the duerf knyght; and the damesell that on the euen be-fore were departed fro sir Ewein, and hedde sent the foure knyghtes in Arthurs prison, and it was on trinite sonday a-boute mydday, and than he remembred hym on the damesell that he hadde mette be-fore, and lefted his pensifnesse, and seide to the

and upbraids him.

She says he will repent his rudeness.

Gawein asks her to forgive him.

She says he will be loathsome for a time,

and will be like the first man he meets.

He meets the dwarf knight and the damsel.

damesell, "God yeve you good day and moche ioeye of hir companye;" and the damesell and the duerf hym ansuerde that god yeve hym good a-venture; and so thei past a litill a-sonder, sir Gawein on that oon part, and thei on that other; and whan thei were departed a litill thens the duerf knyght be-com a-gein in to his bewte as he hadde be at the first tyme, and was in the age of xxij yere, right wele furnysshed and wonderly well shapen of large stature, and ther-fore hym be-hoved to do a-wey his armes, for thei were to hym nothings meete; and whan the damesell saugh hir love come a-gein in to so grete bewte, she hadde so grete ioeye that no tonge myght it telle, and caste hir armes a-boute his nekke, and hym kiste an hundred tymes, and ride forth that oon by that other gladde and ioeyfull in grete solas, and thanked oure lorde of the honour that he hadde hem don, and praied oure lorde to sende sir Gawein good a-venture, that hadde seide that god yeve hem ioeye, and so hadde he don, and thus thei ride forth theire iourney. But now shull we speke of Gawein.

Whan that sir Gawein was passed the duerf knyght, and the damesell wele a two bowe draught, a-noon he felte that the sleeves of his hauberk passed fer of lengthe ouer his hondes, and *also the lengthe of his hauberk henge down be-nethe his feet, and his legges were waxen so short that thei passed not the skirtes of the sadill; and be-hilde and saugh how his hosen of stiell resten in the stiropes, and saugh how his shelde henge toward the erthe, and a-perceyved wele that he was be-come a duerf, and seide to hym-self that that it was that the damesell hadde hym promysed, and ther-with he wax so wroth, that for a litill he hadde gon oute of his witte, and rode forth so in that wrathe and in that anguyssh in the foreste, till he fonde a crosse and a ston therby; and thider he rode and a-light vpon the ston and toke his stiropes, and made hem shorter, and his hosen of stiell, and the ringes of his swerde, and the gige of his shilde, and the sleeves of his hauberk, with thonges of lether vpon his shuldres, and a-raied hym in the beste wise he myght, so wroth and angry, that he hadde

He salutes
the damsel.
The damsel
and dwarf
answer him.

When they
part the
dwarf comes
back to his
beauty.

The damsel
is very joy-
ful,
and kisses
him a hun-
dred times.

When Ga-
wein leaves
them he feels
his body
shrinking.

*[Fol. 244a.]

He perceives
that he has
become a
dwarf.

He is almost
out of his
wits,

He rides to
a stone,
and shortens
his stirrups.

leuer to be deed than on lyve; and after that he lepte vp and rode forth his wey, and cursed the day and the hour that euer he entred in to that quest, for shamed he was and dishonoured; and so hath he gon in this maner that neuer he lefte castell, ne town, ne burgh, but that he asked tidinges of Merlin of alle the men and women that he mette, and many oon he mette that grete shame and grete reproves hym seiden; and neuertheles he dide many prowesses, ffor though he were a duerf and mysshapen he hadde not loste his strengthe, neithir his hardinesse, and many a knyght he conquered; and whan he hadde serched the reame of logres vp and down, and saugh that he cowde not finde Merlin, he thought to passe the see, and go in to the litill Breteigne; and so he dide, and serched it fer and nygh, but neuer cowde he here no tidinge of Merlin, and so it drough nygh the terme that he hadde promysed to returne; and than he seide to hym-self, "Allas, what shall I now do for the terme a-proched that I muste returne by the oth that I haue sworn to myn oncle to repire; returne moste I nede, for elles sholde I be for-sworn and vn-trewe, and that will I not in no maner, ffor the oth was soche that yef I were in my delyuer powste, and in my powste am I nought, for I am foule disfigured and a thinge of grete dispite, and I haue, nought of my-self, and therefore may I wele a-bide of goinge to court. Certes now haue I euell seide, ffor neuer will I be for-sworne for to go ne to come what persone that euer I be, and for that I am not shet in prison I may go at my wille, and I may not a-bide but I be for-sworne, and therfore me be-houeth to go, ffor vntrouthe will I never do; but I pray to god to haue of me mercy and pite, ffor my body is shamefully and lothly arayed." In these complayntes that sir Gawein ther made, he returned bak for to com to courte, and fill as he rode thourgh the foreste of Brocheliande, and wolde turne for to come to the see, and euer as he rode he made grete moone; and as he made this weymencacion he herde a voice a litill vpon the right side a-bove, and he turned that wey where he hadde herde the voice, and loked vp and down, and nothings he saugh, but as it hadde ben a

He curses
the day that
he entered
on the quest,

but he asks
for Merlin,
and shows
great pro-
wess;

for he has
not lost his
strength.

He goes into
Little Bri-
tain.

The time
draws near
for him to
return.

He is
ashamed of
appearing at
court,

but he will
never be for-
sworn.

He rides
through the
forest of
Broche-
liande.

He hears a
voice,
but can see
nothing.

smoke of myste in the eyre that myght not passe oute; than he herde a voice that seide, "Sir Gawein, discomfort you no-thinge, for all shall falle as it be-houeth to falle."

***W**han sir Gawein herde the voyce that hadde hym cleped by his right name, he ansuerde and seide, "Who is that in the name of god that to me doth speke?" "How is that," quod the voice, "ne knowe ye me nought, ye were wonte to knowe me right wele, but so goth the worlde, and trewe is the proverbe that the wise man seith that 'who is fer from his iye is soone for-yeten,' and so fareth it be me; ffor while that I haunted the Courte, and serued the kynge Arthur and his barouns, I was wele be-knownen of yow and of many other, and for that I haue left court I am vn-knownen, and that ought I not to be, yef feith and trouthe regned thourgh the worlde."

Whan sir Gawein herde the voice thus speke, he thought a-noon it was Merlin, and ansuerde a-noon, "Certes, it is trouthe I ought you wele for to knowe, for many tyme haue I herde youre speche, and ther-fore I pray you that ye will a-pere to me so that I may yow se." "My lorde sir Gawein," quod Merlin, "me shull ye neuer se, and that hevieth me sore that I may do noon other; and whan ye be departed fro hens, I shall neuer speke with yow no more, ne with noon other saf only with my leef; for neuer man shall haue power hider for to come for nothinge that may be-falle. Ne fro hens may I not come oute, ne neuer I shall come oute, ffor in all the worlde is not so stronge a clos as is this where-as I am, and it is nother of Iren, ne stiehl, ne tymbir, ne of ston, but it is of the aire with-oute eny othir thinge be enchauntemente so stronge, that it may neuer be vn-don while the worlde endureth. Ne I may not come oute ne noon may entre, saf she that me here hath enclosed, that bereth me companye whan hir liked, and goth hens whan hir liste."

"**H**ow is that, swete frende," quod Gawein, "that ye be in this maner with-holden, that noon may you de-lyuer by no force that may be do? Ne ye may not you shewe to me that be the wisest man of the worlde." "Nay, but the

[Fol. 244b.]

He asks who speaks. The voice asks how it is he does not know.

Sir Gawein thinks it is Merlin, and prays him to appear;

but Merlin says he will never see him,

for he cannot come out.

She who enclosed him bears him company.

Gawein asks how it is that he cannot get out.

Merlin says
he is foolish.

moste fole," quod Merlin, "for I wiste wele that sholde be-falle, and I am soche a fole that I love a-nother better than my-self, and haue hir lerned so moche, where thourgh I am thus be-closed and shette in prison, ne noon may me oute bringe."

Gawein says
his uncle will
be sorry.

"Certes," seide sir Gawein, "that me hevieth sore, and so will the kynge Arthur, myn vncl, whan he it knoweth as he that maketh you to be sought thourgh alle londes." "Now he moste it suffre," quod Merlin, "for he shall me se neuer more

Merlin says
no one will
speak with
him again;

ne I hym, for thus is it be-falle. Ne neuer shall no man speke with me after you, ther-fore for nought meveth eny man me for to seche; ffor youre-self, a-noon as ye be turned fro hens, ye shull neuer here me speke; and ther-fore now returne and grete

but Gawein
is to tell the
king, queen,
and barons.

wele the kynge Arthur, and my lady the quene, and alle the barouns, and telle hem how it is with me, and ye shull fynde the kynge at Cardoell in wales; and whan ye come thider ye shull finde alle youre felowes ther that fro you were departed; and discounforte yow not of that is yow be-falle, ffor ye shall

Gawein will
meet the
damsel, who
caused him
to be mis-
shapened.

fynde the damesell that so hath yow mysshapen in the forest, where-as ye hir mette, but for-yete not hir to salue, for it were folye." "Sir," seide Gawein, "ne nought I shall, yef god will." "Now," quod Merlin, "I be-teche yow to god that kepe the kynge Arthur and the reame of logres, as for the best peple of the worlde.

*[Pol. 245a.]
Gawein de-
parts glad
and sorrow-
ful.

***T**han departed sir Gawein gladde and sorowfull: gladde for that Merlin hadde hym assured to be releveth from his lothlynnesse, and sory for that he hadde Merlin thus loste, and rode so forth till he come to the see, and passed ouer hastily I-nough, and than toke his wey to ride to Cardoell in walis, and fill that he mette the damesell that [he] hadde passed by with-out saluynge in the forest; and than he remembred of that Merlin hadde hym seide that he sholde not for-yete hir to salue whan he hir mette; and he hadde grete feer, and douted lesse she passed er he myght hir salewe, and dide of his helme of his heed for to se hir more clerly, and be-gan to be-holde be-fore and be-hynde, and on alle sides, till that he com in the same place where he mette the damesell; and than he loked

He meets the
damsel,

be-twene two bussches, for the forest was somdell depe and thikke, and saugh two knyghtes that were armed at alle poyntes, saf of theire sheldes and helmes, that thei hadde don of, and hadde theire horse reyned to theire speres that were pight in the grounde, and hilde a damesell be-twene hem two, and made semblaunce hir to enforce, and yet ther-to hadde thei no talent; ffor the damesell made hem it for to do for to assaye the will and the corage of sir Gawein, and she made countenaunce like as thei hadde constreyned hir be force; and whan sir Gawein saugh this, he wax wroth and rode thider gripinge his spere, and seide to the knyghtes that thei were but deed, for that thei dide force the damesell with-ynne the lordshippe of kynge Arthur; "ffor ye knowe wele," quod he, "that thei sholde go sure." And whan the damesell hym saugh, she hym ascried and seide, "Gawein, now shull it be sene yef ther be soche prowess in you that ye may me delyuer from this shame." "Damesell," seide Gawein, "so god be my socoure, as ye shull haue no shame ther as I may you diffende, for owther I shall dye or I shall you delyuer;" and whan the knyghtes this vndirstode thei hadde ther-of grete disdeyne and dispite, and lepte on foote and laced theire helmes, for yet thei douted of hym, and neuer-theles the damesell hadde hem assured that of hym sholde thei haue noon harme, and hadde hem so enchaunted by hir art, that no man myght hem anoye, and ther-fore thei were the more sure at that tyme; and whan theire helmes were laced, thei henge theire sheldes aboute theire nekkes, and seide to sir Gawein, "So helpe me god, false duerf, countirfeted thou art but deed, and neuertheles shame vs semeth to dele with soche a wrecche as thou art;" and whan sir Gawein herde hym-self cleped duerf, and so dispised, he hadde grete sorowe in herte, and seide, "As lothly a wrecche as I am, in euell tyme I am com to youre be-hof. But lepe vpon youre horse, for vilonye me semeth to requere you on horsebak while ye be on foote." "Trustest so moche in thy-self," seide the knyghtes, "that thou wilt a-bide till we be horsed." "I truste so moche in god," quod Gawein, "that whan ye departe fro me ye shull

who is held by two knyghts, who pretend to be keeping her by force.

Sir Gawein is wroth, and rides to the knyghts, and tells them he will kill them.

The damsel cries to him.

The knyghts leap on foot,

and the damsel enchants them.

They call Gawein a dwarf.

Gawein tells them to get on their horses.

neuer forfete to lady ne damesell in the londe of kynge Arthur."

•[Fol. 245b.] They leap to horse,
 and both run on Gawein,
 who smites one to the earth.
 He draws his sword,
 but the damsel calls on him to cease.
 Gawein says he wouldslay the knights but for her prayer.
 The damsel asks Gawein what he would give the damsel who cured him.
 She says he must swear that he will never fail to salute a lady.

Than thei lepe to theire *horse, and hente theire speres, and seide to sir Gawein that he was but deed, and drough hem to the wey that was moste playne, and with-drough that oon fro that other, and than thei bothe lete renne a-gein sir Gawein, and he a-gein hem; and thei smote bothe vpon his shelde so harde that theire speres braste a-sonder, but thei hym meved not from his sadill, and he smote so that oon that he bar hym to the erthe vpright, and the spere brake in peces, and he rode ouer hym that was fallen, and vn-horsed, so that he brosed hym sore. Than he drough his suerde and rode toward that other, and wolde smyte hym vpon the helme; and than the damesell cried, "I-nough, sir Gawein, ne do no more." "Damesell," seide Gawein, "will ye that it so be;" and she seide, "Ye." "And I will suffre than for youre sake, that god yeve you than good a-venture, and to alle the damesels of the worlde; and wite ye well ne were it for youre prayer thei sholde be slayn, for thei haue don you to grete shame and anoye, and to me seide vilonye, and countirfet duerf haue me called; and yet ther-of thei seide soth, for I am the moste lothly creature of dispite that is in the worlde, and in this foreste it me be-fill viij monethes passed;" and whan the damesell and the knyghtes hym vndirstode thei be-gonne to laugh; and than seide the damesell, "What wolde ye yeve hir that of that wolde warisshen." "Certes," seide Gawein, "yef it myght be that it were warisshed I wolde yeve my-silf firste and formest, and after all that I myght raunsome in all the worlde." "It shall not nede you yeve so moche," seide the damesell, "but ye shull make to me an oth soche as I shall you devise." "Lady," seide Gawein, "I will do all youre volunte." Quod she, "Ye shull to me swere be the oth that ye made to the kynge Arthur, youre vnkle, that neuer ye shull faile lady, ne maiden, ne damesell; ne neuer mete lady ne damesell, but ye shull hir salue er she salue you yef ye may." "Lady," quod Gawein, "this I graunte, as I am trewe knyght." "And I take the oth in this maner that yef ye breke youre oth that ye be-come in to the

same poynte that ye be now." "Lady," quod he, "to this I assent; with that the quarell be trewe of hir that of helpe me requereth, ffor vntrouthe will I not do in no maner wise, nother for lif ne for deth." "Thus I you graunte," quod the damesell, "ffor I will that ye be soche as ye were be-fore." A-noon brake the layners that he had bounden vp his hosen of stiell, for his membres that were strecched oute and com a-gein, a-noon in his owne semblaunce; and whan he felte that he was come a-gein in to his power, he kneled be-fore the damesell, and seide that he was hir knyght for eueuer more; and the damesell hym thanked, and raught hym vp be the honde. Than toke the damesell leve of sir Gawein and departed, and hir two knyghtes with hir, and comaunded eche other to god; and sir Gawein a-bood there and lengthed his hauberke, and appareiled his shelde and his armes full richely, and lepte vpon the gringalet with his shelde aboute his nekke, and his spere in hande, and rode forth toward Cardoell so fro day to day, till that he com thider at the terme devised; and the same day that sir Ewein and Segramor, and her felowes were comen, and eche of hem hadde seide his a-uenture of that was hem be-fallen in¹

He assents,

and returns
to his own
semblance.

He kneels to
the damsels,
and says he
will be her
knight for
evermore.

He rides to
Cardoell,
and comes
there on the
same day as
Ewein and
Segramor.

[this Quest. And when Sir Gawain was come, then was the joy and mirth complete. And Sir Gawain told them all the things that had happened to him in this Quest, and the barons marvelled at it very greatly. And King Arthur was much grieved about Merlin, but could do nothing more in it, and must needs suffer: so they betook themselves to making the greatest mirth they could for Sir Gawain.

Gawein tells
all that has
happened to
him.

Whilst they were thus rejoicing, there entered into the hall Evadeam, who was twenty-two years old, and so beautiful and gentle that no one handsomer could be found in the two kingdoms. And he held his damsel by the hand, and they came before the king, and saluted him right courteously. And the king returned him his salute; and the knight said to him, "Sire, you know me not; and no wonder, for you never saw me but once, and that was in such guise that no one who saw me now and had seen me then, would know me unless he had known me from childhood." "Certes, handsome friend," answered

Evadeam
enters, hold-
ing a damsel
by the hand.

He addresses
the king,

¹ The MS. is imperfect and breaks off here, the conclusion is a translation from the French original (see pp. 700-1), the MS. of which is in the British Museum Library.

and reminds
him of the
dwarf.

King Arthur, "I do not recollect that I ever saw you before, but you are a very handsome knight." "Sire," said Evadeam, "do you remember a damsel who brought you a dwarf that you knighted?" "Yes," said the king, "I may well remember that, for the knight has sent me five captive knights whom he conquered by his prowess."

He is that
dwarf,

"Sire," said then Evadeam, "I am the dwarf you knighted, and see here is the damsel who prayed you to do it. And without doubt I sent you those captives, and the four last of them Sir Ywain saw, for he found me fighting them in the valley on Trinity eve; and next day by good hap I rode right at noon in the forest of Broceliande, I and my damsel, and we met my lord Gawain, whom I neither hear nor see here [?] And he saluted us, and we him, and he said, "May God give you joy." And so God did, for at the very moment that the words slipped from his mouth I recovered the shape and look that you see; for then was I a dwarf, ugly and hideous. So I believe verily that his words and his prayer availed me so far that God brought me out of the great shame in which I was; and I, thank for it our Lord and him." And then the King asked him who he was, and of what people; and he told him all in order, as you have heard herein before. And when the King, and Sir Gawain, and the others heard this, they were all right glad and right joyous; and the King received him as a companion like those of the Table Round. And the damsel dwelt with the Queen in right great joy and in right great mirth. Now here the story becomes silent about King Arthur and his company, and returns to tell of King Ban of Benoy[c], and King Bohort, his brother, who was King of Gannes, who are both in their own lands.

and re-
covered his
shape after
Gawain had
saluted him.

The king re-
ceives him as
a companion
of the Round
Table.

When Ar-
thur leaves
Ban and Bo-
hort, they
dwell in
great joy.

Ban's wife
has a son,
surnamed
Lancelot.

The sons of
Bohort.

Here says the story that when King Arthur had departed from King Ban of Benoyc, and his brother King Bohort of Gannes, that the two brothers dwelt in Benoyc in right great joy and in right great mirth, and with them were their wives, who were right beautiful and gentle. Then it happened, as it pleased our Lord, that King Ban had by his wife a son, who was named at his baptism Gallead, and surnamed Lancelot. This name of Lancelot remained to him all his life, and King Ban and the Queen his wife had right great joy of him, and the Queen loved him so much that she fed him with her own milk. And the wife of King Bohort had a son whom they called Lyonel, who was a right lovely child and well mannered; and in the twelfth month afterwards she had another son whom they called Bohort; and these three children were afterwards of great renown in the kingdom of Logres, and they made themselves known through all lands by their prowess. Soon after Bohort was born—the youngest of the two children of King Bohort—the

King Bohort fell into a great sickness, and lay long in the city of Gannes, for which King Ban, his brother, was very sorrowful and in great distress; for he could not be with him as his will was, on account of a neighbour of his, who bordered on him, and who was very fell and cruel. This was King Claudas of the Desert, who was so grieved and angry (about his Castle which King Arthur had caused to be levelled), that he was nearly going out of his senses; and he did not know on whom to take vengeance, except on King Ban of Benoyc, and on King Bohort, who bordered on him, because they were King Arthur's men. So he warred on them, and wrought so that he had for helper a prince of Rome, who was named Poince Antony, and who came to him right willingly, because he too hated King Arthur and all his, for the love of Luce, the Emperor of Rome, whom they had slain. And in this contest was killed Hoel of Nantes, who had warred greatly on Claudas. And the Romans wrought so that they had all Gaul under their dominion; and they sent the men of Gaul, and the men of the Desert, and Poince Antony with all his Romans, to attack King Ban of Benoyc. And the King defended himself right vigourously, as one who was of great heart and of great prowess, and he fought often with the enemy in the open field, and often lost and often won; and Leonces of Paerne, and Graciens of Trebes, and Bannins, a godson of King Ban, did marvellous deeds of arms, and destroyed and slew many of the people of King Claudas; and Graciens died there, but Phariens died not. And King Ban became so weakened in men [?] that he could not endure against the Romans, but they attacked him so from day to day that they took his castles and his fortresses, and he could never get help from King Bohort, his brother, who was lying sick in bed, whence he never after rose. And this did him great discomfort, for Poince Antony had brought so many people that they took from him his city of Benoy[c] and all his land, so that there was left to him neither castle nor city, except only the castle of Trebes, where Queen Helaine was, and Lancelot her son, who lay still in his cradle. And king Ban had there with him as many people as he could get together, but they were few to endure such attacks. Bannins his godson was there, in whom he trusted much, and with reason, for he was a good and loyal knight. And he had a seneschal, whom he had brought up from childhood, to whom he had entrusted all his land after Gracien's death; and this was he who betrayed him, and by whom he lost the Castle of Trebes, as the Story will tell you hereinafter.

Bohort is very sick at Gannes, and Ban cannot come to him because of Claudas.

Poince Antony helps Claudas.

Hoel is killed. The Romans get all Gaul under their dominion.

Ban defends himself vigourously,

but he cannot endure against the Romans,

who take from him all his castles, save Trebes.

Bannins is with his god-father Ban.

Ban's Seneschal betrays him.

Explicit the shutting up of Merlin.
May God bring us all to a good end !]

MS. Add. 10292, fol. 216, col. 3, l. 14 from bottom.

| en cele queste, Et quant mesire *Gauvain* fu uenus. si fu la ioie & la feste enterine. Et mesires, *Gauvain* lor conta toutes lez choses qui auenues li estoient en cele queste, & li baron sen meruellerent moult durement. Et li rois artus fu moult dolans de merlin, mes plus nen pooit faire, si len estuet souffrir, si entendirent a monseignor *Gauvain* fere feste la gregnor que len puet.

Tantdis quil estoient en cele ioie entra laiens en la sale, euadeam, qui estoit en l'age¹ de .xxij. ans. et estoit si biaux & si gens com ne trouuast nul plus bel en .ij. roialmes. Et tenoit sa damoisele par le main, et sen uindrent deuant le roy & le saluerent moult cortoisement. Et li rois li rendi son salu, et li chiualers li dist, "Sire, vous ne me conmissies mie, & ce nest pas meruelles, *quar onques* mais ne me neistes fors vne fois. Et ce fu en tel habit que nus ne me uerroit ore, & adont meust ueu qui me conneust, se ce nestoit denfance." "Certes, biaux amis," fait li rois artus "il ne me souuient que iou onques mais vous ueisse, mais moult estes biaux chiualers." "Sire," fet euadeam, "vous souient il dune damoisele qui vn nain vous amena *quo vous fesistes chiualer*?" "Oil," fet li rois, "il men puet bien souenir, *quar* il ma enuoiet .v. chiualers prisons, quil conquist par sa proece."

"Sire," fet dont euadeam, "iou sui li nains que vous adoubastes, & uees chi la damoisele qui vous en pria. Et sans faille lez chiualers vous enuoiai iou. et tout ce nit mesire *yvain*. dez .iiij. daerrains a qui il me troua combatant en la nallee la ueille de la trinite, & lendemain par bone destinee cheualchoie droit a heure de miedi en la forest de broceliande entre moi et ma damoisele, et encontrames mon seignor *Gauvain*. qui chi noi se oir, si nous salua, & nous lui. et dist que ioie nous donast diex. Et il si fist, *quar* tout maintenant que la parole fu coulee de la bouche, reuing iou en la forme & en la samblance que vous uees, *quar* lors estoie iou nains, lais et hideos. Si croi bien bien *[sic]* que sa parole & sa priere me ualut a ce que diex me geta de la grant honte ou iou estoie, si en mercie nostre seignor et lui." Et lors li demanda li rois qui il est, & de

MS. Add. 10292, fol. 216b, col. 2.

quel gent, et li li conte tout en ordre, si comme vous aues oi cha auant. Et quant li rois & mesires *Gauvain*, & li autre lentendirent, si en furent tout moult lie & moult ioiant, si le rechut li rois a compaignon avec ceuls de la table ronde. Et la damoisele demora avec la roine a moult grant ioie & a moult grant feste. Si se taist ore li contes del roy artu et de sa compaignie, & retourne a parler del roy ban de benoy[c], & del roy bohört sa frere, qui estoit rois de gannes, qui sont en lors terres.

Ce dist li contes que quant li rois artus se fu partis del roy ban de benoyc & de son frere le roi bohört de gannes, que li doi frere demorerent en benoyc a moult grant ioie & a moult grant leesce, & furent aueques euls lors molliers qui moult estoient beles & gentes. Si auint ensi, com il plot a nostre seignor, que li rois bans ot .i. fil de sa femme qui ot non en baptesme galaad, & en sornon lancelos. Icelui non de lancelot li dura toute sa vie, si en ot li rois bans & la roine sa femme moult grant ioie, si lama tant la roine que elle le norri de son lait, & la femme au roy bohört en ot .j. con apelloit lyonel, qui moult fu biaux enfes de grant manere; & el xijsime mois apres, en ot .j. con apelloit bohört, & furent puis cil .iiij. enfant de moult grant renomce el roialme de logres, & par toutes terres se firent connoistre par lor proeces. vn poi de tans apres ce que bohörs fu nes, li plus iouenes dez .ij. enfans au roy bohört, chai li rois bohörs en vne grant maladie, & iut longement e la cite de gannes, si en fu li rois bans sez freres moult dolans & moult coroucies, *quar* il ne pooit mie estre avec lui a sa uolente, pour .j. sien uoisin qui a lui marchissoit, qui moult estoit fel & cruels. Che iert li rois claudas de la deserte, qui tant estoit dolans & corocies de son castel que li rois artus auoit fet abatre, *quar* poi quil nissioit del sens, si nen sauoit a qui prendre ueniance, fors au roy ban de benoyc, & au roy bohört qui marchissoient a lui, pour ce [col. 3] quil estoient homme au roi artu, si les guerroia & fist tant quil ot en aide .i. prince de rome, qui auoit a non pounce antoine; & cil y uint moult uolentiers, *quar* aussi haoit il le roy artu & tous les siens pour lamor lue, lempereor de rome, quil auoient ocis. Et en cel content estoit hoel mors de nastes, qui moult auoit claudas guerroie. Si refirent tant li romain quil orent gaulle en lor baillie,

¹ Fol. 216 back.

& enuoierent cil de gaule & cil de la deserte, & pince antoine a tout sez rommains assaillir le roy ban de benoyc, & il se desfendi moult uiguerousement *comme* cils qui estoit de grant cuer & de grant proesce, si assambla souuent a euls a plain champ, si y perdi souent & gaigna, & meruelles y firent darmes leones de paerne & graciens de trebes, & banins .i. filleus au roy ban, cil destruisent moult & ocistrent de la gent le roy claudas ; si y morut graciens, mes phariens ni morut mie ; & li rois bans fu tant afebloies de sa gent qu'il not as romains duree, ains le menerent si de ior en ior qu'il pristrent sez castiaus & sez fortreesces, ne onques ne pot auoir ayde du roy bohort son frere, qui gisoit malades au lit, & dont il puis ne leua. Et ce li fist grant desconfort, *quar* tant auoit pince antoine grant de gent amene, qu'il li tolirent sa cite de benoy & toute sa terre, si qu'il ne li remest ne castel ne cite, fors seulement le castel de trebes ou la royne helaine estoit, & lancelos son fil, qui encore gisoit en berch. Et li rois bans ot illuec avec luj tant de gent *com* il pot assamblar, mes ce fu poi a tel effors soffrir. Il y fu banins sez filleus en qui il se fia moult, & il auoit droit, *quar* il estoit boins *chivalers* & loiaus. Et il ot .j. senescal qu'il auoit norri dez enfance a qui il auoit toute sa terre commandee apres la mort graciens : et ce fu cil qui le trai, et par qui il perdi le castel de trebes, si *comme* li contes le vous deuissera cha auant.

Explicit l'enserrement de merlin ;
diex nous maint tous a boine fin.

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 clipt, v. embraced, 143, 4; 149, 6.
 clobbe, 648, 4; clubbe, 649, 2; s.
 club, weapon.
 clowte, adj. "clowte leather,"
 i.e. leather for mending, 33, 26.
 clowte, v. to mend or patch shoes,
 33, 23.
 coffin, s. cover for a letter, 279, 20.
 cofres, s. coffers.
 cole, s. cool, 191, 16.

- com, v. came, 5, 16.
 comaunde, v. to commend, 8, 1;
 33, 13.
 comberaunce, s. trouble, 8, 21.
 comen, adj. common, 104, 7.
 comounte, s. mass, quantity, 574,
 33.
 complayned, v. bewailed, lamented,
 24, 25.
 complysshe, 61, 20; complesshenn,
 62, 1; v. to accomplish, fulfil.
 comynally, adv. in assembly,
 96, 19.
 condite, v. to conduct, 50, 2, used
 passively, 50, 30.
 condite, s. conduct, 82, 28.
 conditour, s. conductor, 392, 14.
 coniorison, 607, 20; coniuirison,
 362, 34; 608, 14; s. conjuring,
 sorcery.
 conne, v. to know, 22, 16.
 conne, v. give, render, 73, 8;
 123, 9.
 connynge, s. knowledge, science,
 2, 29.
 connynge, adj. knowing, ac-
 quainted with, 17, 4; 122, 1.
 conseille, conseil, s. council, 3,
 12; 2, 22.
 constabilrie, s. management, care
 of, 373, 32.
 contene, v. defend, preserve, 77,
 6; 264, 18.
 contened, v. continued, 355, 13.
 contirfet, adj. counterfeit, 635, 13.
 contre, s. country, 5, 12; 153, 17.
 contrey, s. 153, 19.
 convenable, adj. like, fitting, 59,
 29.
 conveye, v. to show, put in the
 way, 538, 33.
 conveyed, v. showed, 525, 4.
 conysshauce, s. badge, crest,
 510, 12.
 corage, s. inclination, intention,
 heart, 228, 30; 309, 3.
 cordewan, s. Spanish leather,
 615, 7.
 corse, s. corpse, 34, 9.
 corsure, s. horseman, 328, 4.
 cosin, cousin, 117, 28.
 cote, s. coat, 261, 5.
 coton, s. cotton, 294, 27.
 couetyse, 13, 8; covetise, 106,
 22; s. covetousness, desire.
 counfort, s. comfort, 7, 16.
 counseile, v. used intransitively,
 95, 25.
 counterfeited, pp. ill-shapen; Fr.
 contrefais.
 counterynge, s. encounter, meet-
 ing, 200, 21.
 courbe, adj. bent, curved, 635, 17.
 courbed, pp. bent, 261, 6.
 covered, v. recovered? hid his
 feelings? 213, 6.
 covyne, s. secret contrivance, 306,
 31; 465, 12.
 cowde, v. knew, 28, 8; 482, 7.
 cowde, 9, 7; cowden, 2, 14; could.
 cowpe, s. cup, 67, 7.
 coy, adv. shyly, 125, 16.
 cracchinges, s. scratchings, 668, 30.
 crasinge, s. 200, 26; same as
 crassinge.
 craspe, v. grasp, seize, 649, 10.
 crassinge, s. crashing, noise, 155, 17.
 crature, s. creature, 11, 30.
 creaunce, s. belief, 5, 29; 340, 36;
 662, 13.
 crepell, s. cripple, 73, 5.
 crewell, 39, 1; cruëwell, 281, 28;
 adj. cruel.
 cride, 161, 24; cryde, 215, 7; v.
 proclaimed, exposed.
 cristen, s. christians, 57, 3.
 cristendom, s. christianity, 55, 11.
 christynte, s. christianity, 226, 12.
 croupe, 117, 25; crowpe, 128, 5;
 s. the buttocks of a horse.
 crull, adj. curled, 508, 24.
 crysten, adj. christian, 23, 31.
 cure, s. care, desire, 229, 1.
 curroure, sb. courier, runner, 279,
 19.
 curroyes, couriers? runners? 485,
 12.
 curteys, adj. courteous, 266, 9.

daissht, pp. spoilt, 246, 23.
 damage, s. injury, defeat, 349, 13.
 dampned, pp. condemned, punished, 11, 32.
 daunger, 2, 27; daungier, 434, 14; s. power, dominion.
 dawe, v. to dawn, 98, 9.
 dawenyng, s. daybreak, 297, 35.
 day, s. time, 82, 25.
 deboner, adj. courteous, gentle, 266, 9.
 debonerly, adv. courteously, 105, 21; 140, 31.
 debonerte, s. gentleness, courtesy, 123, 7.
 dede, s. deed, 5, 24.
 dede, v. caused, made, 37, 29.
 deduyt, s. pleasure, delight, 307, 34; 437, 8; 640, 31.
 deed, adj. dead, 34, 8.
 deffence, s. prohibition, defence, 54, 27.
 deffende, v. to forbid, 54, 23.
 deffende, v. to preserve, defend, 39, 26; 121, 17.
 defensable, adj. able to defend, 54, 18.
 delicatys, s. delicacies, 6, 26.
 delyte, s. delight, 6, 25.
 delyuer, adj. active, nimble, 267, 34; deliuer, 136, 23; adj. free, 692, 20.
 delyuerly, adv. actively, nimbly, 158, 36.
 demaundes, s. questions, 16, 12.
 demened, pp. treated, 465, 13; 656, 35.
 demened, pp. conducted, directed, 75, 33; 79, 9.
 demonstraunce, s. demonstration, sign, 59, 11.
 departe, v. to separate, divide, distribute, 61, 8; 92, 29; ended, 90, 13.
 dere, adj. dear, 49, 27.
 derenged, v. attacked, fought, 549, 1.
 derke, adj. dark, 348, 2.

derkly, adv. darkly, obscurely, 53, 22.
 deserue, v. serve for, do work for, 660, 25.
 desese, s. inconvenience, hardship, trouble, 260, 2.
 desesse, s. decease, 228, 25.
 desier, s. desire, wish, 4, 18.
 desseuered, pp. divided, separated, 259, 33.
 deth, s. death, 45, 6.
 dever, s. duty, 162, 13.
 devise, s. at all points, 278, 32; 508, 10; 519, 2.
 devised, v. directed, 659, 23.
 devynour, s. deviner, 45, 19.
 deyen, v. to die, 3, 29.
 deynteis, s. dainties, 471, 12.
 deyse, s. high table in hall, 480, 28.
 dierly, adv. dearly, eagerly, 302, 12; 631, 4.
 diffence, s. guinsaying, 686, 17.
 diffende, v. to prohibit, prevent, resist, 29, 10; 428, 14.
 diffoulde, pp. 10, 33; defiled; diffoiled, 276, 35.
 dight, pp. arrayed, dressed, 113, 13.
 disavaunce, v. forestall (Fr. desauanchier), 658, 15.
 disavaunced, pp. thrown or driven back, 250, 22.
 discendir, v. to fall, drop, 118, 19.
 discesed, pp. deprived, 229, 31.
 disceytis, s. deceits, 8, 7.
 disceyve, 3, 23; disseyve, 87, 29; v. to deceive.
 discheueled, pp. dishevelled, 453, 16; 646, 15.
 discheuelec, s. entanglement of hair, 298, 31.
 disconfited, pp. discomforted, defeated, 24, 24.
 discouert, adj. uncovered, 628, 34.
 discounfit, v. to discomfort, defeat.
 discounfited, discomforted, 120, 14.
 discure, v. to discover, make plain, 58, 19.
 disered, v. desired, 27, 7.
 disert, s. desert, 59, 8.

- disese, *v.* to trouble, discomfort, 2, 26; 115, 31; 649, 29.
 disese, *s.* harm, injury, 1, 20; 30, 25.
 disgarnysshed, *pp.* deprived of, go without, 440, 17.
 disherit, *v.* to disinherit, 42, 7.
 disparble, *v.* to disperse, 208, 5; disparbled, *pt.* dispersed, 196, 19; 214, 18.
 dispire, *s.* despair, 4, 17.
 dispitously, *adv.* pitifully, 355, 6.
 disporte, *v.* engage, practise, 352, 15.
 dispyte, *s.* pity, regret, 70, 23.
 disray, *s.* clamour, commotion, 407, 11; 460, 10.
 disse, *s.* discomfort, trouble, 54, 30.
 distraught, *pp.* distracted, 20, 21.
 distreined, *v.* vexed, upset, 71, 3.
 distreyned, *v.* constrained, 193, 4.
 distrif, *s.* strife, 536, 9.
 distrowed, 26, 19; distrued, 184, 29; distrowied, 40, 28; *pp.* destroyed.
 distroyne, 174, 31; distrye, 191, 22; *v.* to destroy.
 distrubier, *s.* disturber, 240, 22.
 distrubinge, *s.* disturbance, upset, 296, 4.
 distrubled, *v.* disturbed, troubled, 154, 5.
 distruxion, *s.* destruction, 172, 6.
 disturbier, *s.* hindrance, 509, 36.
 disturdison, *s.* moaning, suffering, 266, 35.
 disturue, *v.* dispute, question, 680, 1.
 distyne, distynes, *s.* destiny, 166, 3; 582, 30.
 do, *v.* execute, fulfil, 5, 13.
 do, *v.* caused, 25, 25; 57, 16.
 doctryne, *s.* doctrine, teaching, 5, 30.
 doel, 34, 9; doell, 4, 25; *s.* grief, sorrow, mourning.
 dolent, *adj.* sad, sorrowful, 331, 1; 572, 20.
 dolven, *pp.* buried, 5, 14.
 don, *prep.* down, 53, 8.
 dought, *v.* ought, should, 47, 17.
 dought, *v.* thought, 3, 36; seemed, 106, 14; feared, doubted, 6, 9; 248, 36.
 dought, *s.* thought, 555, 18.
 dought, *s.* fear, 226, 29.
 doute, *v.* to fear, 62, 7; 171, 7.
 doute, 70, 15; 94, 22; dowte, *s.* fear, 117, 32.
 douted, *v.* feared, dreaded, 265, 17; 343, 7.
 draweth, *v.* resembles, 434, 35.
 drede, *s.* fear, dread, 16, 27.
 dressed, *v.* reared, prepared, set in order, 58, 11; 110, 25; went, addressed, 255, 2.
 drof, *v.* drove, 26, 36.
 drough, 17, 22; drowgh, 28, 28; drow, 47, 31; *v.* drew.
 druweries, *s.* love, esteem, 641, 2.
 dubbe, *v.* dub, 316, 7.
 duelled, *v.* dwelled, remained, 645, 16.
 duerf, *s.* dwarf, 638, 13.
 dure, *v.* to endure, last, 116, 8.
 duresse, *s.* constraint, confinement, 19, 10.
 dureth, *v.* extends, 260, 18.
 dyed, *v.* died, 4, 25.
 dyen, 65, 26; dye, 3, 34; *v.* to dye.
 ech, eche, *adj.* each, 110, 32.
 effe-sones, *adv.* afterwards, presently, 226, 31.
 egramauncye, 375, 30; 508, 4; egremauncye, 176, 6; *s.* magic, divination.
 eiled, *v.* ailed, 3, 33.
 eleccion, *s.* election, choice, 96, 25.
 ellis, 76, 15; elles, 54, 2; *adv.* else.
 elther, *adj.* older, 5, 29; 529, 6.
 empeire, *v.* hurt, 606, 27.
 empere, *s.* empire, 105, 36.
 emprise, *s.* enterprise, 263, 9.
 en, *conj.* and, 14, 27.

enarmynge, s. handle of a shield, 667, 25.
 enbelynk, 584, 9.
 enbrace, v. puts on his arm, 516, 5.
 enbuschement, 161, 5; enbusshement, 135, 5; s. ambush.
 enbusshed, pp. amassed, ambushed, 246, 12.
 enchase, v. to pursue, 218, 6.
 encombraunce, s. encumbrance, 5, 23.
 encrease, v. to increase, 223, 31.
 enderdicted, pp. interdicted, 466, 19.
 enfeffe, v. infeof, 373, 32.
 enforce, v. increase, 443, 3.
 engender, 102, 8; engendre, 62, 1; v. to beget.
 engyn, 20, 33; engyne, 14, 14; s. craft, subtlety, deceit.
 enemy, 20, 32; enmye, 55, 9; s. enemy.
 ennoisies, adj. gay, lively ["misreading for *envoisies*." N.E.D.], 106, 12.
 enprise, s. enterprise, 242, 30.
 enquire, v. to enquire, ask for, 44, 3; 49, 22.
 enquesitif, adj. inquisitive, 292, 34.
 enquest, s. search, 687, 10.
 enquire, s. enquiry, 3, 12.
 ensele, v. seal, 617, 32.
 entailed, v. carved, shaped, 362, 31.
 entassed, pp. incumbered, heaped, 337, 29.
 entassement, s. accumulation, heaping, 398, 7.
 entende, v. learn, pay attention, 310, 11.
 entended, v. heard, attended, 23, 18; 266, 34.
 entente, s. intent, intention, 97, 25.
 entententify, adv. attentively, 567, 25.
 entered, v. buried, 647, 9.
 entermedled, intermixed, 227, 7.
 entermete, v. to meddle with, interfere, 19, 31; 39, 33.

enterpassaunt, v. returning, passing back, 329, 20.
 enterpendaunt, adj. independent, enterprising, 475, 7.
 entiere, v. buried, interred, 369, 13.
 entirpassinge, v. passing back, 407, 32.
 entrauerse, adj. crossed, 163, 12.
 entre, s. entry, 55, 23; beginning, 191, 7; entreynge, s. beginning, 205, 12.
 entysement, s. enticement, 5, 1.
 enuay, envaie, s.; Fr. *envahie*, an assault, an onset, 318, 15; 352, 18.
 enuoyed, v. 463, 2.
 environ, prep. about, around, 113, 22; 153, 17.
 er, adv. before, 190, 19.
 errour, s. chagrin, vexation, 318, 25.
 erthe, s. earth, 128, 5.
 ese, s. ease, 257, 23.
 espleyted, pp. fulfilled, completed, 10, 16.
 espyes, 146, 10; esspies, 575, 15; s. spies.
 este, adv. first, 72, 31.
 estres, s. ins and outs, 242, 13.
 euell, adv. ill, mis-, 5, 22.
 eure, s. luck, fortune, 320, 32.
 evereche, 31, 36; everich, 63, 32; adj. each one, every.
 evesonge, s. evensong, vespers, 102, 36.
 expowned, pp. expounded, explained, 42, 26.
 eyder, pron. either, 148, 6.
 facion, s. appearance, 427, 27.
 fader, 5, 10; ffader, 102, 5; fadir, 5, 18; s. father.
 fadome, s. fathom, 430, 11.
 falle, pp. fell out, happened, 5, 11.
 false, v. betray, deceive, 608, 28.
 falsed, v. falsified, 666, 7.
 fantasie, s. desire, liking, 213, 5.
 faste, adj. near, close, 213, 22.

- fauced, 628, 22; faused, 456, 25;
 v. pierced, cut.
 faucouns, s. falcons, 135, 9.
 faugh, v. fought, 159, 8.
 faute, n. want, 568, 27.
 fecche, v. to fetch, 100, 35.
 feed, adj. paid, 472, 16.
 feende, 3, 35; fende, 1, 11; s.
 fiend.
 feffed, v. infeofed, 374, 2.
 feire, 8, 8; fere, 114, 19; s. fear.
 feire, 4, 13; feyre, 6, 31; adj.
 fair.
 felen, v. to feel, perceive, 38, 3.
 felischep, 28, 10; felschip, 6, 9;
 felishep, 34, 31; 56, 11; s.
 fellowship, company.
 fell, adj. fierce, strong, cruel, 30,
 8; 102, 30.
 fellenouse, adj. fierce, wicked,
 118, 7; 352, 25.
 felliche, adv. cruelly, felly, 571,
 11.
 felly, adv. fiercely, 215, 31.
 felon, adj. dangerous, 548, 9.
 felonously, adv. fiercely, cruelly,
 216, 1.
 felt, s. hat, 279, 23.
 fenisshe, v. to finish, end, stop,
 54, 12.
 fer, adj. far, distant, 6, 3.
 ferce, adv. fiercely, 119, 35.
 ferde, v. acted, conducted, 4, 15;
 went, 211, 22.
 ferde, adj. afraid, frightened,
 terrible, 27, 4; 346, 23.
 feriage, s. passing over water,
 606, 20.
 ferly, adj. strange, 93, 30.
 ferther, adj. foreign, distant, 103,
 36.
 feste, s. feast, 63, 22.
 fewtee, s. fealty, 121, 3.
 fewtre, s. the rest for a spear,
 127, 9.
 ficched, v. moved uncomfortably,
 335, 30.
 ficchid, pp. fixed, fastened, 98,
 14; 164, 9.
 fieraunt, adj. becoming, suitable,
 583, 26.
 fiers, adj. fierce, 193, 19.
 fill, v. fell, went, 4, 17.
 fill, pt. fell out, happened, 44, 5;
 59, 6.
 fin, s. end, conclusion, 229, 33.
 fin, 249, 16; 287, 6; fyn, 156,
 16; adj. sheer, entire.
 fitz, s. sons, 496, 1; 542, 10.
 flain, 268, 34; flayn, 347, 9; pp.
 flayed, skinned.
 flat, v. ? extend, 275, 30.
 flawme, s. flame, 332, 17.
 flayle, s. portion of a gate, the bar,
 206, 29.
 fle, v. to fly, 199, 28.
 flekered, v. fluttered, waved, 324,
 30.
 fleynge, part. pres. flying, 56, 5.
 florte, adj. ? flowered, decorated,
 395, 14.
 flos of the see, high tide, 646, 5.
 flote, s. mass, company, 198, 3.
 flour, s. flower, i.e. best, 401, 8.
 fly, v. flew, 199, 25; 216, 34.
 fole, s. fool, 53, 14; 357, 15.
 folily, adv. foolishly, 7, 18; 650,
 32.
 fonde, v. found, 11, 1; 36, 29.
 foorde, s. ford, 606, 17.
 for, adv. because, inasmuch as,
 108, 17.
 for, prep. from, 260, 4.
 for-swellen, very much swollen,
 172, 19.
 for-swette, i.e. covered with sweat,
 296, 19.
 fore, prep. of, 300, 25.
 forewarde, s. first portion, van,
 276, 16.
 forfet, s. offence, 69, 8; 109, 2.
 forfet, v. prepared, 84, 20.
 forfeete, v. to injure, offend, misdo,
 115, 18.
 forgiven, v. to forgive, 55, 31.
 for-juged, pp. wrongfully judged,
 470, 19.
 for-leyn, v. lain with, 544, 3.

- formednesse, s. silly action, conceit, 639, 26.
 formeste, adj. foremost, 46, 12.
 forrears, 146, 17; forryoars, 230, 13; s. scouts, foragers.
 forry, v. forage, 272, 7.
 forse, s. force, number, 126, 19.
 for-swollen, adj. 538, 6.
 fort, adv. forth, 361, 12.
 for-thought, pp. repented, grieved, 40, 28.
 forthynke, v. to repent, 25, 15.
 foryete, v. to forget, 71, 33.
 foryete, pp. forgotten, 9, 33.
 for-yeten, pp. forgotten, 138, 18; 545, 6.
 foryevenesse, s. forgiveness, 10, 28.
 foundement, s. foundation, 31, 24.
 founden, pp. found, 4, 15.
 fowled, v. trampled, 494, 36.
 fowrtithe, 40th? 171, 19.
 foyson, s. plenty, 150, 31; 176, 34.
 frayen, v. rubbed, dashed, 594, 34.
 frayinge, s. collision, struggle, 339, 14.
 frayned, 6, 13; freyned, 50, 7; v. asked, questioned, enquired.
 freissh, adj. fresh, gay, 203, 10.
 fremyssh, v. tremble, shake, 284, 9; 336, 18.
 fremysshed, v. trembled, shook, 162, 28; 648, 32.
 frende, s. friend, 49, 27.
 fres, adj. vigorous, 156, 10.
 fro, prep. from, 4, 22.
 frote, v. rub, 76, 20; 424, 25.
 frotinge, v. rubbing, 649, 7.
 frusht, 207, 2; frusht, 164, 14; ffrushed, 219, 18; 661, 5; v. dashed, smashed, rushed, violently.
 fulfilde, v. filled, 59, 28.
 full, adv. very, quite, 41, 17.
 fullich, adv. fully, 275, 14.
 fyngres, s. fingers, 635, 19.
 fynyshment, s. end, conclusion, 23, 3.
 gabbe, v. to lie, talk idly, 31, 4.
 gabbynge, s. lying, 13, 5.
 ganfanon, s. standard, 205, 35; 323, 18.
 ganfanoner, s. standard-bearer, 211, 7.
 garcion, s. stripling, boy, 103, 32.
 garnement, s. garment, 384, 29.
 garnyson, s. garrison, 174, 29.
 garnyyshed, v. garrisoned, 381, 21.
 garnysshe, 115, 19; 55, 22; 176, 14; garnysssh, 174, 23; v. to furnish, prepare, guard?
 gate, v. got, 333, 29.
 gavelokkes, s. spears or javelins, 300, 34; 662, 33.
 geauntes, s. giants, 209, 15.
 gete, v. to get, beget, 3, 5; 3, 9; 67, 34.
 geve, v. to give, 95, 26.
 gige, s. handle of a shield, 344, 36; 496, 31.
 gipser, s. pouch or purse, 608, 5.
 girde, v. smite, strike, 408, 33; 596, 8.
 glenched, v. glanced, slipped aside, 158, 6; 329, 6.
 gleves, 660, 34; glevis, 275, 23; gleyves, 264, 1; 331, 26; s. a weapon composed of a long cutting blade at the end of a lance.
 glode, v. glided, 594, 29.
 glood, do., 595, 23.
 glose, v. flatter, cajole, 680, 9.
 go, pp. gone, 267, 6.
 gode, s. goods, property, 4, 4.
 gode, adj. good, 3, 27.
 gome, s. man, 594, 29.
 gonne, v. began, commenced, 369, 30.
 goolde, s. gold, 57, 15.
 goste, s. ghost, 12, 3.
 gotere, s. gutter, 38, 1.
 goth, imper. go, 13, 12.
 goules, 205, 35; gowles, 395, 15; s. gules.
 gowe = go we, let us go, 68, 4.

- gramercy, interj. great thanks, many thanks, 115, 32.
 graunted, v. promised, 557, 13.
 gre, s. favour, pleasure; to take in gre = take kindly, 204, 13.
 greces, 279, 30; 427, 30; greeces, 555, 8; s. ? steps, entrance.
 grees, s. same as greces (279, 30), 639, 3.
 grennynge, v. roaring, crying, 209, 9.
 gret, adj. great, 50, 26.
 gretinge, s. greeting, 47, 24.
 gretnesse, s. pregnancy, 86, 19.
 grette, adj. great, 648, 4.
 greve, v. to vex, injure, 154, 24.
 greves, s. shores, beach? 649, 29.
 grewe, 436, 20; griewe, 437, 15; s. Greek.
 griped, v. seized, 9, 21; 119, 14.
 growe, adj. grown, 390, 12.
 grucched, 355, 24; 392, 26; gruchid, 206, 32; v. opposed, resisted.
 grucchyng, s. opposition, 73, 19.
 grym, adj. rough, dirty, 43, 1; 196, 18.
 gryslly, adj. horrible, terrible, 15, 8.
 guerdon, v. reward, 102, 22.
 gyde, s. guide, 280, 26.
 gyge, same as gige.
 gynneth, v. begins, commences, 313, 8.
 gynnynge, s. beginning, 10, 30.
 gysarmes, s. bills or battle axes, 281, 31.
 habergon, s. breast-plate, armour for the neck and breast, 110, 21.
 halowmasse, s. the feast of All Saints, 97, 12.
 halsed, v. embraced, 74, 26.
 haluendell, s. half, 157, 25.
 haly, adj. holy, 12, 2.
 happed, v. happened, 7, 11.
 harde, adv. hard, terribly, strongly, 214, 19.
 hardely, adv. boldly, 35, 7.
 hardy, adj. bold, brave, 113, 23.
 hardynesse, s. boldness, 103, 18; 169, 3.
 harlotis, s. harlots, followers, scouts, base men, 9, 12; 276, 14; 404, 16.
 harneyse, s. weapons, armour, 120, 26.
 haten, v. to hate, 5, 22.
 hau, have, 111, 21.
 haubrek, 118, 35; hauberkes, 628, 21; s. a coat of mail.
 hedylyche, adv. ? heavily, strongly, 119, 4.
 heer, s. hair, 261, 6.
 heirdes, s. herdsmen, 3, 28.
 heire, adv. here, 23, 30.
 heire, s. air, 393, 6.
 heiren, v. to hear, 32, 33.
 heir-to, adv. hereto, 24, 8.
 hele, s. health, 71, 27.
 helue, s. helve, handle, 339, 28.
 hem, pron. them, 3, 28; 5, 17.
 henge, v. hung, 4, 22.
 hens, adv. hence, 15, 14.
 hente, v. seize, take hold of, 30, 8; 101, 8.
 her, pron. their, 34, 6.
 herbegage, s. quarters, lodgings, 154, 25.
 herberewe, 30, 31; herberowe, 204, 20; s. lodging, shelter, harbour.
 herberough, s. hauberk, 387, 5.
 herberowed, pp. lodged, 546, 34.
 here, pron. her, 3, 17.
 here, v. to hear, 23, 23; heren, 171, 16.
 herken, v. to listen, herkened, pt., 23, 17.
 hertely, adv. heartily, 48, 26; 81, 31.
 hertys, s. ? persons, 22, 9.
 heved, v. made heavy, depressed, 182, 19.
 hevy, adj. heavy, dull, 53, 25.
 heveth, v. hesitate, 368, 13.
 heyer, s. heir, 80, 20.
 hider, adv. hither, 25, 16.

hidouse, adj. hideous, frightful, 40, 36.
 hidously, adv. 207, 22.
 hier, adj. higher, upper, 175, 17.
 hierdes, s. shepherds, 252, 20.
 hiest, adj. highest, most renowned, 55, 1.
 hight, 24, 2; 59, 25; highte, 129, 3; pp. called.
 hilde, v. held, 14, 18.
 hir, pro. their, 33, 33.
 hire, v. to hear, 102, 36.
 hit, pro. it, 91, 22.
 hoilde, v. to hold, side, 42, 9.
 hoill, adj. whole, entire, 52, 28; 57, 2; hool, 224, 23.
 holicherche = holy church, 14, 18.
 holtes, s. woods, groves, 274, 1.
 holy, adv. wholly, 86, 4.
 hom, s. home, 250, 35.
 horse, s. horses, a company of horse, 4, 3; 50, 17; 117, 1; 193, 14; 335, 17.
 hosebonde, s. husband, 19, 27.
 hoseled, pp. comforted, 415, 35; was hoseled, i.e. received.
 houe, pp. brought up, reared? 124, 28.
 houeth, v. behoves, 33, 9.
 hovid, v. stopped, 200, 4.
 howsolde, s. household, family, 49, 10.
 howsyng, s. housing, houses, 63, 27.
 huch, s. hutch, 4, 20.
 hurdeysed, v. hurdled, 604, 21.
 hurtelid, v. rushed, dashed, 117, 35.
 hym, pron. he, 250, 30.
 iape, v. to jest, mock, 66, 28; 113, 31.
 iapes, s. jests, mockery, 113, 32.
 I-be, pp. been, 258, 16; 363, 28.
 i-come, pp. come, 25, 16.
 i-don, pp. done, 76, 23.
 i-douted, pp. feared, dreaded, 163, 34.
 iepardye, s. jeopardy, 69, 28.

i-gon, pp. gone, 68, 35.
 I-loste, pp. lost, 312, 33.
 [I have heard a gamekeeper say to his retriever, when he had shot some game, and wished the dog to go and get it, "I-lost, I-lost."—W. A. D.]
 in-countre, s. encounter, 134, 6.
 indure, v. to last, 24, 27.
 Inngendure, s. ? charge of guilt, 18, 23.
 I-nowgh, 213, 29; i-rough, 68, 18; i-nowe, 77, 5; adj. enough.
 inteript, pp. interrupted, 105, 28?
 intermete, v. to interfere, meddle with, 24, 21.
 in-to, prep. until, 30, 1; 105, 27.
 ioly, adj. pretty, 106, 12.
 iolye, adj. pleasant, joyful, 47, 18.
 iour, s. day, 67, 5.
 iourne, s. journey, 251, 15.
 Iowes, s. jaws, 273, 22; 496, 34.
 iren, s. iron, 98, 13.
 irouse, adj. angry, enraged, 71, 3.
 I-spredd, pp. spread, 240, 7.
 isse, v. issue, sally forth, 255, 22; 334, 31.
 issed, 111, 6; isseden, 42, 13; v. issued forth.
 issu, issue, s. doorway, outlet, 90, 3; 357, 21.
 I-teyed, v. moored, 464, 3.
 iustice, v. to judge, 122, 35.
 iustyng, s. jousting, 127, 21.
 iuwelles, 64, 8; juwels, 65, 29; s. jewels.
 Iuyse, s. judgment, 35, 4; properly imoyse fin judicium.
 iyen, s. eyes, 172, 18.
 kach, v. to catch, 9, 23.
 keeled, v. cooled, 371, 9.
 keen, s. kine, 274, 12.
 keled, pp. cooled, 214, 4.
 kenne, v. to know, recognize, 45, 22.
 kenrede, s. kindred, 79, 35.
 kilde, pt. killed, 209, 21.
 kirchires, s. covering for the head of a woman, 689, 33.

knowe, pp. 11, 16; knoweth, pres. pl. 2, 3.
 knowleche, s. knowledge, 2, 29.
 knowliche, v. to acknowledge, 26, 12.
 knowynge, s. knowledge, wisdom, 3, 11; 13, 22; 58, 23.
 knyghthode, s. chivalry, warlike deed, 56, 29.
 kowde, 21, 22; kowthe, 100, 5; v. could.
 koye, adj. quiet, coy, shy, 78, 11.
 krowne, s. crown, 24, 13.
 kutte, v. cut, 339, 28.
 kynges, adj. kingless, 24, 30.
 kytton, s. kitten, 665, 28.
 kyttynge, v. cutting, 118, 15.
 kyutte, 195, 4; kutte, 195, 2; kytte, 137, 16; v. cut, cut off.
 -
 laden, v. to dip or bale water, 37, 29.
 lakke, s. lack, 54, 30.
 lappe, s. skirt, 101, 10.
 lardre, 336, 28; lardure, 337, 27; 655, 18; s. slaughter.
 lasted, v. extended in space, 274, 15; 350, 23.
 laught, v. caught, 199, 29.
 launchant, part. leaning forward, 288, 33.
 launde, s. bit of open country, 298, 6; Fr. lande, 683, 4.
 laweers, s. lawyers, 434, 14.
 layners, s. cords, 697, 6.
 leche, s. doctor, 336, 7.
 lechours, s. lustful men, 434, 29.
 leder, s. leather, 168, 7.
 leed, s. lead, 63, 5.
 leff, v. leave, 299, 24.
 lefte, v. remained, 70, 25; 95, 20.
 lefte, pp. broken, 85, 15.
 leged, v. laid, fixed, 166, 29.
 leide to the deaf ere, *i.e.* turned a deaf ear, 261, 34.
 leife, s. lover, 636, 12.
 leiser, s. chance, opportunity, 346, 21.
 leneth, v. lendeth, 434, 9.

lenger, adj. longer, 110, 11.
 lenton, s. the season of Lent, 142, 24.
 lenynge, part. pres., leaving, resting, 168, 1.
 leopart, 304, 11; lupart, 304, 6; s. leopard.
 lepe, v. leapt, 68, 32; 195, 13.
 lerned, v. taught, 5, 31; pp. 9, 7.
 lese, v. to lose, 6, 8.
 lessed, v. deprived, 401, 18.
 leste, v. to please, desire, 48, 32.
 lesynge, s. lye, lying, 31, 6; 62, 9.
 let, v. to hinder, 7, 24; prevent, 12, 19.
 lete, 12, 19 (to cause, ? 13, 17; 18, 31; 27, 18).
 lette, v. prevent, to hinder, 188, 29.
 letted, pp. hindered, 228, 18.
 lettynge, s. hindrance, 6, 36; 131, 10.
 leve, v. to believe, 11, 21; 29, 5; 62, 28.
 leve, v. to live, 24, 34.
 leve, v. accept, follow, 365, 11; 507, 21.
 leven, v. leave, forsake, 202, 20.
 lever, adv. rather, sooner, 35, 33.
 leyser, s. leisure, 7, 2; 32, 26.
 leysere, s. chance, 100, 20; all be leysere.
 lifly, adv. lively, 355, 5.
 lifte, adj. left, 211, 5.
 liggyng, 58, 11; 155, 6; lyggyng, 196, 10; part. pres. lying down.
 lightly, adv. quickly, 241, 17; 634, 32.
 litere, 93, 31; letere, 94, 6; lytier, 92, 25; litier, 301, 14; s. litter.
 logged, pp. lodged, encamped, 277, 25.
 logges, s. tents, lodges, 116, 23.
 loigge, v. to lodge, stay, 127, 18.
 loigges, s. tents, camp, 387, 1.
 loigginge, 43, 34; loigynge, 68, 8; s. lodging, abode.
 loiginge, s. tent, lodging, 387, 8.
 londe, s. land, 26, 26.

longed, *v.* belonged, 42, 4; 470, 15.
 longes, *s.* lungs, 357, 8.
 longinge, *pres. part.* belonging, 605, 21.
 loose, *v.* to lose, 6, 30.
 lordinges, *s.* Sirs, masters, 172, 30.
 lordship, *s.* estate, 350, 23.
 lorn, *pp.* forsaken, 58, 27.
 lose, *s.* honour, fame, praise, 176, 18.
 losenges, *s.* [in heraldry], 205, 35.
 lothly, *adj.* loathsome, 262, 16.
 lotly, *adj.* ugly, 265, 32.
 lough, *v.* laughed, 33, 25.
 lowed, *v.* lowered, 397, 8.
 lower, *s.* hire, reward, 59, 5.
 lowted, *v.* bent, bowed, made obeisance, 98, 19.
 lurdeyn, *s.* lazy person, 537, 7; 538, 2.
 luste, *s.* will, desire, 7, 23; 268, 25.
 lusty, *adj.* vigorous, merry, 191, 12.
 lyen, *v.* to lie, 86, 27.
 lyfte, *adj.* left, 128, 4.
 lyfte, *v.* lifted, raised, 24, 14.
 lym, *s.* limb, 321, 33.
 lynage, 59, 8; lyngnage, 105, 6; *s.* lineage.
 lyntell, *s.* lintell, *s.* lintel, 436, 19.
 lyonsewes, *s.* young lions; *Fr.* lionceaux, 413, 22; 417, 10.
 lysted, *pp.* edged or bordered, 163, 12.

 maat, *adj.* stupefied, overpowered, 125, 16.
 magre, *s.* 40, 7; 83, 17; misfortune, displeasure, *s.*; in spite of, *prep.* 206, 31; 214, 23.
 maister, *s.* master, 3, 30.
 maister, *adj.* chief, 110, 6.
 maistries, 78, 17; mastryes, 134, 14; *s.* feats, deeds.
 maistris, *s.* leaders, 549, 35.

make, *v.* used passively, 38 1; 57, 16; to cause, ? 6, 17; 29, 25.
 males, *s.* wallets, budgets, 147, 34.
 maletalentif, *adv.* with ill-will, 338, 27.
 malle, *s.* club, mallet, 339, 9.
 maltalente, maltelente, *s.* anger, evil disposition, 500, 27.
 manased, *v.* menaced, 651, 16.
 manasyng, *s.* threats, 26, 22.
 manece, 652, 10; manese, 26, 25; *v.* threaten.
 maners, *s.* ways, 2, 13.
 mantelent, *s.* anger, ill-will, 339, 2.
 maras, 254, 27; 380, 16; *s.* marsh.
 marasse, *s.* bog, 604, 28.
 marche, *s.* border, boundary, limit, 167, 23.
 maroners, *s.* mariners, 379, 5.
 marteleise, 211, 26; martileys, 334, 23; *s.* hammering.
 martirdom, *s.* slaughter, 163, 29.
 martire, *s.* torment, martyrdom, 17, 7; slaughter, 193, 25.
 maryne, *s.* sea-coast, 230, 6.
 marysse, *s.* marsh, 254, 19.
 mased, *pp.* confounded, 201, 12.
 massage, *s.* message, command, 29, 28.
 massagiers, 33, 20; massanger, 31, 7; messenger, 33, 18; *s.* messenger.
 mat, *adj.*, same as maat, 145, 24.
 mate, *adj.* dejected, exhausted, 269, 33; 355, 8; 396, 20.
 matelentif, *adj.* angry, 219, 30.
 mater, *s.* ? matter, 503, 25.
 matere, 114, 7; matire, 50, 34; *s.* matter, business.
 maundement, *s.* demand, 643, 15.
 mayden, *s.*: "He was a preste . . . and also a mayden," *i.e.* unmarried, 326, 36.
 mayme, *s.* injury, 527, 9.
 maymen, *v.* to maim, 208, 13.
 mayne, meyne, *s.* retinue, household, 42, 15; 46, 26.

- mayntene, meyntene, *v.* to maintain, uphold, 97, 22; 112, 33.
 me, *s.* men, 244, 13.
 meddelynge, 199, 32; medelinge, 207, 28; 352, 12; *s.* fighting.
 medle, 100, 33; 118, 7; 156, 15; medlee, 163, 29; *s.* fray, tourney, fight.
 mees, *s.* mice, 665, 30.
 mene, *adj.* many? mean? common? 243, 28.
 mene, *s.* means, way, 20, 14.
 mennes, *s.* men's, 262, 33.
 ment, *v.* meant, 25, 2.
 mervelle, 3, 30; merveyle, 5, 15; merveile, 42, 2; *s.* wonder.
 merveloise, *adj.* marvellous, 56, 29.
 merveyled, *v.* marvelled, wondered, 3, 29.
 mese, *s.* mess, meal, 614, 36.
 messagers, *s.* messengers, 29, 36.
 messe, *s.* mass, service, 52, 11.
 mete, *s.* food, 240, 6.
 mevable, *adj.* movable, 116, 5.
 meve, *v.* to move, 38, 15; start, go, 130, 11.
 meyne, *s.* (chess) men, 362, 30.
 mo, *pron.* me, 431, 19.
 mo, 56, 7; moo, 258, 10; *adj.* more.
 moche, *adj.* broad, great, 97, 7; 117, 13; 351, 20; many, 262, 35.
 moche, *adv.* much, 4, 1.
 modir, 5, 18; moder, 8, 35; modre, 15, 5; *s.* mother.
 monestede, *v.* admonished, 530, 18.
 monge, *prep.* amongst, 244, 4.
 morderid, *pp.* murdered, 46, 10.
 moreyn, *s.* murrain, 3, 30.
 morowe, *s.* morning, 204, 30; 545, 8.
 morownynge, *s.* morning, 273, 36.
 mortalite, *s.* mortality, 56, 27.
 mortalito, *s.* mortality, 337, 10.
 mortall, *adj.* deadly, 214, 16.
 morthered, *v.* murdered, 401, 29.
 mossell, *s.* morsel, 6, 24; mossel brede, a morsel of bread.
 moste, *adj.* greatest, 210, 36.
 mouncels, *s.* portions, 413, 36.
 moustred, *v.* mustered, 560, 26.
 mowe, *v.* may, 22, 29.
 musardes, *s.* dull persons, fools, 183, 34; 582, 15.
 mustre, *s.* muster, 658, 22.
 myddill, *s.* middle, 108, 3.
 mynistre, *s.* minster, 98, 26.
 myri, *adj.* merry, 384, 31.
 myrily, *adv.* pleasantly, joyously, 77, 7.
 mysaventure, *s.* misadventure, mishap, 68, 1.
 mysbelevynge, *adj.* unbelieving, 191, 23.
 myschaunce, *s.* misfortune, 78, 27.
 myschef, *s.* danger, injury, 4, 5; 356, 18.
 myscheved, *pp.* injured, 8, 36.
 myschief, *s.* odds, 265, 1.
 mysdon, *pp.* done wrongly, 500, 20.
 mysese, *s.* discomfort, 64, 33.
 mysese, *adj.* injured, troubled, 94, 13.
 myshevouse, *adj.* unfortunate, injurious, 5, 28.
 myslyvinge, *s.* evil life, 2, 10.
 myssese, *s.* trouble, discomfort, 331, 21.
 myssey, *v.* to slander, revile, 30, 10.
 myster, *s.* need, necessity, 44, 31; 65, 33; 93, 28.
 mystere, *s.* skill, occupation, 14, 6; 156, 34.
 mystered, *s.* needed, 22, 35.
 mystily, *adv.* obscurely, darkly, 54, 6.
 mystrowe, *v.* to mistrust, 21, 12; 48, 33.
 namly, *adv.* especially, 8, 20.
 nas, was not, 267, 25.
 nat, *adv.* not, 4, 30.
 natht, *s.* naught, 18, 23.
 navie, *s.* ships, navy, 50, 31.
 nay, *adv.* no, 3, 34; 5, 26.

ne, adv. not, 264, 12.
 ne a-bide not, double negative, 258, 31.
 ne, conj. nor, 2, 20.
 nece, s. niece, 63, 33.
 neethe, s. needs, wants, 505, 28.
 neke, 53, 8; nekke, 51, 17; s. neck.
 nempned, pp. named, 143, 9.
 ner, adv. near, 277, 30.
 netherdeles, adv. nevertheless, 43, 30.
 nevew, 171, 34; nevewe, 152, 11; s. nephew.
 nyegh, 215, 1; nyghe, 684, 25; v. to near, approach.
 neighed, 207, 31; neyhed, 263, 21; v. neared, approached.
 no, adv. not, 302, 8.
 noon, adv. no, not, 6, 17; 33, 14.
 norice, s. nurse, 135, 34.
 norished, v. brought up, 26, 1.
 norisshe, v. to nourish, nurse, bring up, 88, 10.
 not, v. = ne wot, know not, 20, 5.
 not, s. naught, nothing, 54, 2.
 nother, adv. 102, 5; adj. 109, 2, neither.
 nought, adv. not, 1, 7.
 noye, v. annoy, 368, 17.
 noysaunce, s. injury, 456, 2.
 nurture, s. training, cultivation, 227, 13.
 ny, adv. nigh, nearly, 199, 1.
 nys = neys, is not, 87, 10.
 o, adj. one, 318, 20.
 obbeye, v. to obey, 66, 18.
 occision, s. killing, slaying, 118, 24; 159, 15.
 of, adv. off, 53, 8; 220, 5.
 of, prep. from, 33, 8; 59, 7; for, 210, 1; by, 265, 30; concerning, about, 47, 16; during, 171, 29.
 olyfauntes, s. elephants, 327, 29.
 olyvere, s. olive-tree, 541, 29.
 on, prep. in, 86, 12; on baste = in bastardy.

on, 2, 32; 167, 7; oo, 220, 16; 316, 26; oon, 3, 1; 4, 34; adj. one.
 ones, adv. once, 11, 20.
 only, adj. alone, 264, 8.
 ordenaunce, s. ordinance, plan, 3, 11.
 ordeyned, v. provided, 301, 14; prepared, 473, 24.
 orfraied, adj. gold-embroidered, 615, 7.
 orped, adj. valorous, bold, 439, 22.
 orphenyn, s. orphan, 212, 18.
 oste, s. host, army, 24, 16; 43, 22.
 osteill, s. hostel, lodging, 130, 13.
 osteye, v. to make warlike incursions, 70, 5.
 other, adv. either, 217, 24.
 ouer-gate, v. overtake, 276, 28.
 ouerlede, v. to oppress, 122, 35.
 ought, adv. very . . . he shall come er *ought* long, 449, 8.
 ought, s. anything, 269, 6.
 ought, v. owed, 302, 11.
 oughten, v. owed, 138, 25.
 oure, s. hour, 13, 2; 151, 4.
 outrage, s. outrage, violence, 69, 6; 81, 35.
 outerly, adv. entirely, 340, 33; 571, 15.
 outraied, 629, 20; 630, 8; outreyed, 458, 6; outrayed, 458, 11; pp. beaten, ruined.
 overene, prep. over, 18, 29.
 overthrewe, v. fell down, fell over, 27, 22.
 owe, 83, 13; 369, 23; owen, 60, 11; oweth, 54, 36; 449, 7; v. ought.
 owther, adv. either, 357, 12.
 owzht, v. ought, 14, 7.
 paas, 127, 24; pas, pase, 162, 15; s. pace.
 paillet, s. pallet, couch, 95, 5.
 paleis, 105, 2; paleise, 202, 21; s. palace.
 pament, s. pavement, 496, 7.
 panes, s. skirts, 501, 27.

- pantoneres, 323, 21; s. spies.
 paramours, (Fr. *par amour*), with love, tenderly, 9, 19.
 paraunt, adj. marked, conspicuous, 356, 1.
 par-a-venture, adv. haply, 204, 11.
 parde, adv. an oath, *par Dieu*, 652, 25.
 pareile, like, 584, 15.
 parentes, s. relatives, 463, 10.
 performed, v. completed, finished, 629, 22.
 parliament, 99, 25; parlement, 311, 13; s. conversation, a meeting for consultation.
 partie (grete partie, 48, 26; a grete partye, 21, 5 = in great part); partye, 32, 34 (?); 139, 11; 195, 11; s. part, portion.
 parties, s. districts, 321, 3.
 party, s. a body of men for military work, 54, 16.
 Pasch, 63, 30; Passh, 104, 11; Phasche, 178, 35; Easter.
 passe, v. to pass away, die, 55, 14.
 pavelouns, s. pavilions, 116, 11.
 pawtener, s. rascal, vagabond, 268, 36.
 paynymes, s. pagans, 446, 18; 594, 15.
 paytrell, s. the breastplate of a horse's armour, 330, 34.
 peas, 175, 33; pees, 27, 6; pes, 16, 13; s. peace.
 pelow, s. pillow, 634, 23.
 penon, s. skin that covers the shield, 570, 9.
 pepill, 26, 32; peple, 32, 33; s. people.
 perage, s. lineage (Fr. *parage*), 655, 36.
 perche, s. pole, 4, 21.
 perchemyn, s. parchment, 312, 5.
 perdurable, adj. everlasting, 93, 4.
 pereyle, s. peril, 142, 11.
 peringall 394, 1; peryngall, 163, 4; adj. equal.
 persch, 155, 13; persh, 327, 25; pershe, 293, 16; v. to pierce.
 perveied, pp. provided, 108, 20.
 pesaunt, adj. heavy, weighty, 119, 12.
 peses, s. pieces, 136, 26.
 petaille, s. infantry, followers, 253, 20.
 peyne, s. pain, torment, 122, 34.
 peyned, v. strived, desired, took pains, 5, 31; 119, 21; 412, 20.
 picche, v. to pitch, strike, 116, 11.
 pight, pp. pitched, erected, 150, 30; 239, 32; 476, 19; 672, 30.
 pilche, s. outer garment, 424, 22.
 piled, pp. pilfered, robbed, 191, 33; 207, 8.
 pite, s. pity, sorrow, 5, 9; 208, 35.
 pitosly, 17, 12; pitously, 54, 8; adv. piteously, pitifully.
 plaisshes, s. pools of water, 337, 28.
 plants of an oke, s. pike, 600, 6.
 playnynge, v. lamenting, 171, 28.
 pleet, s. ? pleading, 366, 33.
 plegge, s. pledge, 11, 31.
 plegge, v. become surety for, 571, 32.
 pledged, pp. pledged, 35, 33.
 pleide, v. played, 529, 19.
 plenteuouse, 191, 23; plentevouse, 202, 26; adj. plenteous.
 plesier, 1, 3; 39, 27; plesire, 74, 18; s. pleasure.
 pletere, s. pleading, 18, 29.
 pletours, s. pleaders, 434, 11.
 plite, s. condition, 354, 14.
 plites, v. folds, 265, 11; 338, 33.
 plukkyng, s. drawing, pulling, 339, 31.
 poste, s. power, 610, 9.
 pouke, v. poke, 367, 24.
 powestee, s. power, might, 660, 22.
 pownes, s. pawns, 362, 30.
 powste, s. power, 639, 20.
 poynt, s. dawn, 585, 13.
 pray, s. cattle driven off, 192, 20; 196, 35.

prayes, s. raids, plunder, 26, 34 ;
 272, 8 ; 276, 16.
 preced, v. pierced, 117, 23 ; 155,
 9 ; pressed, went, 156, 7.
 preche, v. to preach, 110, 35.
 preiden, v. prayed, 450, 12.
 preised, v. valued, 464, 13.
 prese, s. press, multitude, 61, 11.
 prevy, adj. privy, secret, 47, 21.
 prewe, v. to prove, 18, 26.
 preyse, v. prize ? praise ? 6, 22.
 priked, v. rode hard, spurred on,
 73, 33.
 prikinge, adv. galloping, 329, 15.
 pris, s. enterprise, hazardous under-
 taking, 176, 18.
 prise, v. to take, 670, 16.
 privees, s. trusted persons, 377,
 13.
 processe, s. progress, 255, 28.
 proverteo, s. poverty, 59, 1.
 pryme, s. six o'clock a.m., 132,
 7 ; 182, 3.
 purchased, v. gained, acquired,
 obtained, 190, 28.
 putaille, s. populace, common
 people, rabble, 192, 9.
 puyssaunce, s. power, 202, 28.
 pyne, s. pine-tree, 605, 10.
 pytaile, s. foot-soldiers, 256, 25.
 quarells, s. arrows, cross-bow
 bolts, 196, 4 ; 271, 33.
 quat, 463, 26 ; quatte, 463, 22 ;
 pp. hidden, squat, out of sight.
 queche, s. thicket, 540, 9.
 queynte, adj. artful, cunning,
 113, 28.
 quod, quo, v. quoth, said, 3, 25 ;
 33, 36.
 quyk, adj. alive, living, 12, 33 ;
 29, 11 ; 347, 9.
 quynsyme, 374, 16 ; quynsynne,
 57, 11 ; quynsyne, 62, 22 (s.
 Fr. *quinzième*), fifteen days, or
 fifteenth day.
 quyntayne, s. a board set up to
 be tilted at, 133, 16 ; 375, 17 ;
 584, 33.

quyte, v. requite, reward, 173,
 20 ; 377, 8.
 quyte, pp. acquitted, 19, 12 ; 37, 21.
 quyately, adv. freely, 651, 28.
 raced, v. took, pulled away, 424,
 31 ; 633, 27.
 radde, v. read, 280, 3.
 raile, v. run, 342, 2.
 randon, 401, 10 ; ranndon, 118,
 34 ; raundon, 210, 3 ; 219, 5 ;
 s. force, impetuosity ; pace, 652,
 21.
 rasour, s. razor, 427, 18.
 rattes, s. rats, 665, 30.
 raught, v. lifted, 697, 11.
 raught, v. reached, 159, 25.
 ravayn, s. force, rage, 127, 12 ;
 raveyn, 444, 27 ; ravyn, 549,
 32 ; swiftness, 600, 15.
 reade, adj. red, 37, 16 ; 635, 15.
 reame, 40, 19 ; reeme, 84, 32 ;
 reme, 259, 10 ; s. realm, king-
 dom.
 recche, v. care for, reck, 93, 35.
 recete, s. place of refuge, 684, 26.
 recouer, s. remedy, stratagem, 332,
 27.
 recouerer, s. recovery, 4, 19.
 reddure, s. violence, punishment,
 538, 9.
 rede, v. to advise, counsel, 25, 14
 rede, s. advice, counsel, 60, 7.
 reden, v. rode, 30, 3.
 redy, adj. assembled together,
 243, 24.
 refraite, 615, 19 ; refreite, 310,
 12 ; s. refrain, burden of a
 song.
 refroide, v. restrain, cool, 500, 27.
 refte, v. took from, deprived,
 27, 3.
 regrated, v. sorrowed for, 646, 24.
 regrater, s. huckster, 168, 12.
 rehete, v. cheer, encourage, 549, 19.
 reinde, ? [f]reinde = freineth
 (imp.), ask, inquire, 18, 2.
 reine, lete reine, v. urge, 243, 36.
 relented, v. remained, 323, 28.

releve, v. get up, 397, 22.
 relied, v. to rally, relead, 196, 31;
 relye, 281, 2.
 reliques, s. relics, 75, 26.
 reme, s. realm, 610, 10.
 remeve, v. to remove, 58, 10;
 397, 33.
 rengen, s. rank, row, course, 133,
 30; 162, 28.
 rengen, 127, 27; v. set in order,
 arranged.
 renne, v. run, 347, 2.
 renomede, 431, 35; renomée, 186,
 17; s. renown.
 renomede, pp. renowned, 124, 29.
 renon, s. renown, 106, 21.
 repair, 20, 33; repaire, 43, 8;
 repeire, 311, 19; 669, 6; s.
 abode, place of resort.
 repecyred, v. resorted, 132, 25.
 repress, v. reprove, 269, 31.
 requere, v. require, request, 49, 29.
 requereth, pp. required, 65, 27.
 rerewarde, 276, 17; 194, 7; s.
 after portion of an army, rear-
 guard.
 rescewe, 214, 20; rescouse, 586,
 14; rescowe, 119, 18; s. rescue,
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 rescettes, s. places of refuge, 568,
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 resceve, 224, 32; resceyve, 54,
 36; 32, 1; v. to receive.
 rescued, pp. rescued, 119, 18.
 resorte, v. fall back, 391, 32.
 resovned, v. resounded, 274, 4.
 reuerse, v. fall, overturn, 157, 33.
 rewarde, s., precaution, regard,
 599, 26.
 reynes, s. body, 465, 33.
 reynes, s. kidneys, 53, 10; loins,
 213, 33.
 riall, adj. royal, 320, 27.
 ribaudes, 277, 1; 278, 7; 317,
 34; s. base men, the lowest
 sort of retainers of the nobility.
 richesse, s. property, riches, 3, 20;
 92, 36.
 right, v. put in order, 209, 35.

rimpled, pp. wrinkled, puckered,
 168, 10.
 rivolid, pp. wrinkled, 262, 16.
 roche, s. coast, 250, 13.
 roches, s. rocks, 125, 14.
 rody, 335, 29; rody, 181, 21;
 adj. red, ruddy.
 roiall, 108, 4; rioall, 107, 1; adj.
 royal.
 ronnc, v. run, 243, 22.
 rought, v. cared, 654, 21.
 rounge to messe, 97, 26; rang for
 mass?
 rounsies, s. horses, 636, 27.
 rowe, adj. rough, 168, 10; 635, 15.
 rowned, v. whispered, 95, 6.
 roynouse, adj. mangy, scabby,
 eaten up with itch, 527, 27.
 rudely, adv. furiously, 350, 6.
 ruse, v. give way, retire, 494, 26.
 rused, 333, 34; rused, 155, 9;
 330, 15; rused, 288, 9; ruseden,
 409, 20; rusen, 550, 14; 662,
 20; v. rushed.
 ryiche, adj. rich, 3, 17.
 rympled, adj. curled, 424, 21.
 ryvage, s. shore, beach, 377, 25;
 378, 12.
 sacred, pp. consecrated, 26, 4; 57, 9.
 sacred, v. consecrated, 502, 33.
 sacringe, consecration, 105, 13.
 sadde, adj. staid, solemn, 106, 14.
 sadly, adv. seriously, 226, 18.
 saf, adv. safe, 266, 12.
 safe, 5, 19; saf, 273, 18; conj.
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 safte, s. safety, 471, 28.
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 salaw, s. salutation, 506, 32.
 salude, v. saluted, 266, 9.
 salue, s. salve, 193, 20.
 salued, saluted, hailed, 36, 3.
 samyte, s. a kind of rich silk,
 608, 5.
 sanourly, adv. heavily, soundly,
 415, 13.
 sarazin, s. ? infidel, 193, 16.

sarazins, s. Saxons (saisnes), 260, 16.
sauacion, 96, 3; savacion, 580, 28; s. salvation.
saunz-faile, without fail, 91, 11.
savete, s. safety, 542, 1.
sawter, s. psalter, 213, 22.
sayned, v. 14, 31; 66, 20; 304, 16; crossed himself? blessed himself?
scade, s. pity, misfortune, 678, 12.
scarmyshe, v. skirmish, flourish arms, 648, 19; Fr. escrimer.
scawberk, s. scabbard, 460, 14; scauberke, 367, 34.
schoved, v. shoved, pushed in, 218, 34.
scirmysch, v. skirmish, 570, 26.
se, v. to see, 29, 1; pt. sien, 1, 3; sye, 3, 35; sygh, 18, 6; sigh, 64, 7; pt. sedd, 18, 5; saugh, 17, 21; pp. seyen, 21, 16; seyn, 108, 29; seye, 26, 7.
seche, v. to seek, 10, 24; 23, 22; used passively, 41, 27.
see, s. sea, 263, 28; 313, 31.
seel, s. seal, 617, 32.
sef, adv. only, 63, 35.
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seilden, adv. seldom, 6, 16.
seinge, part. pres. of verb to see, 86, 36.
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skenesse, s. sickness, 52, 28.
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self, 26, 12; selue, 32, 23; adj. same.
semblant, 1, 17; semblaunt, 25, 12; 204, 3; s. semblance, pretence, appearance.
semblaunce, s. likeness, appearance, 45, 25; 57, 15; 170, 16.
sendall, s. thin silk, 281, 8.
seneschall, s. steward, 169, 13.
sercle, s. circle, 531, 1.
serkeles, s. circles, 220, 8.
sesed, v. seized, 649, 2.
sesid, v. ceased, 49, 23.

seth, 12, 30; sethe, 71, 22; conj. since.
sethen, adv. afterwards, 209, 35.
sette, v. to send, grant, 114, 17.
sewed, v. followed, 33, 30; 349, 35.
sewen, v. pursue, follow, 274, 18.
sey, v. to say, tell, 7, 22; 5, 21; 172, 1; pt. seyde, 7, 12; sede, 7, 17; seide, 1, 12; pp. seyde, 7, 5.
shalbe, shall be, 14, 34.
shamefest, adj. full of shame, 269, 33; shamefaste, 426, 11.
shapte, s. shape, form, 43, 30.
sheltron, s. division of soldiers, troop, company, 151, 13; 326, 6; 660, 24.
shet, pt. 9, 25; 14, 5; pp. 10, 10; shett, pp. 29, 26; shut.
shette, adj. shut, 545, 15.
shetynge, v. shooting, 170, 29.
shewde, 56, 22; sewde, 57, 17; v. appeared.
shof, v. shoved, 199, 18.
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shold, sholde, 1, 9; 6, 30; shulde, 1, 14; v. should.
sholdres, s. shoulders, 635, 17.
shone, 33, 22; shoon, 279, 25; s. shoes.
shour, 336, 24; 353, 14; shour, 663, 17; s. fight, encounter.
shrewdely, adv. in bits, 313, 5.
shrewe, s. giant, enemy, 347, 16.
shrewe, s. pity, sin, 568, 26.
shulder, s. shoulder, 211, 5.
shull, v. shall, 5, 34.
sibbe, s. relation, 373, 9.
siche, adj. such, 3, 1.
sigh, v. saw, 361, 8; 605, 27.
siker, adj. secure, safe, 32, 16.
sith, conj. since, 10, 5; 25, 25.
sithes, 24, 11; sythes, 7, 6; s. times.
sithes, s. sides, parties, 244, 31.
sitteth, v. becometh, 537, 9.
skaberke, 347, 21; skabrek, 118, 10; skawlerke, 340, 15
scabbard.

- skirmerie, *s.* fencing, fighting with the sword, 368, 20; 571, 5.
 sklender, *adj.* slender, 279, 24.
 skole, *s.* school, 86, 13.
 skyle, *s.* skill, 27, 33.
 slide, *s.* a valley, 256, 33.
 slakede, *v.* slacken, 293, 13.
 sle, 21, 23; slen, 15, 30; *v.* to slay, kill.
 slode, *v.* did slide, 570, 12.
 slouthe, *s.* sloth, 640, 30.
 slowe, 4, 3; slow, 217, 8; *v.* slew.
 snewen, *v.* follow, 296, 27.
 soche, *adj.* such, 4, 7.
 socour, *s.* succour, 50, 12.
 soell, 4, 11; soill, 75, 5; sole, 9, 29; soole, 128, 33; sool, 297, 3; *adj.* alone.
 soget, 6, 30; soget, 627, 26; *s.* subject.
 sojour, *s.* sojourn, 311, 25.
 somdell, *s.* somewhat, 135, 4.
 someres, 192, 1; sommers, 378, 5; *s.* sumpter horses.
 somowne, *v.* to summon, 41, 20; 249, 6.
 somte, misprint, perhaps for smote, 299, 9.
 sonc, *adv.* soon, 3, 26.
 sooll, *adv.* sole, 634, 1.
 sop, 260, 33; soppe, 218, 29; *s.* body, company.
 soper, *s.* supper, 59, 22; 545, 26.
 sopores, *s.* spurs, 299, 21.
 sore, *adv.* very, sorely, 52, 13; much, 169, 11.
 sore, sorrow, 126, 35.
 sore-holdynge, *adj.* very tenacious, 222, 8.
 sorte, *s.* chance, lot, destiny, 36, 29.
 soth, true, truth, 7, 12; 37, 35; 51, 16.
 sotilly, *adv.* artfully, knowingly, 21, 36.
 souereine, *adj.* sovereign, 48, 11.
 souke, *s.* suck, 646, 31.
 sowke, *v.* to suck, 112, 4.
 sowderes, 120, 25; 174, 16; sowdiours, 175, 28; *s.* soldiers.
 sowowne, *s.* swoon, 134, 5.
 sowowned, *v.* swooned, 208, 23.
 sparble, *v.* to scatter, 396, 28.
 sparbled, *v.* ran away, 274, 30; scattered, 411, 6.
 sparre, *s.* spar, 460, 16.
 spayne, 615, 15; spaynell, 615, 17; *s.* spaniel.
 splyndered, *v.* broke, splintered, 244, 24; 338, 36.
 spored, *v.* spurred, 282, 34.
 spores, *s.* spurs, 101, 1; "at the spore," 282, 27; 531, 33.
 stablie, *s.* stand, 386, 26.
 stablissement, *s.* establishment, 61, 29.
 stale, *v.* make water, 526, 12.
 stall, kept at, *i.e.* kept back, withstood, 286, 9.
 stalled, *v.* met in confusion, 324, 26.
 stalleden, *v.* fixed, placed, 161, 28.
 starke, *adj.* long, 214, 31.
 startelinge, *adj.* spirited, 257, 3.
 steill, 118, 16; stiel, 98, 20; *s.* steel.
 steirne, *adj.* stern, fierce, 43, 1.
 stelen, *adj.* of steel, 119, 5.
 stent, *v.* to cease, 145, 14.
 stered, *v.* guided, directed, 4, 33.
 sterten, *v.* started, leaped, 214, 34.
 stightlynge, *s.* fear, dread, 408, 3.
 still, *s.* steel, armour, 618, 21.
 stilliche, *adv.* stilly, silently, 180, 36.
 stinte, 253, 22; stinte, 548, 34; *v.* remain, cease.
 stynte, *pt.* stopped, 127, 11; 217, 33.
 stodye, *s.* condition of mind, 243, 2.
 stonyed, *pp.* stunned, 265, 30.
 stounde, *s.* short time, 594, 29.
 stoupe, *v.* to stoop, 119, 16.
 stour, stoure, *s.* tumult, battle, passion, 119, 20; 161, 16; 125, 2.
 straitely, *adv.* strictly, closely, 221, 6.

- straght, v. stretched, handed, gave, 639, 15.
 straungeled, pt. 4, 14; strangelid, pp. 4, 23; strangled.
 streite, s. strait, 256, 1.
 streite, adj. narrow, 558, 32.
 streite, 126, 2; streyte, 205, 2; adj. strict.
 strengthes, s. pl. form of strength, 1, 6.
 stroied, pp. ruined, 5, 4.
 stronge, adv. very, 52, 5.
 strongeleche, adv. strongly, greatly, 13, 1.
 stronke, adj. strong, 380, 7.
 stuffed, v. filled, garrisoned, 70, 16; 120, 30.
 sturopes, s. stirrups, 117, 21.
 stwarde, s. steward, 24, 9.
 styghtled, pp. fought, struggled, 333, 3.
 styth, 98, 12; stithi, 98, 14; stith, 98, 19; s. anvil.
 sue, v. to follow, 206, 10.
 suerdes, s. swords, 388, 14.
 suffraite, s. suffering, 59, 1.
 suffretouse, sufferers, 201, 35.
 surbated, v. rushed, 531, 5.
 sured, v. plighted, 628, 2.
 surmounte, v. excel, 602, 3.
 surnonn, s. surname, 57, 13.
 sustene, v. stand, 354, 11.
 suster, sustres, syster, s. sister, 4, 34; 5, 18; 7, 18; 399, 26.
 suweth, v. follow, 210, 3; 331, 36.
 swarned, pp. turned aside, 341, 36.
 swenene, s. dream, 430, 25.
 swerde, s. sword, 100, 17.
 swight, adj. swift, 324, 35.
 swote, adj. sweet, 133, 1.
 swowne, s. swoon, 119, 6.
 swyfht, adj. swift, 209, 36.
 sye, v. see, 248, 15.
 sye, v. saw, 597, 1.
 sympilliche, adv. simply, 140, 32.
 sympilly, adv. weakly, 78, 20.
 symple, adj. weak, 116, 36.
 tacched, pp. taken, 88, 4.
 talent, s. disposition, desire, 32, 6; 573, 3.
 talentif, adj. desirous, 352, 10.
 targe, s. a small shield, 338, 24.
 tarie, v. to wait, stay, 47, 35.
 tarien, v. tarry, 259, 5.
 taste, v. feel, touch, 681, 12.
 tasted, v. tried, groped, 649, 6.
 tastinge, pr. part. trying, 648, 26.
 taught, v. (1) led, 316, 26; (2) told, 550, 3.
 tecche, s. fault, peculiarity, 135, 34; 182, 1.
 tecches, s. devices, 462, 33.
 teche, v. teach, take or intrust to, 72, 18.
 techynge, s. teaching, instruction, 7, 21.
 teinte, 46, 10-12; teynte, 116, 11; s. tent.
 tentefly, adv. steadfastly, 506, 16.
 teyed, v. tied, 413, 30.
 teysed, v. drawn, 590, 3.
 thaire, pr. their, 5, 22.
 tham, 2, 2; theym, 1, 15; 141, 36; pron. them.
 than, 4, 12; thanne, 4, 13; adv. then.
 tharchebisshop, the Archbishop, 104, 21.
 tharldom, s. thralldom, 1, 20.
 that, pro.=that which, 2, 34; 3, 2.
 þat, conj. that, 73, 16.
 thaugh conj. though, 103, 19.
 the, pro. (1) thee, 44, 28; (2) they, 256, 4.
 þe, adj. the, 63, 21; 352, 32.
 theder, 36, 15; thider, 32, 20; adv. thither.
 thei, pr. they, 3, 3.
 þei, pron. they, 197, 33.
 their, adv. there, 3, 16.
 thencheson, s. the reason, cause, 28, 11.
 thens, adv. thence, 25, 16.
 thens-forth, adv. thenceforth, 121, 5.
 ther, conj. where, 263, 18.

- ther, adv. where, 25, 8.
 ther-as, adv. where, 3, 15.
 þer-inne, adv. therein, 188, 28.
 thirthe, adj. third, 121, 34.
 this, adj. these, 363, 14.
 this, adv. thus, 14, 28.
 thise, pro. these, 3, 33.
 thiside, n.=? this side, 562, 15.
 tho, adv. then, thereupon, 7, 11;
 44, 33; thoo, 273, 31.
 tho, pro. those, 2, 22; thoo=those
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 thonkeden, v. thanked, 210, 1.
 thorough, prep. through, 4, 34;
 34, 7.
 thove, v.=thave, permit, allow,
 18, 22.
 thowz, conj. though, 2, 8.
 thre, adj. three, 50, 4.
 thunder, s. lightning, 387, 1.
 þus, adv. thus, 79, 32.
 tierce, s. the third hour of the
 artificial day, 182, 4; 274, 29.
 tierme, s. time, 41, 20.
 to, adv. too, 258, 7.
 to-brosed, pp. bruised, battered,
 268, 24; 548, 29.
 to foren, adv. before, 201, 18.
 to-geder, adv. together, 29, 36.
 to hewen, hewn to pieces, 135, 23.
 tokenynge, s. sign, token, 60, 32;
 98, 3.
 tole, v. told, 50, 19.
 to-morou, s. to-morrow, 60, 22.
 ton, the ton=the one, 216, 9.
 tortue, adj. twisted, 206, 17.
 tother, adj. the tother=that other,
 34, 16.
 tow, adj. two, 5, 16; towe, 214, 33.
 towaile, s. towel, 225, 21.
 towarde, adv. near at hand, 353, 25.
 towon, s. town, 379, 8.
 traied, pp. betrayed, 463, 10.
 traunyle, 32, 25; traueill, 32,
 28; traueile, 32, 30; 128, 23;
 traueyle, 122, 34; s. toil,
 injury, labour, pain.
 trauers, in trauers, adv. contrarily,
 262, 14; 429, 19.
 trauerse, "on traverse," 425, 31;
 "a trauerse," 427, 17; adv.
 leeringly, with side glance.
 trayned, pp. dragged, 299, 11.
 tresour, s. treasure, 167, 6.
 trewage, s. pledge, hostage, 50,
 17; 126, 28.
 trewis, s. truce, 505, 13.
 troath, 18, 11; trouth, 107, 21;
 s. truth.
 trobellion, s. ? storm, tempest,
 324, 10.
 tronchon, s. fragment, 248, 25.
 tronchown, s. truncheon, staff,
 156, 19.
 trouble, adj. dense, thick, dark,
 248, 5; troble, 248, 34.
 trowe, v. think, suppose, 2, 34;
 22, 22.
 trumpes, s. trumpets, 276, 9.
 trusse, v. pack up, 378, 5.
 trussed, v. fastened, 259, 27.
 trymbled, v. trembled, 27, 26.
 tukked, pp. ? dressed, 279, 23;
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 turment, s. tournament, 102, 36.
 turmente, s. torment, 5, 20.
 turney, s. tourney, 404, 33.
 tweyn, 49, 1; tweyne, 129, 4;
 twey, 225, 22; two.
 tymbres, s. spears, 117, 34.
 tymbres, s. bells, 276, 12.
 tysed, v. enticed, 418, 25.
 un-ethe, adv. scarcely, 677, 15.
 unpossible, adj. impossible.
 untrouthe, s. untruth, falsehood,
 69, 21.
 valed, v. let down, 478, 13.
 vauasour, s. a sort of inferior
 gentry, 204, 19; 307, 15.
 vaunt garde, s. van guard, 151,
 3; from French avant?
 venged, pp. avenged, revenged,
 119, 32.
 venquysshed, v. gained, 56, 33.
 vergier, s. orchard, 310, 6.
 very, adj. true, 11, 27.

very, v. ferry, 605, 31.
 viage, s. journey, voyage, 130, 7.
 vilenis, 102, 31; vylenis, 127, 1;
 vileyns, 26, 21; adj. disgraceful,
 shameful.
 viliche, adv. basely, 477, 12.
 vitaille, s. provisions, 50, 12.
 vn-couthe, adj. unknown, 190,
 30; un-cowthe, 381, 22.
 vnethe, 19, 7; vn-cthe, 154, 4;
 vn-nethe, 172, 19; adv. scarcely.
 vnther, adj. under 169, 5.
 vn-to, prep. until, 160, 23.
 vn-trewe, adj. untrue, 276, 34.
 vntterly, adv. utterly, entirely,
 181, 22.
 voide, v. to leave, depart (make
 empty), 108, 28-30.
 volage, adj. ? light, giddy, 436, 1.
 volente, volunte, 22, 30; 29, 21;
 58, 29; voluntee, 201, 32; s.
 will, pleasure.
 vowarde, s. the vanguard, 285, 25.
 voyde, adj. empty, vacant, 59, 21.
 voyded, adj. 279, 25; open-worked.
Cf. Fr. percé à jour.
 vp-right, adv. perpendicularly,
 58, 11; 542, 7.
 vp-right, adv. flat on the back,
 128, 3; 476, 21.
 vvas, s. that day week, 449, 12.
 vyces, s. practices, deeds, 51, 6.
 vyuiet, s. ? fish pond, pool, vivary ?
 308, 6.
 wacche, 76, 9; 656, 25; waicche,
 46, 14; s. watch, guard.
 waisshe, 301, 11; wosh, 225, 20;
 wossh, 301, 13; v. wash.
 waisschen, 2, 3; waisch, 225, 25;
 pp. washed.
 wake, v. watch, 584, 29.
 walop, s. gallop; a grete walop =
 in full gallop, 209, 11.
 walshe myle, s. 247, 36.
 wape, v. to weep, 30, 10.
 war, adj. aware, 274, 34; 654, 25.
 warrant, 29, 5; waraute, 162, 30;
 v. save, preserve.

warantise, v. keep harmless, 269, 3.
 warde, s. army, division, 286, 7.
 wardeyns, s. guards, watchmen,
 220, 8.
 ware, adj. cautious, wary, 5, 26;
 113, 2.
 warishen, v. cure, 696, 24.
 warne, v. to proclaim, command,
 60, 15; used passively, 62, 16.
 warrished, v. pp. recovered from
 sickness, 173, 11.
 waymentacion, 513, 33; weymen-
 tacion, 347, 10; s. lamentation.
 waymented, pp. lamented, 262, 2.
 wedde, s. pledge, 477, 18.
 weder, s. weather, 150, 33.
 wedowe, s. widow, 596, 33.
 wele, adv. well, 44, 27.
 wele, v. to will, wish, intend, 54,
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 well, v. 243, 26; to will, desire.
 welwellinge, s. welfare, interests,
 505, 35.
 wende, v. ? would, 246, 6.
 wende, v. intended, thought, 1,
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 wene, v. to think, deem, 52, 19.
 wepnys, s. weapons, 264, 2.
 werre, s. war, 26, 27; 49, 21.
 werre, v. to make war, 115, 6.
 werreden, v. made war, 24, 10.
 werrye, v. dwell, 318, 16.
 werryen, v. 320, 15; make war on.
 werse, adj. worse, 56, 28.
 wery, adj. weary, 128, 23.
 wete, v. to know, 10, 28; 28, 2;
 wethet, 34, 17.
 wetynge, s. knowledge, 14, 12.
 weymente, v. lament, 513, 31.
 what, adv. partly, in part, 205, 7.
 whens, adv. whence, 44, 7.
 where-as, conj. where, at which
 place, 242, 22.
 where-as = where were, 635, 9.
 wherthourgh, adv. whereby, 17, 22.
 whider, adv. whither, 61, 25.
 howle, v. to cry as a cat, 668, 9.
 whowpe, v. to whoop, 358, 23;
 whowped, 168, 3.

- wiesshe, v. to wish, 113, 36.
 wight, adj. active, swift, 136, 22; 350, 28.
 wight, s. weight, 57, 35.
 wiste, v. knew, perceived, 4, 12.
 wite, 45, 4; 13, 11; witen, 82, 20; v. to know, perceive;
 wyte, 5, 23; I do the to wite, 93, 21 = make to know.
 with-holde, v. receive, retain, 372, 21.
 with-uten, prep. without, 69, 18.
 with-sey, v. to deny, 204, 4.
 wode, s. wood, 199, 10; 337, 22.
 wode, adj. mad, 165, 5; 196, 19.
 woke, s. week, 82, 33.
 wolde, would, 2, 12; 4, 1.
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 wordynesse, s. worthiness, 203, 32.
 worschipe, v. to honour, 166, 2.
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 worthen, v. be, go, 58, 13.
 woste, v. knowest, 19, 36.
 wote, v. knew, 101, 28; wote, pres. know, 162, 9, 11.
 woued, v. wooed, loved, 137, 11.
 woxen, v. waxed, grown, 228, 14.
 wrathe, 18, 16; 41, 8; wratthe, 3, 31; 639, 30; v. to be angry, enraged.
 wreche, s. wrath, anger, vengeance, 113, 27.
 wrenne, s. wren, 573, 2.
 wreten, pp. written, 53, 32.
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